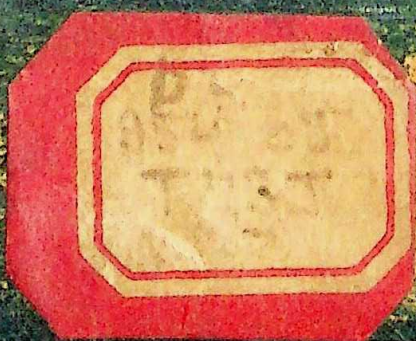


JNL
OF
INDIAN
HISTORY

VOL 37
1959



LIB. C. K. V.

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय



विषय संख्या

पुस्तक संख्या

आगत पत्रिका संख्या

R
954.05

T73J

V.37.38.39

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना
वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय
तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

383D

080817

383 D

383 D

यह पुस्तक वितरित न का जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED
सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

सिद्धि काशीकरणा १९५४-१९५५

डी विश्ववि

R

954.05

T 73 J

v. 37, 38, 39

Vol

Ch.

(M

CA

ch

THE

OF

IL

PA

EAR

IN

REV

by

PI

JAW

FR

N

P

REV

SEL

OUR

JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXVII, Part I

April, 1959

Serial No. 109

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
CH. I OF LOKAPALASABHAPARVA (MEH BK. II CH. V)—A CRITICAL STUDY—by Aryya Ramachandra G. Tiwari, M.A., LL.B.	1	THE TARIFF WALLS IN THE NORTH- EAST FRONTIER—IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE COMPANY—by H. K. Barpujari	75
THE INTERNATIONAL EXTENSIONS OF POLITICAL CONSPIRACY AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE GHADR PARTY—by John W. Spellman	23	AN INTERCEPTED LETTER OF KEIR HARDIE TO BAL GANGADHAR TILAK—by Dr. Sukumar Bhat- tacharya, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)	81
EARLY CONTACTS OF ISLAM WITH INDIA—by Sri Ram Sharma	47	DUNGARPUR SUCCESSION, 1846—by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, M.A., D. Phil.	85
REVENUE SYSTEM OF SHER SHAH— by Dr. Satish C. Misra, M.A. Ph.D. (Ben.)	57	RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY—HIS LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS—by Miss Nondita Chatterjee, M. A.	97
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.	67	THE CAPUCHINS IN MADRAS—by M. Arokiaswami	103
		PALI, PALI AND PALI—by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam	109
REVIEWS :—(1) The Sepoy Mutiny, 1857 : A Social Study and Analysis —Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya, M.A.; (2) Asokan Inscriptions, edited by Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., Ph.D.			113
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS			119
OUR EXCHANGES			121



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Journal of Indian History

CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

1. DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., HON., D.LITT., Emeritus Professor, University of Lucknow.
2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandali, Poona.
3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., College of Indology, Hindu University, Benares.
4. PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB, B.A. (OXON), Professor of History, University of Aligarh.
5. PROFESSOR D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., University of Poona.
6. DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON).
7. A. N. TAMPI, B.A. (OXON), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.
8. SURANAD, P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.
9. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., formerly Principal, University College, Trivandrum.
10. DR. YOUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS), Osmania University.
11. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., University of Lucknow.
12. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON), Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay.

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription: Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-65 Naye Paise and 16s. abroad,

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15 or £1 Half page cover : Rs. 8 or 12s.
Full page inside : Rs. 10 or 14s. Half page inside : Rs. 6 or 8s.

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to :—

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Editor,
Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

JOURNAL *of* INDIAN HISTORY



080817

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,

*Professor of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

*K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (OXON.)

*Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.*

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,

*formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.*

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (OXON.)

*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

CONTENTS.

CH. I OF LOKAPALASABHAPARVA (MBH Bk. II Ch. V)—A CRITICAL STUDY—by Aryya Ramachandra G. Tiwari, M.A., LL.B. ..	1
THE INTERNATIONAL EXTENSIONS OF POLITICAL CONSPIRACY AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE GHADR PARTY—by John W. Spellman ...	23
EARLY CONTACTS OF ISLAM WITH INDIA—by Sri Ram Sharma	47
REVENUE SYSTEM OF SHER SHAH—by Dr. Satish C. Misra, M.A., Ph.D. (Ben.) ..	57
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	67
THE TARIFF WALLS IN THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER—IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE COMPANY—by H. K. Barpujari ..	75
AN INTERCEPTED LETTER OF KEIR HARDIE TO BAL GANGADHAR TILAK—by Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) ..	81
DUNGARPUR SUCCESSION, 1846—by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, M.A., D.Phil. ..	85
RĀJA RAM MOHAN ROY—HIS LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS—by Miss Nondita Chatterjee, M.A. ..	97
THE CAPUCHINS IN MADRAS—by M. Arokiaswami ..	103
PĀLI, PĀLI AND PĀLI—by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam ..	109
REVIEWS: (1) The Sepoy Mutiny, 1857: A Social Study and Analysis—Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya, M.A.; (2) Aśokan Inscriptions, edited by Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., Ph.D. ..	113
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS ..	119
OUR EXCHANGES ..	121

Ch. I of Lokapalasabhaparva (Mbh Bk. II Ch. V)— A Critical Study

By

ARYYA RAMACHANDRA G. TIWARI, M.A., LL.B.,

*Head of the Department of History & Political Science,
V. P. Mahavidyalaya, S. V. University, Vallabh
Vidyanagar, W. Rly.*

• Lokapālasabhāparva (henceforth LSP) is a part of Sabhāparva of Mahābhārata. It has 8 chapters. The first of these chapters deals with political exhortations of Nārada to Yudhisthira at Indraprastha, the capital of the moiety of the ancestral kingdom received by the Pāṇḍavas from Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The chapter under study has 129 verses. The first 16 are introductory. Out of the remaining 113 verses, 110 deal with the talk of Narada.¹ 2 of the remaining 4 verses refer to some questions raised by Yudhisthira² and the remaining 2 deal with the remarks of Vaiśampāyana³, the narrator of MBH to Janamejaya.⁴

The speciality of this exhortation lies in its being interrogatory in form. Nārada is represented here as having asked a number of questions to Yudhisthira which also in a way described the political and administrative institutions of an ideal state. However, it appears probable that the institutions referred to here bear to some extent the nucleus of the actual political arrangements current at some period in ancient India. If so, it is very necessary to discover their period. Such a study is likely to yield an independent chronological clue to fix the time of some of the political institu-

1. All the citations from Mahabharata are taken from Gita Press edition.
2. All the citations from Lokapalasabhaparva are cited in verses only, e.g., verse 10, 101 etc.

1. Verses 17 to 111, 113, 115 to 128, 129.
2. Verses 112, 128.
3. Verses 114, 127.
4. MBS I/60/22.

tions as links in the evolution of the administrative system in ancient India.

An attempt of this type will necessarily be double-forked, viz.,

(1) to fix the time of this chapter; and

(2) to depict its the:political and administrative institutions.

The present article deals with both these aspects..

*

*

*

(1) *Time of Chapter I of Lokapālasabhāparva*

The absence of any reference to the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu renders the task of the fixation of the time of this chapter circuitous. Only two types of clues can help us, viz., (I) the epithets used for king, prince, ministers, etc.; and (II) the other circumstantial evidence.

Epithets used in the chapter :—

The epithets used of the king in this chapter are “Naradeva”,⁵ ‘Pṛthvipati’,⁶ ‘Rājana’⁷ and Rājā’.⁸ All these epithets,⁹ along with many others, were current in the days of Vidura Nīti also,¹⁰ which, according to me, belongs to III cent. A.D.^{10a} The epithets ‘Mahārāja’¹¹ and ‘Rājana’¹² were used by the

5. Verse 18.

6. Verse 57.

7. Verses 67, 120, 126.

8. Verses 81, 116.

9. Verse 129.

10. In Viduraniti (MBH X Bk. V chs. 33-40) the following epithets are used for the king :

(a) Maharaja : 33/6, 71; 36/68.

(b) Raja Verse following 33/15 (found only in the southern version); 33/53, 80.

(c) Rajan : 33/39, 47, 58, 63, 64, 82, 89; 34/5, 35, 59, 77; 35/6; 36/55, 67, 70, 72; 37/15, 20, 45, 51, 64.

(d) Mahipati : 34/51.

(e) Narendra : 36/74; 37/21.

(f) Rajendra : 33/4; 34/86; 35/39; 37/1; 39/19 .

(g) Naradhipa : 33/7, 14.

(h) Rajasttam : 35/12.

10a. See Tiwari : Vidura Niti—A Cultural and Political Study (Jour. Ind. Hist., 1958, Dec.).

11. Epigraphia Indica X/107.

12. Ibid, X/104.

Kuṣaṇ kings also. And their use continued in the pre-Gupta and the first half of Gupta periods as well. Kālidāsa used 'Narapati' and 'Rājana' along with other grandiloquent ones, viz., 'Saṁrāta', 'Cakravartī', 'Apratistha', 'Ashyavikrama', 'Bhaṭṭāraka',¹³ etc. The latter ones are neither found in Vidura Nīti or in the chapter under study. This suggests that both of these are pre-Kālidāsa in time. Kālidāsa, according to me, belongs to the middle of V century A.D.¹⁴ Vidura Nīti falls in III cent. A.D. So the present chapter should fall between III cent. A.D. (the time of Vidura Nīti) and middle of V cent. A.D. (the time of Kālidāsa),

13. Saleore: *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 231.

14. The time of Kālidāsa can be convincingly fixed with the aid of the mythological clues. Kālidāsa mentions Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in Raghuvamśa (X/44). Rāma was deified in IV cen. A. D. (Tiwari: *Indian Iconography and Mythology* (Anand, 1957), pp. 13-14). Raghuvamśa also mentions the banishment of Sītā, the birth of Lava and Kuśa in the hermitage of Vālmikī, the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma, the fight between the forces of Rāma on one hand and Lava and Kuśa on the other, the descent of Sītā in the netherworld. This mythology flourished in the period later than Uttarakāṇḍa of Vālmikī Rāmāyaṇa. Uttarakāṇḍa mentions the exile of Sītā, birth of Lava and Kuśa in the 'āsrama' of Vālmikī, the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma and the descent of Sītā in the lower regions but not the fight between Lava and Kuśa with the army of Rāma. Uttarakāṇḍa was added Vālmikī Rāmāyaṇa in about the end of IV or the beginning of V cen. A. D. (Tiwari: *The Time of Uttarakanda Bk. VII Val. Rām.*) Jou. Ori. Institute, Baroda, IV/2-3, pp. 149-56). The story of this fight is for the first time mentioned in Padma Purāṇa. So the time of the interpolation of this episode in Padma P. should be subsequent to that of Uttarakāṇḍa. As Kālidāsa was only the reproducer of this episode and not its creator (as he could not have done so), his time should be subsequent to both Uttarakāṇḍa and the interpolation of this episode in Padma P. Hence I believe that the time of Kālidāsa should be fixed in cir. II half of cen. A.D. (rather towards the lower end than the upper). In other words, his time mainly falls in the reign of Skandagupta and his successors. V. Smith (*The Early History of India* (Oxford, 1924), p. 212 n. 1) also holds that Kālidāsa began his career in the days of Chandragupta II and continued to flourish under Kumargupta and possibly even upto the accession of Skandagupta. I would suggest that it should be slightly modified as suggested above. Similarly, the slight modification in the view of Hoerle (Jou. R.A.S., 1909, p. 112) (which places the time of Kālidāsa in I half of VI cen. A.D.) would come near to the correct time of this poet. So it might be said that Kālidāsa began his career about the close of the reign of Kumargupta and continued his literary activities under Skandagupta and his successors. 'Kumārsambhava', as such, possibly, belongs to the period of the beginning of his career. 'Raghuvamśa' belongs to a later date.

i.e., in cir. II half of IV cent. A.D. The word 'Kumāra'¹⁵ used for the prince in this chapter was also in use since the Kushan rule.¹⁶ And as such does not contradict this conclusion.

The ministers are indiscriminately called 'Mantrī',¹⁷ 'Āmātya'¹⁸ and 'Pradhāna'¹⁹ in this chapter. All these words are used as synonyms. No distinction between Mantrī and Āmātya suggested by Arthasāstra is maintained here. Kautilya held that Mantrī meant 'the chief minister' and Āmātya simply 'a minister'.²⁰ In Vidura Nīti also the word 'Āmātya' is used eight times²¹ and 'Saciva' only once.²² However, here again the distinction between these two words is almost nil.²³ So it can be safely inferred that by the time of Vidura Nīti the words 'Mantrī' and 'Saciva' had come to be treated as interchangeable. This inference is corroborated by Amarakośa also which says that 'Dhīśacava' was called 'Mantrī', and other 'Karmasacivas' were Āmātyas'. In other words, 'Mantrī', 'Saciva' and 'Āmātya' were gradually becoming synonyms after the Mauryas and more correctly after Kautilya. However, one thing to be seriously noticed is that the word 'Saciva' in Vidura Nīti had not been used in the present chapter. Kalidāsa uses the word 'Āmātya' only^{24 & 25} So the chapter under study falls after Vidura Nīti but precedes Kālidāsa in time. This again suggests the second half of IV cent. A.D. as the time of this chapter. This conclusion is further supported by the use of the word 'tīrtha' in this chapter.²⁶ Kautilya used it for the first time.²⁷ Kālidāsa was the last person to use this word in the description of an *actual* administration.²⁸ So the time of the chapter under study necessarily falls in pre-Kālidāsa period.

15. Verses 34, 77.

16. Indian Antiquary XXI/225.

17. Verses 27, 45, 87.

18. Verses 24, 28, 37, 44, 107.

19. Verse 51.

20. Kautilya: Arthasāstra I/10.

21. Ch. 84/56, 57; 35/39; 36/32; 37/23, 53; 38/20; 39/37.

22. 38/19.

23. Even Kautilya uses them as synonyms (vide Arthasāstra I/7 & 8).

24 & 25. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

26. Verse 38.

27. Arthasāstra I/12.

28. Raghu. XVI/68.

Circumstantial evidence :

There are two circumstantial clues to support this conclusion—viz., (1) the somewhat higher tone of public and private morality than found in Vidura Nīti and (2) the absence of any reference to camel corps in military organisation. The perusal of Vidura Nīti convinces a person that it was the product of a period when rank public and private immorality corroded the life of the people from top to bottom. The fact that it belongs to III cent. A.D. helps to find out that it was all due to the great social and moral transition which was taking place at that time. The society of Vidura Nīti characterises a period when the Buddhist's hegemony was slowly coming to an end and the Brahmanical revival was steadily taking place. The periods of great transitions are always the periods of great confusion in all respects. The institutions described in the chapter under study suggest their origin in a period when society was politically, economically and morally stabilized. And none except the Guptas can claim to have restored social, religious and political stability to India, lost after the fall of the imperial Mauryas. So the chapter under examination should be fixed in a period when the Guptas had succeeded in consolidating their own position and also the Brahmanical religion. This suggests that its time should come somewhere about mid-Gupta period. And again, the absence of any reference in the present chapters to camel corps in the military units, in use in the days of Harṣa, ^(28a) might also be taken to indicate its pre-Harṣa origin, i.e., its birth in Gupta period.

So I suggest that the nucleus of the political institutions described in the present chapter may be regarded as having its physical basis in the Gupta institutions of about the end of IV cent A.D. However, it is far from the mind of the author to be very dogmatic about this period though it is clear that he believes that this period cannot be stretched *very much* either way.

(2) *Political institutions in Ch. I of Lokapālasabhāparva*

King :

Training and qualifications: The king was trained for his exalted office right from his childhood. Teachers skilled in

28a. Saletore, *op.cit.*, p. 262.

Dharma and 'Śāstras' coached him along with principal warriors.²⁹ This clearly points out the change in the mode of education of the princes. We know that Kṛṣṇa³⁰ and Dronācārya³¹ went to the 'āśrama' of their 'gurus' for instruction and other students, both rich and poor, were there to receive education along with them. Similarly, the Pāṇḍavaś and the Kauravaś also received instruction at the hands of Dronācārya,³² possibly at his residence. The instance of the refusal of Eklavya by Dronācārya³³ and the admission of other princes in the school³⁴ point to the possibility that all people could not have joined this school. And again, the self-mutilation of Eklavya, contrived by Dronācārya³⁵ for the benefit of Arjuna,³⁶ proves that everything possible was done to prevent others from competing successfully with the princes. The provision of the education of the prince along with eminent warriors in the chapter under study is the mid-way between the mode of education of Krishna in a public school and the seclusion and comparative loneliness in which Candrapida of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa³⁷ received his education. Nothing is known about the syllabus covered by the prince in his school. However, the reference to (Dharma) Śāstras,³⁸ economics,³⁹ politics,⁴⁰ ethics⁴¹ archery,⁴² mechanics,^{42a} knowledge of different poisons,⁴³ use of various weapons,^{43a} subjects contained in books dealing with horses, elephants, chariots (⁴⁴) etc., suggest that they might have formed the subjects of prince's tuition. The list of subjects given

29. Verse 34.

30. Cf. Sudāmā.

31. MBH I/129/42, I/130/8, 44.

32. *Ibid.*, I/131/4.

33. *Ibid.*, I/132/32.

34. *Ibid.*, I/131, 11, 30. The only exception to this rule is the presence of Karna in this school (*Ibid.*, I/131/11).

35. I/131/56-58.

36. *Ibid.*, I/131/60.

37. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa: Kādambarī (Tr. Bidding), p. 60.

38. Verse 34.

39. Verse 117.

40. cf. Nāgarikasutra in verse 122.

41. cf. the six qualities of a king, referred to in verse 21, one of which was mastery in ethics.

42. cf. reference to Dhanurvedasutra and Yantrasutra in verse 122.

43. cf. Verse 123.

44. cf. Verse 121.

LOKAPĀLASABHĀPARVA : A CRITICAL STUDY 7

by Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa for the education of Candrāpīda⁴⁵ though imposing is unconvincing. All of them could not have been covered by the pupil during his pupilship.

Even after attaining kingship the ruler was required to listen to the discourses of learned elderly persons; experts in religious lore and economics.⁴⁶ The king was expected to possess six qualities,⁽⁴⁷⁾ viz., oratory, capacity to talk without coming to point; mastery in logic, knowledge of history, foresight and mastery in ethics.⁽⁴⁸⁾ He was also to collect treatises dealing with elephants, horses, chariots,⁴⁹ archery, machines and political science.⁵⁰ He was to keep himself interested in all types of studies⁽⁵¹⁾ and give money to learned persons according to their merits.⁽⁵²⁾

Things king was expected to avoid :

The king was enjoined to avoid the following 14 vices,⁽⁵³⁾ viz., atheism falsehood, anger, pride, late doing of things, avoiding the company of learned persons, attachment to five sense organs, tendency to take decisions alone on State matters, advising with fools and those ignorant of practical politics, delay in starting actions already decided upon, failure to maintain the secrecy of state policy, failure to celebrate festivals and making war on all the enemies at the same time.^{53a} At another place the king is further enjoined to give up vices, viz., too much sleep, lethargy, fear anger, harshness and late doing of things.⁵⁴ The fact that the 7 vices,^{54a} viz., attachment to ladies,⁵⁵ drinking,⁵⁶ dice, hunting, severity in speech, extravagance, engagement in unjust gains, mentioned in Vidura Nīti,⁵⁷ are omitted here is very striking.

45. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-61.

46. Verse 117.

47. Verse 34.

48. MBH (Gita Press edi.), p. 677, n. 1.

49. Verse 121.

51. Verse 97.

50. Verse 122.

52. Verse 54.

53. Verses 108-10.

54. Verse 126.

54a. Märk, P., Vidura Nīti 33/91-92.

55. Vidura Nīti 33/91, 104.

56. *Ibid.*, 33/92; 34/43.

57. *Ibid.*, 33/91-92.

(iii) *King and Dharma :*

It was the duty of the king to practise Dharma.⁵⁸ However, he was neither to sacrifice money for Dharma nor sacrifice Dharma for money nor sacrifice both money and Dharma for enjoyments.⁵⁹ The practice of Dharma consisted in following the ancestral traditions, based on three Vedas⁶⁰ about the respective functions of Brahman, Kṣatriya and Sudra.⁶¹ The observance of ancestral traditions was incumbent on a king as it was regarded as a means of increase in age and fame and also for the attainment of Dharma, Artha and Kāma.⁶² The king was expected to respect the Pīpal tree, ascetics, gods and his own caste-fellows.⁶³ It was expected that he should trace out, praise and honour publicly his benefactors.⁶⁴

(iv) *King and Brahmins :*

The Khoh copper-plate of Mahārāja Hastin (475-76 A.D.) records that he was the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands; who was earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor, and (his) father and mother; was extremely devoted to the gods and Brahmins".⁶⁵ Similarly in LSP also, along with his devotion to gods,⁶⁶ the king was enjoined to serve Brahmins.⁶⁷ The Brahmins were to be paid after being fed in his own presence with delicious and nourishing food by the king.⁶⁸ Puṇḍarīka and Vājapeya sacrifices were to be performed by the king⁶⁹ with the help of learned, wise and simple-hearted Brahmins on suitable occasions suggested by

58. *Ibid.*, 34/28.

59. Verse 19.

60. Verse 98.

61. Verse 18. cf. Abhijñāna Śākuntala (Surat, 1950), V/II/6 and Fleet : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (1837), I/232.

62. Verse 103.

63. Verse 101.

64. Verse 120.

65. Fleet, *op.cit.*, I/97.

66. Verse 101.

67. Verse 97.

68. Verse 99.

69. Verse 100.

LOKAPĀLASABHĀPARVĀ: A CRITICAL STUDY 9

them⁽⁷⁰⁾ (cf. Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta⁽⁷¹⁾) because the fruition of the Vedic knowledge was believed to lie in sacrifices.⁷² The king was expected to give Brahmins grain, fruits and milk products for their religious rituals.⁷³ The king was also advised to get rid of mental distress by sharing the company of elder persons much in the same way as he relieved his physical ailments through medicine and dietic regulations.⁷⁴ The saints were to be honoured like Brahmins, as one's own ancestors.⁷⁵ Nārada Saṁhitā also enjoins upon the king to honour the aged and the wise.⁷⁶

(v) *Daily routine of king:*

The king was expected to engage in activities pertaining to Dharma, Artha, Kama at the time prescribed for them by the śāstras,⁷⁷ viz., to perform religious rituals in the morning, to look after monetary matters in noon and to enjoy in night.⁷⁸ After 3 hours past in night he was to sleep for 6 hours⁷⁹ and enjoy at will.⁸⁰ However, he was not to lock himself in enjoyment after receiving distressing news.⁸¹ He was not expected to sleep at any other time.⁸² He was to wake up three hours before daybreak and then meditate on important matters.⁸³ He was never to waste his pre-noon time in drinking, dice or the company of ladies.⁸⁴ This suggests that, contrary to the admonition of Vidura Nīti, at any other time the king could do all these three things. At noon the monetary matters were to be looked into by summoning into royal presence both the accountant and the cashier

70. Verse 41.

71. Fleet, *op. cit.* I/12-15.

72. Verse 113.

73. Verse, 118. See also Khoh ins. of Mahārāja Hastin.

74. Verse 90.

75. Verse 97.

76. Nārada Saṁhitā III/2/33.

77. Verse 20.

78. MBH, p. 676, n.1 (quotation from Daksasmṛiti is cited in its support in this note).

79. Verse 86.

80. Verse 17.

81. Verse 85.

82. Verse 29.

83. Verse 29, 86.

84. Verse 70.

with their registers.⁸⁵ As the daily routine of Candrāpīda suggests, the crown-prince waited upon the king at noon, possibly, to assist him in these matters.⁸⁶ Nothing is mentioned about the items which engaged the king in the evening and the first quarter of the night. It is worth noting that the division of time suggested here does not agree with that of the Arthaśāstra.⁸⁷

(vi) *Royal Court :*

After finishing his bath and other morning duties, the king, bedecked with fine clothes and ornaments, appeared in the court with his ministers.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Several warriors, clad in apparels and well ornamented, were to be present around the king with drawn swords.⁸⁹ People with auspicious articles were always to be at hand near the king.⁹⁰ The clothes, perfumery, etc., to be used by the king were to be guarded by dependable persons, along with eatables for the royal consumption.⁹¹ As Kālidāsa refers to king attending the court of justice early in the morning,⁹² it appears that one of the business transacted in the court was the administration of justice.

(vii) *Royal family :*

The king was to protect the ladies of the royal harem, satisfy them by consolidations and assurances but neither trust them completely nor disclose any secrets to them.⁹³ They were to be treated simply as useful objects for enjoyment and begetting sons.⁹⁴ However, the fact that these ladies and princes-royal were powerful enough to tyrannize over the people can be inferred from the admonition that the king was to see that they did not do so.⁹⁵

85. Verse 73.

86. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

87. Kauṭilya, *op.cit.*, Bk. II/19.

88. Verse 87.

89. Verse 88.

90. Verse 102.

91. Verse 67.

92. Śāk., VI/7/9-10.

93. Verse 84.

94. Verse 113.

95. Verse 77.

Ministers of State(i) *Qualifications :*

The ministers were regarded as one of the Prakṛti, i.e., elements of the state.⁹⁶ An elderly, dependable, pure-hearted, farsighted, descendent of a noble family, bearing love for the king was to be appointed as a minister.⁹⁷ He was to have keen memory, be brave, controlled in his senses, clever,^{98 & 99} without guile, follower of traditional policies and knower of the subtleties of time and place.¹⁰⁰ It was believed that the success of a king depended upon good advice which came from a good minister.¹⁰¹ The statement that a single capable minister could get unbounded wealth for his master or a prince¹⁰² suggests two things: (i) there were more than one minister, and (ii) sometimes ministers acted as regents for princes.

(ii) *Duties:—*

Ministers were expected to run the administration justly,¹⁰³ love their sovereign and be ever-ready to sacrifice their lives in the battlefield.¹⁰⁴ Unjust ministers, due to absence of the company of persons skilled in śāstras pocketed the wealth of honest persons by implicating them in false charges¹⁰⁵ and sometimes even inflicted death penalty on them to expropriate them of their riches.¹⁰⁶ This clearly corroborates the account of Dandin that some officers tried to grab the wealth of the accused by unfair means. And again, it is a clear evidence of the fact that ministers had judicial duties which empowered them to inflict capital punishment on the accused. It is reported that ministers received false complaints of theft from interested people against poor

96. Verse 23.

97. Verses 26-27.

98 & 99. Verse 37.

100. Verse 87.

101. Verse 27.

102. Verse 37.

103. Verse 45.

104. Verse 51.

105. Verse 105. cf. Dandin's account of Balabhadra and Ratnavali (Dasa-kumāracarita: Rider Tr., pp. 176-77).

106. Verse 105.

persons who grew rich in a short time.¹⁰⁷ This again is in agreement with the account in Sākuantla that the State had to undertake investigations into the incomes of the people.¹⁰⁸

Other Officers and Employee of the State

At one place fourteen officers are referred to,¹⁰⁹ viz., provincial governor, commandant of the fort, chariot-in-charge, elephant-in-charge, cavalry-in-charge, infantry-in-charge, 'adhikari'(?), harem-in-charge, grainery-in-charge, 'śāstri', record-keeper and 'asu'(?).¹¹⁰ At another place 18 'tirthas' of the state are mentioned.¹¹¹ They were chief minister, Purohita, crown-prince, commander-in-chief, minister-in-charge of expenditure, headguard, Kotwal, mason-in-chief, chief priest, master of ceremonies, bearer of royal sceptre, commandant of the fort, administrator of the frontier region and forest-in-charge.¹¹² Persons to guard the articles of the royal use,¹¹³ weapons-in-charge,¹¹⁴ accountant,¹¹⁵ spies,¹¹⁶ policemen,¹¹⁷ village 'pañcas',¹¹⁸ town 'pañcas',¹¹⁹ state physician¹²⁰ and royal astrologer¹²¹ are also mentioned. The state physician was to be an expert in Aṣṭāṅgacikitsā,¹²² viz., an expert in the examination of pulse, stool, urine, tongue, eyes, colour of the skin, voice and temperature.¹²³ The royal astrologer was to be deft in reading of palms and soles, in the movements of the stars and their effects and capable of foretelling the evils and the

107. Verse 107.

108. Śāk. VI/1/1ff.

109. Verse 21.

110. MBH, p. 677, n. 3.

111. Verse 38.

112. MBH, p. 678, n.e.

113. Verse 67.

114. Verse 68.

115. Verse 73.

116. Verse 38.

117. Verse 83.

118. Verse 81.

119. Verse 82.

120. Verse 91.

120. Verse 91.

122. Verse 42.

122. Verse 91.

123. MBH, p. 672, col. 2, note.

removal thereof.¹²⁴ The fact that the king is advised to bribe the officers of the enemy¹²⁵ required him to watch his own officers from receiving bribes.¹²⁶ No officer was to be allowed to become powerful enough to act according to his own will, disobey the royal commands, control the entire war potential personally direct all the affairs of war.¹²⁷

Service rules:—

The king was to assign important work to chief persons, medium grade of work to medium type of persons and low grade of work to low type of persons.¹²⁸ The servants were to be paid adequately in the form both of salary and food.¹²⁹ Their payments were not to be inordinately delayed because offended servants were regarded as a source of great harm.¹³⁰ Extra resourcefulness of a servant resulting in a better work entitled him to both extra payment and some special honour.¹³¹ Greedy, thieves, enemies and those devoid of practical sense were not to be appointed.¹³² The statement that state employee was to be dismissed only after proper scrutiny of his conduct¹³³ allows an inference that there was great security in the state service for the employees.

Administration

The word 'Prānta' is used once in this chapter,¹³⁴ 'Pora' also once¹³⁵ and 'Rāstra' twice.¹³⁶ This means that the state was called 'rāstra' which was divided into 'Prāntas' which had several 'Poras', i.e., cities. Village was the basic unit of administration and five brave, wise and skilled persons were appointed by the king to carry on the administration of the village in an efficient manner.¹³⁷

124. Verse 42.

125. Verse 60.

126. Verses 21, 39.

127. Verse 52.

128. Verses 43, 75.

129. Verse 49.

130. Verses 49-50.

131. Verse 53.

132. Verse 76.

133. Verse 74.

134. Verse 82.

135. Verse 94.

136. Verses 94, 104. Viduranīti refers to 'Rāstra' 3 times (ch. 33/43, 45; 37/30) and 'Rājya' 5 times (35/10, 11, 12, 27; 37/23).

137. Verse 81.

Similar arrangement was made for cities and border villages.¹³⁸ The police parties with army units visited accessible and inaccessible places in the kingdom to liquidate thieves and other anti-social elements.¹³⁹ It was a special responsibility of the king to protect the 'rāṣṭra', kingdom, from fire, snakes, epidemics, and 'rāksasas'.¹⁴⁰

Finance

(i) Income:—

There were eight recognized sources for augmenting the state income,¹⁴¹ viz., extension of agriculture, protection to trade, construction of bridges, capturing of elephants, working of mines, taxes and rehabilitation of deserted areas. In other words, the land revenue formed only a part of the state income.¹⁴² The interest on the loan advanced to agriculturists was another source of income.¹⁴³ So was, possibly, war booty.¹⁴⁴ That proceeds from state enterprises also profited the treasury can be inferred from the advice to the king to invest money in undertakings which cost less and promised good returns.¹⁴⁵ The taxes were called 'Śulka' and the tax-collectors were known as 'Śulkopagīvi'.¹⁴⁶ The king was not only to guard the traders from the capricious tax-collectors¹⁴⁷ but also was to guard himself against the tendency to over-tax the people because, like chaste ladies insulting adulous persons or pious beggars insulting sinful patrons, the subjects disrespected an over-taxing king.¹⁴⁸

(ii) Expenses:—

The maintenance of the king,¹⁴⁹ members of the royal, teachers, elders, traders, masons, poor persons in the state,¹⁵⁰ dependents

138. Verse 82.

139. Verse 83.

140. Verse 124.

141. Verse 22.

142. MBH, p. 677, n.4.

143. cf. Verse 79.

144. cf. Verse 65.

145. Verse 31.

146. Verse 115.

147. Verse 116.

148. Verse 46.

149. Verse 17.

150. Verse 72.

LOKAPĀLASABHĀPARVĀ: A CRITICAL STUDY 15

of persons who died or courted risk in the service of the king,¹⁵¹ blind, deaf, naimed, those without relatives, 'sanyāsins',¹⁵² stipends to scholars,¹⁵³ the 'Dakṣiṇā' to Brahmins¹⁵⁴ (cf. the Khoh inscription of Mahārāja Hastin¹⁵⁵ and the salary of the state servants were the charges upon the state treasury.¹⁵⁶ The Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta also affirms that miserable, poor, beggars, afflicted, etc., were supported by the state.¹⁵⁷ Charity also formed an appreciable item of expenditure as it is clearly laid down that fruition of money lay in both enjoyment and charity.¹⁵⁸ Construction of tanks¹⁵⁹ and bridges¹⁶⁰ was also another source of expenditure. It is clearly laid down that king was not to stop the stipends of state-dependents through greed or other base reasons.¹⁶¹ However, the entire expenditure was to be limited to $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the net income and never to exceed beyond $\frac{3}{4}$ of the state proceeds.¹⁶²

Agriculture and Trade

(i) Agriculture:—

It was the duty of the king to keep agriculturists satisfied.¹⁶³ For their benefit it was incumbent upon him to build tanks in all the parts of the state to prevent the destruction of the seeds i.e., crops of the agriculturists due to their abject dependence upon the vagaries of the monsoons.¹⁶⁴ In times of need each farmer was to be given some loan at 1% interest.¹⁶⁵ The state lands i.e., khālsā lands were to be cultivated by dependable, selfless and here-

- 151. Verse 55.
- 152. Verse 125.
- 153. Verse 54.
- 154. cf. Verse 99.
- 155. Fleet, *up.cit.*, I/97. See also Śāk. VI/1/8-9.
- 156. Verse 50.
- 157. Pub. Fleet, *op.cit.*, I/12ff.
- 158. Verse 113.
- 159. Verse 78.
- 160. The building of bridges was regarded as a means of increasing the state income (MBH, p. 677, n.4).
- 161. Verse 93.
- 162. Verse 71.
- 163. Verse 77.
- 164. Verse 78.
- 165. Verse 79.

ditary farm hands;¹⁶⁶ and this is a clear clue to infer that though theoretically the king might have been regarded as the lord of all land within his state in actuality his right extended to the khālsā lands only. In other words, the agriculturists were the owners, and not merely possessors, of their lands for all practical purposes. The king was required to look after the 'vārtā' within his state,¹⁶⁷ i.e., to look after agriculture, animal husbandry and trade.

(ii) Trade:—

The protection of trade was one of the chief recognized methods of increasing the state income and the king was required to pay great attention to trade along with agriculture and cattle-rearing. The traders were to be given money and grain¹⁶⁸ (in times of distress). Traders from distant lands¹⁶⁹ brought their wares for sale¹⁷⁰ and the king was required not only to protect them from capricious and avaricious officers¹⁷⁰ but also to see that these officers collected only just dues from the traders.¹⁷¹ These traders, like all other people within the state, were required to keep themselves free from vices and remain devoted to the king.¹⁷² Slaves also formed an article of trade and the king was advised to purchase a learned man against a thousand fools.¹⁷³

Masons and Labourers

The importance of masons can be judged from the fact that they formed an important part of the equipment of the fort¹⁷⁴ and that the mason-in-chief was one of the eighteen 'tīrthas' of the state.¹⁷⁵ It was one of the important duties of the king to patronize them by not only offering them wealth and grain¹⁷⁶ (in the times of distress) but also by assigning them work to keep

166. Verse 33.

167. Verse 80.

168. Verse 72.

169. Verse 115.

170. Verse 116.

171. Verse 115.

172. Verse 23.

173. Verse 35.

174. Verse 36.

175. MBH., p. 678, n.1.

176. Verse 72.

LOKAPĀLASABHĀPARVĀ: A CRITICAL STUDY 17

them engaged at least during the whole period of monsoons.¹⁷⁷ This agrees with the statement in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta that the state patronized art.¹⁷⁸ The state was also required to keep a special watch on the labourers in the state and never distrust them because the progress and richness of a state depended mainly on their co-operation.¹⁷⁹

Army

(i) Composition:

The army was called 'Bala'¹⁸⁰ and the commander-in-chief was called 'Senāpati'.¹⁸¹ The army was composed of four 'balas',¹⁸² i.e., units or wings, viz., infantry, cavalry, elephant corps and chariot corps. Each of these wings was further divided into groups and each such group was placed under a group leader.¹⁸³ That the army was not merely a military tool but was also a moral instrument is noticeable from two facts; firstly the person at its command, i.e., Senāpati, was not only to be brave and courageous but also wise, patient, pure, Kulīna (i.e., one coming from a respectable family), dexterous and joyful;¹⁸⁴ and secondly, the prominent warriors of the army were trained, along with the princes-royal, by persons deft in Dharma and Śāstras.¹⁸⁵ The army establishments consisted of 8 'aṅgas',¹⁸⁶ i.e., organs or component units, viz., cashier, store-keeper, physician, spies, 'Pācaka' (?), servants, clerks and guards.¹⁸⁷

(ii) Forts:—

The construction and protection of forts was one of the chief recognized method of increasing the income of the state¹⁸⁸ and

177. Verse 19.

177. Verse 119.

178. See note 155 above.

179. Verse 32.

180. Verses 48, 49, 60, 64, 94.

181. Verse 47.

182. Verse 64.

183. Verse 48.

184. Verse 47.

185. cf. verse 34.

186. Verse 64.

187. MBH, p. 680.

188. cf. *Ibid.*, p. 677, n.4.

the commandant of the fort was included amongst the seven elements¹⁸⁹ and the eighteen 'tīrthas' of the state.¹⁹⁰ However, nothing is known about the description of the place regarded topographically suitable for the construction of forts. The king was enjoined to see that the forts were full of wealth, grains, weapons, water reservoirs, defensive and offensive machines, mason and archers.¹⁹¹

(iii) War. —

The king was advised to fight his enemies one by one and not to wage war on all of them together at the same time.¹⁹² Before commencing hostilities the king was, firstly, to secure his own kingdom against the enemy activities and, secondly, to use 'sāma', 'dāma', 'daṇḍa' and 'bheda' policies towards the enemies to prevent them from forming a general coalition against him. The principal warriors of the opposite camp were to be bribed and won over.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, the greedy but unpaid, egoistic but insulted, provokable and provoked, coward and terrified members of the enemy army were also to be won over.¹⁹⁵ At a suitable time the soldiers were to be paid in advance before the war.¹⁹⁶ The hostilities were to be commenced when unfavourable symptoms afflicted the enemy. These symptoms were of two types: (i) Human and (ii) Divine. The human symptoms arose out of fools, thieves, enemies, people dear to the king and from subjects terrified by the greed of their sovereign. The divine symptoms were fire, flood, disease, famine and epidemics.¹⁹⁷ The attack was to be delivered after seducing the loyalty of the subjects of the enemy¹⁹⁸ either at the time of famine or harvesting season.¹⁹⁹

189. cf. *ibid.*, p. 678, n.5.

190. cf. *ibid.*, p. 678, n.1.

191. Verse 36.

192. cf. verse 109.

193. Verse 62.

194. Verse 60.

195. cf. MBH, p. 680, n.3.

196. Verse 59.

197. cf. MBH, p. 680, n.3.

198. cf. verse 66.

199. Verse 65. cf. Mārkaṇḍeya, P., 27/18

(iv) Field Strategy—

In the battlefield the army was to be arranged on principle of 'twelve groups'.²⁰⁰ The army units were to be dispersed in the following manner: before the king there were two batches of the enemy of the enemy, two batches of the friends of the enemy of the enemy, two batches of the friends of the friends of the enemy of the enemy. These six batches were called 'Vijigīṣu'. Just behind 'Vijigīṣu' two batches were stationed: one of them was called 'Pārṣnigrāha' which protected the back of the front six-group formation and the other one was called 'Ākranda' which encouraged them to fight well. 'Ākranda' and 'Pārṣnigrāha' were supported by two batches—one for each—and were called 'Āsāra', one at the flank of 'Vijigīṣu' and other at the extreme and thus two units were posted and were called 'Madhyama' and 'Udāsīna' respectively. All these units numbered 12 and this whole unit was called Pārṣnimūla²⁰⁰ As for making war, so also for making peace, king was to wait for suitable occasion.²⁰¹

Dealings with enemy and neighbour States

A king had to take two lines of action while dealing with his enemies: (a) to guard his own secrets and (b) to weaken and eliminate the enemy. As the king was advised not to decide state matters himself,²⁰² similarly he was asked not to advise with too many persons to keep the decisions secret and prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy²⁰³ before their purpose was served.²⁰⁴ He had to watch his own ministers and foil the attempt of the enemy agents to obtain the state secrets through them.²⁰⁵

The king was always to strive to make himself endeared to the neighbouring potentates.²⁰⁶ The friends, neutrals and ene-

200. cf. MBH, p. 680, n.1.

200a. cf. verse 59.

201. Verse 30, 108.

202. Verse 30. See also Mārkaṇḍeya, P., 27/6.

203. Verse 30. See also Mārkaṇḍeya, P., 27/6.

204. Verse 34.

205. Verse 24. See also Mārkaṇḍeya, P., 27/7.

206. Verse 96.

mies were to be treated by the king according to their merits.²⁰⁷ Without the knowledge of the enemy and with great caution and industry the king was to watch all the moves of his enemies.²⁰⁸ The 18 'tirthas' of the enemy state were always to be watched upon through spies.²⁰⁹ The king who had controlled his own senses was alone regarded capable of undertaking subjugation of his enemy who was a slave to his own senses.²¹⁰ An enemy once weakened was never to be allowed to regain his former power either through diplomacy or military action or both.²¹¹ Even the use of poison was allowed to extirpate the enemy.²¹² An enemy who sought refuge with the king due to fear or loss of wealth or defeat was to be protected like one's own son.²¹³ This advice directly contradicts the advice of Vidura to Dhṛtarāstra that the enemy once under control was never to be spared alive.²¹⁴ And again, this reflects the practice of Samudragupta who during his southern march, subdued his enemies but did not extirpate them.

Justice

It is clearly stated that thieves, the greedy, princes and ladies of the royal family troubled people.²¹⁵ It was suspected that bribe induced police to let off thieves, caught red handed with stolen articles.²¹⁶ Even innocent persons after their release offered bribe to officers.^{216a} State officials implicated honest persons in theft charges for their money and sometimes inflicted capital punishment on them for this end.²¹⁷ Officers were addicted to drinking.^{217a} False complaints alleging theft were lodged by interested persons against honest persons who grew out into riches from

207. Verse 25.

208. Verse 39.

209. Verse 38.

210. Verse 61.

211. Verse 95.

212. Verse 95.

213. Verse 56.

214. MBH, V/38/29.

215. Verse 77. See also Śāk. VI/1/27-28.

216. Verse 106.

216a. Śāk. VI/1/60-61.

217. Verse 105.

217a. Śāk. VI/1/65-66.

LOKAPĀLASABHĀPARVĀ: A CRITICAL STUDY 21

poverty in short time.²¹⁸ The king was advised to act like 'Yama-rāja' with the guilty,²¹⁹ i.e., to act most impartially and dispense evenhanded justice.^{219a} The punishment was to rest on the sanctions of the Vedas²²⁰ and the king was not to irritate his subjects by harsh punishments.²²¹

King and his Subjects

The behaviour of the king with his subjects was to be intimate and indiscriminatory so that the latter may trust him as their father and mother.²²² He was not to cause anger or sorrow to any one.²²³ The persons coming to seek favour or petitioning against the forfeiture of their stipends were not to be disregarded by the king.²²⁴ He was expected to be specially vigilant to foil the attempt of his enemies to bribe his subjects into a hostile combination against their sovereign.²²⁵ The conclusion amounts to the advice of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa that a king should secretly watch over his ministers, family-members and subjects through spies²²⁶

R

954.05

T73J

V.37, 38, 39

- 218. Verse 107.
- 219. Verse 89.
- 219a. Mārkaṇḍeya P., 27/24.
- 220. Verse 123.
- 221. Verse 45.
- 222. Verse 57.
- 223. Verse 102.
- 224. Verse 92.
- 225. Verse 94.
- 226. Mārkaṇḍeya P., 27/26.



The International Extensions of Political Conspiracy as Illustrated by the Ghadr Party

BY

JOHN W. SPELLMAN

One of the striking features of the Indian independence movement was the prevalence of terrorist conspiracies. This was certainly not a new weapon in the arsenal of political revolutionary methods. The American, French, Irish, Russian—indeed practically all violent revolutions have used this technique in varying degrees. However I think that India gives us the first major example of what has now become practically a *sine qua non* of revolutions—international conspiracy. Hitherto, the existence of terrorist conspiracies has not assumed either the importance or the extensions in political theory that it has since.

In India, both religious objectives and political aspirations combined with various other factors to produce these movements. One suspects, however, that in many cases, religion was a disguise calculated to recruit members for the more naked political goals.

It was in the Poona district of the presidency of Bombay that terrorism had its first well-defined beginnings. Ganapati and Sivaji festivals had been partially responsible for the great Bombay riot of 1893 between the Hindus and Muslims. This was not without political overtones. Balgangadhar Tilak, a Maratha Brahman, had found in Sivaji a historical figure who had defended Hinduism from a foreign power—the Muslims. The analogy was clear enough. Just as Sivaji had defended Hinduism from foreigners (Muslims) in his day, so too would earnest Hindus defend Hinduism from foreigners (English) in the present day. Damodar and Balakrishna Chapekar, two Chitpavan Brahman brothers, founded "The Society for the Removal of Obstacles to the Hindu Religion" in order to give military training to Hindus.

In 1897, there was a violent outbreak of plague in Poona. Among the measures introduced by the government to deal with the plague was a system of house to house visitations and the

compulsory evacuation of plague-infested houses.¹ These regulations undoubtedly imposed hardships on many people and in his newspaper, *Kesari*, Tilak made a number of accusations against the government and, in particular, Mr. Rand, the Plague Commissioner. His campaign was violent and inflammatory. Intense alarm and resentment grew steadily and Mr. Rand, together with a British officer who happened to be in the carriage following, was murdered in the streets of Poona.² Tilak, who had advocated political violence, was sentenced to imprisonment for printing seditious matter and the murderer and his accomplices were executed, but two brothers who gave information which led to the arrest of the assassins were subsequently murdered, and the life of a police officer who took part in the investigation was unsuccessfully attempted.³

There was a general lull in extreme political activities until about 1905 when Shyamaji Krishnavarma, also a Bombay man, a graduate of Balliol and a barrister, went to London where he founded the India Home Rule Society and became its President. In his paper, *The Indian Sociologist*, he openly advocated assassination as a political weapon. Close liaison was maintained with the secret society in Nasik founded by Ganesh Savarkar and plotting began. Krishnavarma offered scholarships to Indian students going to India and Vinayak Savarkar, a graduate of Bombay University became one of his recruits. In 1899, Savarkar brothers were leaders of the Mitra-mela, a society started in that year for the purpose of celebrating Ganapati festivals. In 1906, Krishnavarma opened the "India House" which became the London centre for terrorist conspiracies.

Lectures were delivered on the construction of bombs and by the use of this information Sir William Curzon-Wyllie was murdered in London by Madan Lal Dhingra, a young Punjabi member of the organization, who was later executed. Krishnavarma stated that he regarded the youth as a martyr for Indian Independence. Meanwhile, Ganesh was tried for sedition in India by Mr. Jackson,

1. *Terrorism in India*—an address by Sir Charles Tegart from United Empire Journal, Vol. xxiii, London, 1932, p. 660.
2. *Idem*.
3. *India As I Know It, 1885-1925*, Michael O'Dwyer, London, 1925 p. 129.

District Magistrate of Nasik. Shortly after the trial, Jackson attended a farewell party given in his honour, and farewell it was, since he too was assassinated.

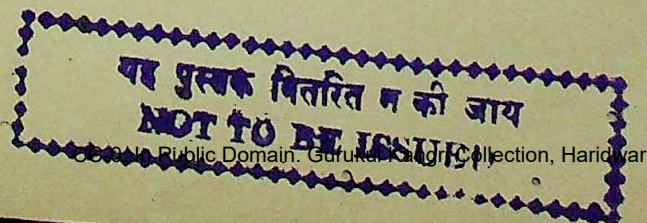
Suspensions were quite naturally aroused in London authorities after such events and *The Indian Sociologist* became proscribed literature. Krishnavarma moved to Paris and began to renew operations there. Two other members went to Pondicherry where they issued a revolutionary journal and the result of one of their terrorist plots was the murder of Mr. Ash, District Magistrate of Tinnevely, Madras. Several copies of manuals for the preparation of bombs and explosives were found by the police in various searches in India. During the investigation of Jackson's murder, the Nasik conspiracy revealed thirty-eight terrorists while a link established between the Nava Bharat Society and the Abhinava Bharat Society in Gwalior produced forty-one more.⁴ Other political assassinations took place and in 1909, in what was known as the Ahmadabad Bomb Case, the lives of Lord and Lady Minto were threatened.

But why this particular method? Not all the officials whose lives were either taken or attempted were disliked, even by the assassins themselves. A partial answer can probably be seen in a pamphlet found on a member of the India House group who arrived in Bombay in 1910.

Terrorize the officials, English and Indian, and the collapse of the whole machinery of oppression is not very far....this campaign of separate assassinations is the best conceivable method of paralysing the bureaucracy and arousing the people.

Bengal is a special case and, although terrorism and secret conspiracies here reached one of the highest peaks anywhere in India and even penetrated the Congress machinery, the systems of organization and political objectives were virtually the same as elsewhere—even if more centralized and efficient. Terrorist leaders themselves have published various records of the activities in Bengal. Because it is less well known, our attention will therefore be focused on the activities of the Ghadr party with special

4. *The Indian Political Craze*, K. Gopalakrishna Choudari, Bezvada, 1922, p. 20.



reference to the international implications of terrorist conspiracies as illustrated by this group.

The exact details of Ghadr activities in India itself are still under a cloud of official secrecy in terms of British documents. It may be that the party was in existence in India in 1907, although we have no concrete evidence to prove this point. In that year, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, then Lieutenant-Governor, stated that in the Punjab, "Everywhere people were sensible of a change, of a 'new air' which was blowing through men's minds, and were waiting to see what would come of it." "The new ideas", he said, "were confined to the educated classes, and among them, in the main, to the pleaders, clerks and students". He emphasized that the situation was "exceedingly dangerous and urgently demanding remedy". But probably this situation was more the result of factors such as the Arya Samaj and Lala Lajpat Rai than of Ghadr forces.

The Calendar of the University of the Punjab records that in 1905, Har Dayal, M.A., of Government College, Lahore, was awarded a scholarship of £250 for three years. With this state scholarship, he entered St. John's College, Oxford, and after being there a short time, resigned his scholarship as a protest against the British government. At the invitation of Krishnavarma, he left London for Paris about September 1909 and became editor of *Bande Mataram*, a monthly organ of Indian independence, published nominally from Geneva.⁵ He became dissatisfied with this arrangement and left Paris in September, 1910. After travelling through Honolulu, Martinique and the Philippines, he settled in California in 1911. Upon his arrival there, Har Dayal received an appointment as lecturer in Sanskrit and Hindu Philosophy at Stanford University and held that position from the Autumn of 1911 until the Spring of 1912. He was then asked to resign although the details of his trouble are not known.⁶ He was an anarchist who believed in revolution, not only in India, but revolution everywhere. He became secretary of the San Francisco Radical Club and founder of the Bakunin Institute of California.⁷

5. *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, Indulal Yajnik, Bombay, 1950, p. 274.

6. *The Hindu Conspiracy, 1914-1917*, Pacific Historical Review XVII, 1948, Giles T. Brown. p. 300. Brown suggests it was for 'overplaying his relationship to the University'.

7. Yajnik, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

After his resignation, he was able to devote more time to organizing revolutionary movements in the United States. In the Spring of 1913, he presided over the organizational meeting of the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association. The avowed purpose of this meeting in Oregon was to drive the British out of India, and in pursuance of this objective, to establish a press in San Francisco—to be called Ghadr—and send literature and a paper all over the world. Every Indian in the United States was asked to give the names and addresses of friends and relatives living in India to compile a mailing list.⁸ The first issue of the *Ghadr* paper shouted:

- A new epoch in the history of India opens today, the first November, 1913, because today there begins in foreign lands, but in our country's language, a war against the English Raj. What is our name? Mutiny. What is our work? Mutiny. Where will the mutiny break out? In India. When? In a few years. Why? Because the people can no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practised under British rule, and are ready to fight and die for freedom. . . . time is gliding on. . . . The whole world is waiting to see when these brave men will rise and destroy the English. Serve your country with body, mind and wealth. Give this advice to all, and follow it yourselves. The time is soon to come when rifle and blood will take the place of pen and ink. Pray for this rising, talk, dream, earn money, eat for it alone, make soldiers of yourselves for its sake. . . .⁹

There were about eight thousand Indians on the Pacific coast at that time and it was not long before practically every Indian in America became associated with this organization in one way or another.¹⁰ A fairly wealthy Sikh, Jawalla Singh, established scholarships to bring Indian students to the United States for 'education' and then to return to India for work against the British. The practice of entering a country as a student in order to pursue revo-

8. *United States fo America vs. Franz Bopp et. al.* Reporters Court Transcript (Mss) Vols. 1-40, 60-75, p. 1222 ff.
9. *Ibid.* 13. *The Seventh Report on Un-American Activities in California—1953*, translates Ghadr (Gardar) as traitor, but this is clearly incorrect as a glance at *Platts Hindustani Dictionary*, p. 769 will show. Most of this report is very unreliable anyway, although it does show how low scholarship can go.
10. *Ibid.* p. 1562.

lutionary activities seems to have been an effective system for many such organizations.

But Har Dayal was not to remain very active much longer. Yajnik, the biographer of Krishnavarma, says of Har Dayal, "While his open and often indiscreet political propaganda remained unchallenged by the American authorities, already very friendly to the British government, his dissertations on his new social philosophy and particularly on free love led to his arrest on the 15th April, 1914".^{10a} This hardly seems likely in view of the evidence that he was arrested on March 16, 1914, by the Immigration authorities of the Department of Labour as an anarchist with a view to being tried for deportation.¹¹ He was released on bond and, according to the court records, fled from the United States in March, 1914 (rather than April, as Yajnik suggests) directly to Switzerland.¹² His full name, Har Dayal Mathur, provided the alias of 'Matthews' that he sometimes used, although his other alias of 'Israel Aaronson' is less easy to trace.¹³

The Ghadr Yuganter Asram had been founded by Har Dayal before he forfeited bond and this took its name from a group in Calcutta whose literature had been proscribed by the British. Yuganter means change of time or evolution, and it was here at 1017 Valencia Street in Sanfrancisco that the Ghadr party really made its start. Ram Chandra, who had been Har Dayal's chief aid, became the leader of the Ghadr staff, with Munshi Ram, Godha Ram, Sundar Singh Galli, Gopal Singh, G. B. Lal and Naranjan Das as the other staff members.¹⁴ Travelling secretaries and travelling presidents were collecting agents in various towns, the duties of whom were to preach to the people, collect money and send it to the Asram. Meetings were held at Sacramento, Oxnard, Fresno, and many other places in California as well as throughout the entire West Coast. These meetings had an average attendance of 400 to 500 people, and when at Fresno, Ram Chandra

10a. Yajnik. *Op. Cit.*, 316.

11. Court, *Op. Cit.*, 13.

12. *Idem.* See also *Propaganda of the Gadar Party*, Mark Naidis, *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XX, No. 3, August, 1951, p. 252.

13. Court, *Op. Cit.*, 1336.

14. *Ibid.*, 994 ff.

CONSPIRACY BY THE GHADR PARTY

29

shouted to the crowd, "Go on, my brothers, this is the chance for you. Give all your money to me in the Asram and you go to India and fight and go to jail there," \$800 was collected.¹⁵

These returning immigrants to India had set policies to follow, most of which were on the lines of other secret societies already in operation. Har Dayal had already set up some rules for the Ghadr group in California, among which were that no one could become a member of the Ghadr Party unless he was recommended by one or two members of the Ghadr staff. Anyone working less than six months in the Asram could not be told confidential matters relating to the business of the group. Anyone who exposed these secrets or confiscated money was to be killed. Both sexes were allowed as members, but no marriages were to be performed by any authority. (Har Dayal's belief in free love.) The managing committee were to go outside, plead the cause to the people and collect money. Mail was not to be opened by anyone other than the secretary or editor.¹⁶

Principles of other revolutionary groups were illustrated by a document found in Calcutta which stated,

The history of the Russian revolutionary movement shows that those who organize the masses for a revolutionary outbreak ought to keep in mind the following principles:—(1) A solid organization of all revolutionary elements of the country, allowing the concentration of all forces of the party where they are most necessary. (2) A strict division of different branches or departments, i.e., persons working in one department ought not even to know that which is done in any other and in no case should one control the direction of two branches. (3) A severe discipline, especially in certain branches, (military and terroristic) even of complete self-sacrificing members. (4) A strict keeping of secrecy. (5) A skilful use of conspiring means, i.e., paroles, ciphers, etc. (6) A gradual developing of the action, i.e., the party ought not at the beginning to grasp all branches, but to work gradually; for instance—
(a) organization of a nucleus recruited among educated people,
(b) spreading ideas among the masses through the nucleus,
(c) organization of technical means (military and terroristic),
(d) agitation and (e) rebellion.¹⁷

15. *Ibid.*, 1063.

16. *Ibid.*, 1007 ff.

17. *Sedition Committee Report, 1918*, A. T. Rowlatt, Calcutta, 1918, p. 96.

What were the methods of recruitment used by these groups? A pamphlet of an organization called the "Indian Liberating League" gives some of these in detail. Under a section titled 'Different processes and places of recruiting', the pamphlet lists the following:—by public oration, by press publication and by individual coaching. This might be done in schools and colleges, places of public amusement, hostels, theatres, family ceremonies and the like. The type of recruits desired is listed in order as, first, boys before they reach maturity. Second, youths before their marriage. Third, married young men. Fourth, aged and worldly men. One should try to enlist, (again in order of preference) students, young men who will venture anything, even at the risk of their own lives, those who will help with money only, and those who have genuine sympathy only. All these groups should be classified into various circles.¹⁸

The Ghadr party tried to follow these methods as far as possible. Cipher codes were used frequently. Various members would each have a particular book and would correspond by referring to a certain page, line and word number in that book. Written signs had to be duplicated upon recognition by a confidant. Passwords were used, such as, 'The English are good and the Germans are bad' to which the reply was, 'The Germans are good and the English are bad'. A system of pre-arranged numbers used to designate certain materials were used in telegraphic communications. For example, 22, 23, 26, 27, 34 (Friend third) 36, (White Land) would mean, according to the code of the Ghadr party, Brownings, Browning ammunition, Rifles and Rifle ammunition are being sent by the Germans to the Punjab.¹⁹

In the early part of 1914, Tarakanath Das, an associate of Har Dayal, had been distributing in the United States and Canada, copies of Russian Anarchist bomb manuals which he had obtained through Surendra Nath Kar and Harnam Singh of Victoria and, which they in turn, had received from the chemist Surendra Mohan Bose, a revolutionary in Paris.²⁰ "The aim of the present work", runs the opening sentence, "is to place in the hands of a revolu-

18. *Ibid.*, 117.

19. Court, *Op. Cit.*, 341, ff.

20. *Ibid.*, 7009.

tionary people such a powerful weapon as explosive matter". The book illustrated and suggested methods of preparation of explosive material, bomb shells, and the relative advantages of each. Attention is directed to the methods of preparing explosives with the minimum danger to the manufacturer. There is ample evidence that this manual and others like it circulated throughout the Ghadr movement and that effective use was made of its contents.²¹

The declaration of war by Great Britain on Germany, on August 4, 1914, made an immediate difference in the work of the Ghadr party. As Ram Chandra said, "We don't need to beg our countrymen, these labourers, because I have a good treasurer and I can get as much money as I want from the Germans. They are supplying all the money we need nowadays."²² This is not to say that the party had been ineffective previously. In December 1912, when Lord Hardinge's life had been attempted and one of his attendants killed, the Rowlatt Commission suggested that the evidence seemed to implicate the Ghadr party.²³ In the summer of 1913, three Sikh members had gone from Canada to the Punjab in order to arouse public opinion against what were considered as the injustices of Canadian immigration laws, but it was felt that these were advance agents of the Ghadr movement.²⁴ In any case, after warnings by the government officials, they returned to Canada in 1914.

. With the outbreak of the war, at least five men went to Berlin and under the general supervision of Zimmermann, Foreign Minister, and Von Weisendonk, Secretary in charge of the Indian section of the Foreign Office, formed the Berlin India Committee which included, among others, Har Dayal, Barkatullah, Bhagwan Singh, Pillai and Taraknath Das as members. A rebellion in India would have not only forced British troops to India in order to quell it, but would have also prevented Indian regiments from joining the British Expeditionary Force in France. Both Bhagawan Singh and Barkatullah, formerly a professor at Tokyo University, had left Japan and conspiracies there in May, 1914 in order to help Ram Chandra in California.

21. *Ibid.*, 6438, ff.

22. *Ibid.*, 1021.

23. Rowlatt, *Op. Cit.*, 143.

24. O'Dwyer, *Op. Cit.*, 191.

A number of meetings had been held and the Asram on Hill Street and the printing press on Valencia Street were both busy. The staff lived at the Asram and received food and two dollars per month. Publications were issued in Urdu for the most part, of which twenty-five hundred copies per week was the usual number distributed through the mails to all parts of the world. Papers were also printed in the Gurmukhi and Nagari scripts and in various other languages of North India.²⁵ After meetings, money was collected and this often amounted from five hundred to one thousand dollars, although thousands more came from Canada and other places outside California. Then those who wished to return to India and fight, went into a separate room and signed up. Thus, the beginning of the war found the Ghadr party fairly well established, not only in America, but as we shall see, in Europe and Asia as well.

During the Autumn of 1914, the passenger slips show that various groups of Indians left America from time to time. On August 29, 1914, the *Korea* sailed with 62; on September 5, the *Siberia* sailed with 2 Hindus; on September 12, the *Chinyo Maru* left with 3; on September 19, the *China* sailed with 11; on September 26, the *Manchuria* with 24; on October 21, the *Tenyo Maru* with 109; on October 24, the *Mongolia* with 141 and on October 31, the *Shinyo Maru* left with 6 more.

But it is not to be supposed that the number²⁶ sailing as indicated on the passenger slips constituted the total number of Indians returning to India. We have seen that on August 29, the *Korea* sailed out of San Francisco with 62 Indians on board. 61 of whom were Ghadr members. This ship was to sail to Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, Manila, Hong Kong, Singapore and then to Calcutta. Recruits were taken on at these intermediate places and a total party of over three-hundred arrived at Hong Kong. Here they learned that regulations forbade more than twenty persons going to India on any one ship. They managed, however, to get permission from the Hong Kong authorities to get their own ships and the *Tosha Maru* and *Shinyo Maru* were accordingly outfitted—over two hundred Indians being on the former and one-

25. Court, *Op. Cit.*, 997, ff

26. *Ibid.*, 6437.

hundred and sixty-three on the latter. Once aboard, they began organizing themselves for work in India. There were three top leaders, under whom were ten or so lesser leaders each having ten or twelve men under him. Some were assigned to print and distribute more literature. The general policy was to instruct men to attack police stations, obtain arms, seduce troops, disrupt post office arrangements, telegraphs or any other government services of a public nature, break open jails, free the prisoners and kill government officials while obtaining recruits along the way. Traitors to the cause were also to be killed.²⁷ The Government, however, was informed that this ship was on its way to Calcutta and that a rebellion was being planned. Police and soldiers surrounded the ship before it even landed. Of those cases investigated by the government, one hundred were imprisoned, six hanged, two convicted in conspiracy cases, six more were later arrested, two of the leaders having turned approvers. The rest, however, divided into the prearranged groups and went to the Punjab to continue their work.²⁸

One of the most notable incidents involving the Ghadr movement was the riot at Budge-Budge on September 19, 1914. Gurdit Singh, a Sikh from Amritsar, who had emigrated to Singapore fifteen years before, managed through a German agent at Hong Kong, to charter a Japanese ship, the *Komagata Maru*, in order to transport Indians from Hong Kong, Shanghai, Moji and Yokahama to Canada, where wages were higher. There were about four thousand Indians in Canada at this time, most of whom were from the Punjab and members of the Ghadr party, although there were also many loyal to the British Government. Only a few of the passengers on board had complied with the Canadian immigration laws, but notwithstanding this, Singh told his recruits that if they were denied admission into Canada, they would return to India and expel the British, the British being held responsible for the Canadian laws. A goodly supply of Ghadr literature was on board and this, no doubt, kept the passengers in the proper spirit should a return to India be needed. The Canadian Government, because immigration papers were not in order, refused landing to all but

27. *Ibid.*, 1245, ff.

28. Rowlatt, *Op. Cit.*, 150.

a few. But those on board decided to remain anyway and when police came, managed to defeat the authorities in a gun-fight. A government ship prepared for an attack and on July 23, without further fight, the *Komagata Maru* left with the passengers feeling that the British had discriminated against them because they were Indians. Since war broke out on the return voyage, the ship was not allowed to dock at Hong Kong or Singapore and those who did not want to return to India were now forced to do so because of circumstances.

They arrived at the mouth of the Hoogly River on September 27, and finally docked at Budge-Budge. The Government had been informed that Gurdit Singh and his followers were in a bad mood and they certainly were. A special train (as well as a body of police escorts) greeted them and was prepared to take the passengers to the Punjab. This offer was rejected and a march on Calcutta was prepared instead. The police attempted to turn them back and a riot occurred in which members of both sides were killed—the police losing eighteen.²⁹ This action by the government, quite naturally, suggested to the Sikhs in the Punjab and in other parts of the world, that the British were being oppressive. The final months of 1914 in the Punjab were filled with terrorism committed largely by the Ghadr movement, and although they concentrated a great deal on the seduction of troops from the army, they met with no great success.³⁰

One more shipping expedition will serve to show the extensions of this international conspiracy. We have seen that the German Foreign Office took a keen interest in the activities of the Ghadr movement and had not only set up its own committee in Berlin, but was largely financing the American (and, as I will later show, European and Asiatic) branches as well.

A coded cable was sent on December 27, 1914 by Zimmerman to Count Von Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States, which read:—

A confidential agent of the Berlin Committee, Heramba Lal Gupta, is shortly leaving for America in order to organize the importation of arms and the conveyance of Indians (plot-

29. *Ibid.*, 148.

30. Teggart, *Op. Cit.*, 661.

CONSPIRACY BY THE GHADR PARTY

35

ters) now resident in the United States to India. He is provided with definite instructions. You should place at his disposal the sum he requires for this purpose in America, at Shanghai and Batavia, viz. 150,000 marks...

A following cable directed Bernstorff to "Take steps to have such Indians as are suitable for this purpose instructed in the use of explosives by some reliable person".³¹

Through Von Papen, German military attaché, ten car-loads of freight containing eight thousand rifles and four million cartridges were ready in January, 1915. Two ships were then bought by the Ghadr party with German money, the *Annie Larsen* from Martinez and Company in San Diego and the *Maverick*, an oil tanker from one of the Standard oil Companies. The total cost of this to the German Government was \$212,853.³² The arms were loaded on the *Annie Larsen* and on March 8, 1915, she sailed ostensibly for a Mexican port, but in fact to the Island of Socorro in the South Seas where she was to meet the *Maverick* and there transfer the munitions to the oil tanks of that ship as a precaution should the *Maverick* later be searched on her way to the coast of India. Near Karachi, she was to be met by fishing boats which were to land the arms and a huge supply of literature written by Ram Chandra and other members of the Ghadr staff.³³

When the *Annie Larsen* reached Socorro, there were no signs of the *Maverick*. A whole month passed and still no ship. The *Annie Larsen* had exhausted her supply of fresh water and attempts to strike a well proved futile. The Island was infested with mosquitoes, and, the captain, with not much in the way of provisions or comforts and suffering from the hardships imposed by the inhospitable climate, decided to sail for Mexico. Ironically enough, the *Maverick* docked at the Island a few days later. Instead of being greeted by the *Annie Larsen*, however, a British warship was there and sent aboard a searching party. Before the search, the crew managed to burn five suit-cases full of Ghadr literature. Among those things burned were Ghadr newspapers, copies of an article on India by William Jennings Bryan, an American presiden-

31. *The Enemy Within*, Henry Landau, New York, 1937, 29 ff.

32. Court, *Op. Cit.*, 6558.

33. Landau, *Op. Cit.*, 30.

tial candidate, Ghadr di Gunj, a book of revolutionary poems and songs, and copies of Fatwas, declarations of a holy way by Muslims. The *Annie Larsen* was later seized by American officials at Washington and the *Maverick* had to be sold at a considerable loss at Batavia, Java.

Once again, Ghadr and German plans ended in a fiasco. But it would appear that had the *Maverick* made a successful journey, the consequences for Britain might have been serious. In Bengal alone, we are told, ten thousand volunteers were prepared for a revolution under the direction of a council of six leaders. Arrangements had also been made in Bombay, Madras, Karachi, and presumably the Punjab itself.³⁴ It is not impossible that such numbers may be an exaggeration since revolutionists tend to magnify the importance and size of their conspiracies and some evidence of the terrorists themselves does not measure up to the few available British documents. But this is not to suggest that the government felt the threat negligible. The Rowlatt Commission put it this way:—

The records before us conclusively prove that the revolutionary organizations are secret organizations and conspiracies which have spread into different parts of the province, entered homes, schools and colleges, and have reduced their secrecy of operations almost to scientific methods. They have pledged their members to the closest secrecy of their movements on pain of instant death by murder in the event of disclosure. That is one of their rules and every attempt has been made to give effect to it.³⁵

But the failure of the *Maverick* expedition was only a temporary set back. In October, 1915, we find Har Dayal writing to New York members asking for Anarchists or I.W.W.'s to go to Holland, where a centre had been organized in Amsterdam. He also wished to contact prominent anarchists in Spain, Denmark, France, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria and other European countries.³⁶

A sub-committee had been formed in Constantinople under an Egyptian conspirator, Farid Bey. Plans were formulated whereby

34. Court, *Op. Cit.*, 220, ff.

35. Rowlatt, *Op. Cit.*, 7.

36. Court, *Op. Cit.*, 1336, ff.

it was intended to seize the Suez canal and to go down through Persia and Afghanistan to the Western border of India and attack from that side.³⁷ As far back as November 16, 1914, it was reported that a Fatwa printed by the San Francisco Ghadr party for a "decree for a Holy War (Jihad) against England, Russia and France" was read in Constantinople to a crowd of nearly sixty thousand at the Masjid-i-Fateh (the mosque of the Conqueror). The decree, read by the Sheikh-ul-Islam, contained some interesting Questions.

Is it also incumbent on the Muhammadan subjects of Russia, France and England and of all other countries who at the present time together with England, France and Russia, the enemies of Islam against the Caliphate, to engage in this Holy War and fight against their rulers? Answer. Yes.

Will not the wrath of God descend on those who refuse to fight and will not participate in the Holy War when all Muhammadans have been ordered to fight and will not God punish them Answer. Yes.

More such questions follow with always the same answer, and the conclusion was that "It is the duty of every Muhammadan that he should sacrifice his life and wealth and join in the holy War against England, Russia and France, now, at once."³⁸ So far as I know, this did not produce any notable effects.

In Siam, another branch of the Ghadr establishment was set up. This included Atma Ram from Shanghai, Santokh Singh from the United States, Bhagwan Singh, also from the United States (although in justice to him it must be added that he had a part in almost every branch and moved from country to country with remarkable agility), and Sohan Lal Pathak from Manila. Douwes Dekker, who had been introduced to Har Dayal by Krishnavarma, had been invited by Pillai of the Berlin Committee to go to Bangkok furnished with funds from Germany to start a press business there. He was to receive news from a Berlin source and make up reports favourable to Germany and distribute them from Bangkok to India. Other literature printed in Berlin would be sent to an agent in Holland who would send it to another agent in Java and

37. *Ibid.*, 17.

38. *Ibid.*, 37, 22, ff.

from there it would be directed to Dekker in Bangkok.³⁹ Dekker agreed to this plan and was given money by the German Consulate in Rotterdam. After a visit to New York and San Francisco, he travelled to Japan, meeting leaders of the movement in all places. In Japan, Dekker decided that not enough money was in the deal for himself, so the plan fizzled out.⁴⁰

But at Pakho, just north of Bangkok, plans went better. Recruits managed to dig a number of tunnels and to bury arms and ammunition in vast quantities therein. From all parts of the country a considerable number of men were gathered. They intended to march from Siam through a portion of Indo-China into Yunnan and then descent upon Burma and there seize the outposts, murder, destroy, loot, anything to upset control.⁴¹ The group went first to Manila where they were to meet a German ship which would provide more arms and munitions. They were then to separate and proceed to Burma as outlined. Once again, the ship failed to show up. The United States authorities would not allow them to ship the arms they had on a vessel called the *Henry S.* and when the boilers in the ship blew out there was more trouble, with the result that most got arrested instead of carrying out plans.⁴²

But that the British authorities were disturbed about this scheme, there is no doubt. Evidence from the Third Lahore Conspiracy Case supported the findings of the Mandalay Special Tribunal that revolutionaries — at least three of whom they said were from Canada — engaged in a plot to invade India by way of Burma and that this conspiracy had been initiated by the leaders of the Ghadi party in San Francisco in conjunction with the Germans.⁴³

A customs officer in the Philippine Islands upon detaining one 'Amar Singh' (later turning out to be none other than Bhagwan Singh), found in his bag a range finder, rifle range, telescope, data about various armies, some maps of Asia, wigs, moustaches, detective badges, police badges and a compass. He naturally became

39. *Ibid.*, 521, ff.

40. *Ibid.*, 6483.

41. *Ibid.*, 21.

42. *Ibid.*, 23.

43. Rowlatt, *Op. Cit.*, 159.

suspicious about such an odd collection of personal effects, especially since the man in question had been detained in the Philippines in February 1915, for preaching sedition among the Moslems. Singh, either feeling talkative or imagining the officer to be an old friend, related that arms had been sent to Afghanistan by the German Government and that a revolution started, these would be brought across the border. A secret arsenal was running in India and mutiny had been planned among the British Indian troops to take part in this general revolution. Specific garrisons at Hong Kong and Singapore were to rise against their officers and take charge.^{44 & 45} In point of fact, after the Ghadrists left Singapore, there was an uprising there in which the soldiers did shoot down a number of officers. Singh also related that they had about a million rifles, imported from different countries, in India, as well as nine-hundred cannon of different calibre, and plenty of funds.

Work in Shanghai, while not exceptional, did not produce any great blunders, either. Over three thousand copies of Ghadr papers were delivered there. The organization was headed by Wagel as president, Kishen Chand as secretary, Mueller, treasurer, Atma Ram, record keeper and Shiv Dyal Kapur (who turned approver for American authorities) as post-box keeper. This group provided, as we have seen, a number of recruits for ships going to India and made things much easier for those members stopping off there. In addition, they also provided munitions and explosives for the tunnel arsenal in Pakho, Siam.⁴⁶

Taraknath Das, the bomb and explosive expert, was still travelling in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Roumania and Asia Minor engaged in spreading revolutionary propaganda.⁴⁷

Dr. Chandra Kanta Chakravarty had lived in New York as a Ghadr sympathiser for several years prior to 1915. In that year he was summoned to Berlin by the Berlin Indian Committee and returned to New York in the latter part of January 1916. A mes-

44 & 45. Court, *Op. Cit.*, 1433. ff.

46. *Ibid.*, 303, ff.

47. *Ibid.*, 7009.

sage sent to the German Embassy at Washington on January 21, 1916, explains what had transpired in Berlin.

Dr. Chakravarty will return to the United States and form a working committee of only five members, one of whom should be himself and another Mr. Ram Chandra. In addition to sending more Indians home from the new American committee, he will undertake the following: (1) An agent will be sent to the West India Islands, where there are nearly one hundred thousand Indians, and will organize the sending home of as many as possible. They have not yet been approached by us, and there are not such difficulties in the way of their going to India as are encountered by our countrymen from the United States. (2) An agent will be sent to British Guiana with the same object. (3) A very reliable man will be sent to Java and Sumatra. (4) It is proposed to have pamphlets printed and circulated in and from America. The literature will be printed secretly and propaganda will be carried on with great vigour. (5) An effort will be made to carry out the plan of the secret oriental mission to Japan. Dr. Chakravarty is in a position to get letters of introduction to important persons in Japan as well as self-conduct for himself and other members of his mission.⁴⁸

Chakravarty apparently did more efficient work than some of the members of the San Francisco branch. In any event, another message from Berlin to Chakravarty dated July 13, points out that the primary objective was to produce revolution in India during the war. It suggests that men should also be recruited from Trinidad, British Guiana, and East Africa, including Zanzibar and gives the name of an agent in Trinidad, where if possible, a revolution should also be started which would enable the rebels to seize the government and set up an independent Hindustani Republic — but only if this did not jeopardize work in India.

Plans were also made for more work in Japan, but it would appear that authorities there were becoming suspicious and Chakravarty was cautioned not to go on a mission himself. A certain Rajakushalpal Singh had gone to India with a letter from Zimmerman during Chakravarty's visit to Berlin. He had apparently met with much success and formed a secret committee of five princes and five leaders. The Berlin Committee was jubilant and

48. *Ibid.*, 6533.

ready to send more arms to India. But this time, stated the telegram, the German Government insisted that things be arranged scientifically.⁴⁹ The blunders committed by the California Ghadrs were causing Berlin to lose confidence in them. "Ghadr men", the committee complained, "cannot be sent home. They will ruin our work everywhere. They do not understand how to work."⁵⁰

Taraknath Das had returned from Europe through America and gone to China where various internal rebellions were taking place. A letter from Chakravarty to the Berlin Committee casts an interesting light on the Chinese political situation at this time as well as showing the extent to which the movement was working. The letter is dated September 5, 1916.

Li Yuan Hung is now the President of China. He was formerly the Southern revolutionary leader. W. T. Wang was then his private secretary. He is now in America and is starting for China. He says that Li Yuan Hung is in sympathy with the Indian revolution and would like English power weakened. Some of the prominent people are quite eager to help India directly and Germany indirectly, without exposing herself (sic) to any great risk, on three conditions. The first: Germany to make a secret treaty with China that in case China is attacked by any power or powers, Germany will give her military aid. It will be obligatory for five years after the discontinuance of the present way; and there would be an understanding that China should get one tenth of all arms and ammunition she will receive for and deliver to the Indian revolutionaries and the Indian border. In return, China is to prohibit the delivery of arms and ammunition in the name of the Chinese government and from China shipped through private sailing boats and by coolies to any near port or any border place as directed....⁵¹

But Germany was apparently not inclined to make any such treaty and let the matter drop. The foot-note to this is that on August 14, 1917, less than one year later, China declared war against Germany.

At the close of 1916, Chakravarty recounted the results of his work to the Berlin Committee. A Pan-Asiatic League and Oriental Society had been organized and its journal, *The Oriental*

49. *Ibid.*, 6540.

50. *Ibid.*, 6539.

51. *Ibid.*, 1866.

Review, was being prepared for publication. A secret understanding had been brought about with the Japanese and Chinese governments whereby "an atmosphere of more than passive sympathy" could be expected in the future. The name of England in America had become, he maintained, synonymous with tyranny. Two hundred eighty thousand copies of nine different pamphlets had been distributed and eighty thousand reserved for future use. An immigration law restricting Indians to the United States and deporting those who could not earn a living, had been postponed. Fifty-eight men had been sent to India from the West Indies, and others to Japan, England, China and the West Indies. Two thousand pistols and ten thousand bullets had been smuggled into India and the West Indies had been organized for revolution.⁵²

In such an organization as this movement was, and in consideration of the temperament of the men involved, it was not difficult to foresee that internal strife would appear. A vast amount of money was coming with liquid ease from Germany. Collections were still being made all over America and anywhere else possible and this also provided a large capital reserve. A telegram from Zimmerman to Bernstorff stated that sixty-five thousand dollars had been a partial payment to the Indians in 1916,⁵³ while Chakravarty had received from fifty to sixty thousand dollars for his own activities⁵⁴ and had thus become an effective power. Ram Chandra controlled the San Francisco headquarters with dictatorial secrecy. A school had been set up in Stockton, California where Indians coming to America might be educated in the ways of the movement. Ghadr funds paid for this, although teachers received no pay at all. But where was the money going? Ram Chandra would not account for it and the party showed signs of rifts. A building had been erected on Wood Street in San Francisco for sixty-three hundred dollars. Bhagwan Singh, in Manila, had collected seventeen hundred dollars and instead of giving it to Ram Chandra, was living as he thought proper for him, in luxury.⁵⁵ This did not help matters and two factions were slowly

52. *Ibid.*, 1877.

53. *Ibid.*, 6556.

54. *Ibid.*, 7011.

55. *Ibid.*, 1012.

CONSPIRACY BY THE GHADR PARTY

43

crystallising. With Bhagwan Singh in the lead, charge upon charge was heaped against Ram Chandra. He was called a grafter, loose-mouthed, and was, in the main, cited as responsible for the weaknesses in the organization. Certainly it is true that Ram Chandra was guilty of indiscretion in his speeches and writings. Chakravarty complained to the Berlin Committee that, "if he were not honest, it would be nothing less than unintentional betrayal of many of our secrets, including plans and names of people concerned."⁵⁶ Chakravarty was also engaged in this inter-party quarrel and shortly received a blow on the head which landed him in the hospital for a while. But what about the money? Was Ram Chandra dishonest in that respect? From March 1915, to August 1915, the total deposits in his personal account (as distinct from the party's account) amounted to twelve thousand, eight hundred and forty dollars.⁵⁷ An average of eight hundred dollars was spent per month for the expenses of the Asram.⁵⁸ It seemed clear that things were not as they should be. Chakravarty wrote to Berlin, "The Ghadr party is also in the process of breaking up.... among those labouring men very few are available for any purpose, the best elements are gone, the rest drunk and talkative. They accused Ram Chandra of getting millions from Germany and giving them nothing."⁵⁹ There seems little doubt that Ram Chandra had acted dishonestly and kept large amounts of money from the party.

Accordingly, the party split and Bhagwan Singh led the rival faction against Ram Chandra. On January 19, 1917, the Articles of Incorporation of the Ghadr Party showed Ram Chandra, G. B. Lal and H. Sharman as the incorporators. Bhagwan Singh started his own paper with Santokh Singh, Nidhan Singh and Gopal Singh.

Until April 6, 1917, when she declared war against Germany, the United States had announced a policy of neutrality. It was quite clear that the activities of the Ghadr movement were any-

56. *Ibid.*, 6542, ff.

57. *Ibid.*, 1563. In addition to this sum mentioned by the bank clerk, Preston alleged that at the time of arrest Ram Chandra had \$9000 at the house on Wood Street. p. 20.

58. *Ibid.*, 3589, ff.

59. *Ibid.*, 1868.

thing but neutral. Thus, on August 6, 1917, the United States government was prepared to prosecute the Ghadr members and the Germans who had aided them in violating the Neutrality Act of the United States. One hundred five defendants were named in the indictment, and the case of *The United States of America vs. Franz Bopp et. al.*, a case which lasted from November 11, 1917 until April 23, 1918, proved to be fraught with difficulties.

"We will show you", said John W. Preston, United States District Attorney, "that the object and purpose of this conspiracy reached the entire world; that it was to engage the assistance of every Hindu and every sympathizer in every neutral country practically in the world."⁶⁰

On the last day of the trial, all the witnesses had been called, the government and the defence had summed up their sides and Judge Van Fleet called for the noon adjournment. The usual confusion of disorder of people leaving a room resulted and in the disturbance, Ram Singh, one of the defendants who felt that Ram Chandra had acted dishonestly, shot Ram Chandra in the back as he too was leaving.⁶¹ Singh raised his gun in a threatening manner which prompted United States Marshal James Holohan to shoot him in turn. Two defendants were thus removed from the considerations of the jury.

It was not very long after the charge of the judge that the jury returned a verdict of guilty against all the defendants except one American who seemed to have been innocently involved. Sentences of from one to two years in addition to fines of from two to ten thousand dollars were imposed on officials of the German consulate. The Ghadr members were dealt with less severely and received from two to eighteen months in prison.⁶²

The Ghadr movement continued in one way or another until Indian independence in 1947. How many other movements like

60. *Ibid.*, 17.

61. Brown, *Op. Cit.*, p. 309, See also Judge's remarks, Court, p. 6971. The Senate Report has an absurd account of an imaginary melodrama, p. 214, which is consistent with the many other errors contained in their written nonsense.

62. Landau, *Op. Cit.*, 33.

CONSPIRACY BY THE GHADR PARTY

45

it were also in existence, we shall probably never accurately know. But there can be little doubt that these terroristic conspiracies played a significant—even if not obviously dominant—role in the independence movement of India. But perhaps of equal importance, apart from the effectiveness of such organizations, is the extent to which international agents were used in the pursuance of a revolutionary objective. Ignoring the moral issues, it is virtually the same technique adopted by communism in its quest for certain objectives. It would not be surprising, if, in the political revolutions to come, the technique first used to such an extensive scale by groups in India were to become one of the more important techniques of revolutionary political action.

Early Contacts of Islam with India

BY

SRI RAM SHARMA

About the time Harsha was ruling in India, an upheaval took place in neighbouring Arabia which was to have far-reaching effects on the history of the world. Muhammad, born in 570 in the Quarish tribe of Mecca, claimed prophethood in his own right about 611 A.D. and set about his reforming task with a zeal not often paralleled in the history of the world. In place of the contemporary worship of images and many deities, he offered salvation through the worship of one God and belief in his prophet Muhammad. He cut down the sexual promiscuity of his times by permitting only four legally wedded wives at a time. He promised equality and brotherhood to all who joined the charmed circle of Islam. He based his claim to prophethood on a series of polished 'divine' messages which laid down the law for all and sundry. He preached uncomplaining submission to God's will so that a man could ride untroubled all sorts of weathers, fair and foul, and count it fortunate that he died fighting for his faith. Mecca at first refused to take a humble son of its own seriously and exasperated by his vehement claims drove him out. Muhammad turned to Medina and from there ultimately succeeded in winning over his townsmen of Mecca. He combined in his person prophethood and royalty and when he died in 622, Arabia lost a great leader.

Islam sought for no successor to prophet Muhammad—prophethood would be worth nothing if it could be easily transmitted to others. The religious edifice of Islam was complete in the *Quran*; where lacuna was discovered, in civil or criminal law *Hadis*-memory of how the prophet had acted under similar circumstances—helped in laying down the law. It is well to remember that though the religious beliefs of the Muslims are based on the *Quran*, their daily life has been governed more by the *Hadis*. As the entire religion thus came to turn round the

prophet, Islam set up no ordained priests and established no organized church, fallible or otherwise.

Though there was no apostolic succession, the burden of the newly founded Muslim state had to be carried on after the Prophet's death. Later on two main schools came to be founded on the question of succession; the Shi'ahs claimed that Ali, a cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, should have been recognized as his legitimate successor, the Sunnis asserted that the elevation of the first four temporal deputies — Khalifa — of the Prophet was lawful. Though ultimately both Shia and Sunni ruling dynasties came to be founded in various parts of the world, enough of the original doctrine of 'election' remained in tact to confound the princes. Immediately after the Prophet's death, the seniormost of his 'companions' was 'elected' his temporal deputy and leader — Imam — of the Muslim. Three more of these companions followed suit. When Ali succeeded to Khilafat, his right thereto was disputed. The end of the civil war that followed found Islam divided among the Shias and the Sunnis.

The main development under the early Khalifas was the establishment of Muslim authority over the whole of the Arabian peninsula and then to the neighbouring countries. For sometimes, the doctrine of one single ruler for *all* the Muslim territories was tenaciously held and actually practised but it soon degenerated into the sort of polity which we later saw in the Maratha empire claiming to be ruled by a Peshwa — the office curiously implying the deputyship of the Raja — who allowed his generals to make conquests far and wide in his name. Persia, the Middle East, Egypt, Northern Africa, and finally Spain soon accepted Muslim authority.

A curious — to modern eyes — result of these conquests was the coextensiveness of the Muslim conquests and Muslim faith. Sooner or later everywhere except in Spain there was almost a wholesale conversion of the inhabitants of these countries following upon their conquest. But at first 'non-believers' could not be entirely eliminated; the Muslim governments needed an army of accountants and professional men. If driven too hard, the non-believers could cross over to other non-Muslim countries — as the Parsis did and settled in India. The Muslim governments expect-

ed the ultimate conversion to the faith of all its non-believing subjects.

Against the sharp and swift Muslims conquests elsewhere, the Indian career of Muslim arms was an extremely slow business. In 712 A.D. a part of Sind was conquered by the Arabs. It remained under Muslim domination for some time but failed to act as a spearhead of India's conversion to Islam. The next Indian clash with Muslim arms occurred three centuries thereafter in 995, when Jayapal, ruler of Kabul, North Western Frontier and the Punjab sought conclusions with his Muslim neighbour Subktagin. Jayapal was driven back, but it took Subktagin's son and successor ten years of hard campaigning to establish his power in the plains of the Punjab and Multan. The Ghaznavid province of Lahore got embroiled in the quarrels between the Ghoris and the Ghaznavids in Kabul till Lahore was ultimately conquered and occupied by Muhammad Ghorî in 1186. Prithviraj of Delhi and Ajmer got uneasy at the establishment of a new strong power in his neighbourhood and moved his armies northwards to challenge Muhammad Ghorî. Prithviraj vanquished Muhammad Ghorî at Taraori in 1191. The Ghorî army fled headlong from the battle field after its leader was all but killed in battle. Muhammad Ghorî returned next year as the head of a much bigger army but so wary was he of the might of his Rajput foe that, when politely advised by Prithviraj to remember last year's defeat, he thought it necessary to pretend that he would not proceed any further till he heard from his brother in Ghor whose agent he was. Prithviraj believed him; Muhammad Ghorî moved his armies under the cover of the night. But the initial advantage which this surprise attack gave the Ghoris soon wore out. Muhammad Ghorî now played his trump card. Twelve thousand of his soldiers who had been kept in reserve now joined the fray. The battle raged long and furiously till Prithviraj was killed. It was now the turn of the Delhi army to flee. Panipat gave Muhammad Ghorî the right to consolidate his power in the Punjab.

In the years that followed fortune now favoured the home forces now the invaders. The thirteenth century saw the invaders advance further on all sides till the whole of northern India excluding the major portion of Rajputana had been conquered. The fourteenth century saw the expansion of the kingdom of Delhi

into the south. In the then existing state of communication it was difficult to rule the whole of India, north and south of the Vindhya, from one centre. Muhammad Tughluq thought this could be remedied by moving the capital from Delhi in one corner to a central place like Daulatabad. But he only went farther and fared worse. The contemporary methods of administration broke down under the weight of the mighty empire and what the Khiljis had gained the Tughluq's lost. Timur's invasion in 1398 delivered a *coup de grace* to the tottering kingdom of Delhi. The rulers who followed still styled themselves the rulers of the world — Shah-i-Alim — but, as a wag had it, they held sway only over the small area between Delhi and Palam — 'the present aerodrome for Delhi'. The rest of the country was governed by the Rajput rulers of Rajputana and the Punjab, the Hindu princes of Vijayanagar and further south and a large number of local Muslim dynasties dotted all over India. Thus during the Sultanate, the first kingdom of Delhi lasted for about a century and the empire of Delhi but another half a century. The second kingdom of Delhi which Bahlol Lodhi founded in 1451 was much smaller at first. Unlike the earlier kingdom of Delhi it shared authority in northern India with Muslim dynasties except in Rajputana where the Rajputs reasserted themselves.

The Sultanate period which roughly covered the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is not a period of ever-expanding Muslim authority in India much less a continuous period of conquest. The Muslim conquest begun in 712 was not complete even in 1526. Several Hindu dynasties had only turned low before the storm for a very short period and reverted thereafter to their independent status. What was still more significant, more than three centuries of Muslim rule at Delhi had not succeeded in converting a substantial section of the population of the country.

It is this that requires explanation in dealing with the contact of Islam with India. We see no easy, swift and complete conquest of the country as we find elsewhere in the world. India was not easily conquered by the virile races from the northwest! As any map would show none of the invaders came from the north-west of the Punjab — the area they had to enter at first. Soldier to soldier, a Rajput, a Punjabi warrior or a Gujarati horseman was a match against his opposite number in the armies of Islam. Muslim

domination was not established in India because Hindu soldiers of a warmer(?) climate were any the less hardy than their opponents. Hindu armies were not defeated because all the classes in the country did not feel it their duty to fight for the defence of their country. Mahmud in 1008 had to fight in the Punjab against what looks like a mass resistance movement. The Hindu women who are said to have sold their ornaments to furnish the sinews of war do not seem to have been all Rajputs. Except probably in 1193 at Taraori, the Hindu armies were seldom outnumbered by the invaders. In the eleventh and the twelfth centuries war was nowhere in the world a popular concern. Thus the caste system does not seem to have played any large part in weakening the resistance that could have been offered to the invaders. Nor can the existence of several states, big and small, by itself, could have provided a cause for the defeat of the home forces. It is arguable that the invaders might have found it difficult to establish themselves if the whole country had been under the sway of a single ruler. But the story of the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century easily disproves the assumption that a government of Delhi would have necessarily defended the country any the better.

It is again necessary to eliminate certain other causes which are usually offered as an explanation. Howsoever badly elephants may have behaved in a particular battle, their value as an engine of destruction was never in doubt. The invaders soon set themselves the task of employing them as plentifully as had the Indian rulers. As yet there was no artillery to frighten them off the field and lead to slaughter among their owners. The weapons of defence and offence which were used by the invaders and the home forces were again almost the same. Spears, swords, daggers and bows and arrows were used by both. The defensive armour was then worn by men of high birth alone. The descriptions of the contemporary defensive armour do not indicate any superiority on either side.

The invaders had one advantage over the home forces. Their horses were much better adapted to warfare and were more useful as mounts adding more to the weight of the attack by their riders.

Another factor that made for the success of the invaders was the inspiration which motivated the early soldiers. Like soldiers

of Islam everywhere, they were fired by their iconoclastic and missionary zeal. India did not yield much fruit in conversions. But rich plunder was as good a substitute particularly when it could be combined with the destruction of shrines. The Hindu rulers of India had discovered that temple fortresses were the best means of preserving their riches from greedy hands. Their sanctity would keep all rivals away. As naturally these temple fortresses—at Kangra, Somnath and elsewhere—became sure magnets to draw the attack of the invading forces, as they richly rewarded them. The early Muslim practice of dividing all the spoils of war between the soldiers keeping only one fifth of the booty for the commander may probably have further encouraged the soldiers to follow leaders who could easily promise them fair rewards. The very difficulties and dangers of such early expeditions resulted in a natural selection which must have placed only the toughest of the soldiers in the early expeditions to India.

It should be further remembered that in India, as elsewhere, the invaders could choose their time of attack, not so the defenders. The invaders felt no compulsion to be always on the march; the defenders had to fight whenever they were attacked. In many battles fought early and late during the establishment and expansion of the rule of the Turks in India, the offensive was taken by them only when they seem to have been previously assured of a smooth passage for their arms.

Another cause to which the 'easy' success of the invaders has been ascribed is the alleged disunion and even treachery among the rulers in India. While there is some evidence of such acts occasionally, they do not figure as a major factor in engagements. The classic story of the feud between Prithviraj and Jaichandra and the latter's invitation to Shihab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori stands discredited. There may have been some bad blood between the rulers of Ajmer and Qanoj but the contemporary Muslim accounts do not bear out the story as told in the *Prithviraj Raso*. Shihab-ud-Din Ghori left Ghor without telling his soldiers where he was leading them. This would have been impossible had an emissary of Jai Chand been leading them to India. The interval between the first and the second battles of Taraori is not enough to have allowed all that is alleged to have taken place therein, Samyukta's search for a husband from among the assembled guests

of his father, Prithviraja's marriage to her, Jai Chand's discomfiture and sending of an emissary to Ghazni to invite Shahab-ud-Din. The conquest of Uchh in 1175 is said to have been made possible by the desire of the Rani to revenge herself on her husband. Instead of disunity in the ranks of the Indian rulers, we find in the eleventh and twelfth centuries they very often offered organized resistance to the invaders. Mahamud had to deal with a confederacy of Indian rulers when he attacked the Punjab in 1008; Muhammad Ghori was similarly opposed in the battles of Taraori in 1191 and 1192, at Ajmer in 1197 and near Abu later on.

It has sometimes been suggested that Indian rulers were slow to recognize the foreign danger and waited patiently to be attacked in their capital cities rather than venture forth boldly to meet the enemy on their frontiers. But news of an invading army could not then be speedily received. By the time a ruler learnt that an invader had entered his dominions he had little time to venture forth to his frontiers and fight the enemy. But Indian rulers did not always wait for their enemies to advance, into their territory. Jai Pal attacked Subaktgin in his own dominions, Prithviraj met Shahah-ud-Ghori at Taraori nearer to the frontiers of Ghazanvid. kings of the Punjab than to his own. Bhim of Gujarat challenged Aibak and Muhammad Ghori at Ajmer and Abu.

It should however be remembered that the path of an established ruler at Delhi or elsewhere was not as plain as it is sometimes supposed to be. When during the Sultanate, Mughals tried invading India through Qandahar, very often the rulers of Delhi met their armies in the interior rather than at their own frontiers. Even such a wide awake ruler as Ala-ud-Din Khilji had to meet them, at least once, outside the walls of Delhi. It seems difficult for us today to realize how defective and difficult means of communication were in the medieval times in India as elsewhere.

A detailed study of the battle fought in the middle ages in India proves that neither the Indian rulers nor the Indian soldiers deemed themselves in anyway inferior to the foreigners who invaded the country. Mahamud had to fight against the rulers of the Punjab eight times in a decade before he could occupy the Punjab. Muhammad Ghori's success at Taraori did not give him access even to Delhi. Here again fierce battle raged for about

ten years before the Ghoris could settle down in security at Delhi. At Ajmer again there was no time submission to the enemy; repeated risings in the area went on for a decade. The Indian rulers never considered themselves soundly beaten when fortunes of battle went against them. They were almost always eager to try conclusions again and did not easily give in.

It should be further remembered that in the centuries we are dealing with, battles were trial of strength between two leaders in India as elsewhere. The disappearance or death of the leader would bring an engagement to an end. When Muhammad Ghori was wounded, his army ran away and 'did not draw rein for forty miles'. When Prithviraj or Jai Chand was killed in the battle field, their armies acknowledged defeat. Shihab-ud-Din Ghori's slave could take his wounded master off the field; no Ghori could organize the army for trying fresh conclusions with the Rajputs.

It is usually the difference in leadership and strategy and tactics employed on the battle field that play the decisive part in these engagements. Mahmud Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori were great military leaders, as successful in their campaigns outside India as in India. They displayed a method of warfare different very largely from the traditional methods of fighting prevalent among Indian rulers. This visualized an engagement as a duel between the soldiers of the two armies under well recognized rules of sport. The outsiders knew no rules, or if they did, they were different! Sudden attacks, feints, shamming defeat and flight, keeping a considerable part of the army in reserve for use at critical moments took the Indian armies by surprise and vitiated their value as fighting machines. They were too slow to learn new tricks of trade. The Rajput chivalry usually disclaimed running away from the battle-field in order to fight another day. They took a battle as a ritual wherein Jauhar played its due part — men flinging themselves on the enemy in order to meet certain death and women preferring death to the horrors of anticipated dishonour. It is wrong to hold that the invaders had always their way. They had to fight for every square inch of the territory they cared to occupy.

Much has been said about the religious beliefs of the opposing armies playing a part in the engagement that were fought. The Muslim submission to God's will may be claimed to have influenced

the conduct of the soldiers on the battle field; it does not however seem to have restrained Muhammad Ghori's soldiers at the first battle of Taraori. The Hindu belief in astrology did however play its part occasionally in bringing about their discomfiture. Dahar lost the first battle of Sind when a missile struck the flag staff of the temple of the protecting deity of the city. His son Jaisingh lost his country finally to the enemy when his astrologers told him not to fight as the stars in the sky were against him. Bakhtiar Khilji's task of conquering Gaur was made easier, it is said, because the astrologers had told Lakshman Sen that he was destined to lose his state when strange looking, garlic smelling strangers entered his capital. The Hindu belief in Ahimsa is sometimes held responsible for the defeat of the Hindus. We know however that, whatever the theory, the most painstaking of the world's conquerors was Chandra Gupta Maurya who is reputed to be Jain. The Buddhist Asoka showed no reluctance in expanding his empire into central Asia. The devoutest of the Vaishnava rulers never neglected their armies.

The Hindu tolerance may probably have made it easier for the masses to accept their Muslim rulers once they had established themselves. This does not seem to have happened at the time of the original conquests, though it may have come into play later on when the Muslim rulers were discovered to be a much less disturbing element in the country than they could have been expected to be.

It was India's misfortune that against a Mahmud, Muhamud Ghori, Qutb-ud-Din or Bakhtiar Khilji she did not have enough Anang Pals, Bhims and Prithvirajas. The tactics that were employed in Kamrup by the rulers and the ruled alike — the scorched earth policy, enticing the invaders into difficult country in the interior and then punishing them for their audacity — cost the Muslim armies all but 100 of their 10,000 soldiers. Bhim of Gujarat had enough self confidence to decline to give battle to Muhammad Ghori at Anahlwada and by his 'splendid' inactivity to compel him to retreat.

The organization of government may have possibly played a significant part during the early years. It is possible to hold that had the popular association in central government continued,

instead of the astrologers advising Jaisingh not to face the enemy, the Brahman leaders may have inspired popular resistance to the invaders as they did against Alexander near Montgomery. But monarchy and feudal organization of government combined together gambled with national fortune. It was not the caste-system which prevented the masses from fighting for their country because that was the duty of the warrior caste. It was the ignorance of the countrymen of all that was going on elsewhere that proved the undoing of the Indian Government. Centuries of peaceful rule had enervated the rulers and when they were faced with self-made generals who had proved themselves elsewhere they were found wanting. It was peace that had weakened the Indian princes and not their internal quarrels.

Revenue System of Sher Shah

BY

DR. SATISH C. MISRA, M.A., PH.D. (BEN.),

Senior Lecturer in History,
The M. S. University of Baroda

"The land revenue system of Upper India" Mr. Moreland wrote in 1926, "presents a fundamental continuity from the period when the sacred law of Hinduism was formulated, down to the changes introduced in the 19th century."¹ That this tradition continued unbroken through the Sur era, is indicated by a critical appraisal of the material available; and though Sher Shah modified it and reformed it, he made no attempt to alter the fundamentals on which it was based, namely, the method of assessment, the mode of payment and the share taken by the state from the cultivator's produce.

Generally it has been believed that Sher Shah adopted the measurement method and enforced it as the basis of assessment throughout his dominions, superseding other systems.² If by the word "*jarib*", used frequently by the chroniclers and translated as "measurement" by modern writers, more or less inaccurately, it is meant that Sher Shah ordered a general mensuration and on this basis assessed land revenue, the belief can have some basis.

1. "Sher Shah's Revenue System" by W. H. Moreland: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1926, p. 448.

2. No attempt has been made, here, to explain the various modes of revenue assessment and the terms appertaining thereto as "*jarib*", "*muq'i*", "*ghalla-bakshi*", "*nasq*" and "*ra'y*", for they have adequately dealt with by earlier writers. For definition of these terms, refer, "Some Aspects of Muslim Administration" by Dr. R. P. Tripathi (Allahabad 1936) pp. 357-360; "Provincial Administration of the Mughal" by Dr. P. Saran (Allahabad 1941) pp. 453-6; "Sher Shah's Revenue System" by Dr. P. Saran (*Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVII. I, pp. 137-140; "Assessment and Collection of Land Revenue under Akbar" by Dr. S. R. Sharma (*Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XIV. pp. 36); "*Farhang-i-Kardani*" by Prof. S. A. Rashid. (*Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XIX pp. 71-4); and finally, Moreland, *op. cit.*

If, however, this word "jarib" is translated to prove that the entire system of revenue administration was changed radically to supplant systems other than "Measurement" and the method of payment changed from kind to cash, then the observation is hardly tenable.

Firstly, Sher Shah did not and had he wished it even, could not abolish old existing systems of revenue administration. It was a task beyond the five-year rule granted to him. Akbar waited, and gathered experience of nineteen years before he could reorganise his revenue system on a fresh basis. Till that time he adopted the prevalent schedules of Sher Shah, only demanding cash in place of kind³ which incidentally proves that the basis of payment till then was in kind.

Hasan Khan mentions three systems of revenue administration prevalent in the country.⁴ He furnished details of only one, according to which a person called "Malguzar" is held responsible for an allotted area from which he collected land revenue, paying a fixed sum in lieu thereof to the state. Due care was taken by the state to prevent over-charging and oppression.⁵ This system bears a close resemblance to the "Zemindari" and "Malguzari" system till recently prevalent in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh before reorganization. Obviously in such areas, where this system was prevalent, "jarib" or "Measurement" was not enforced in its sense of cash payments directly realised from individual cultivators by the state. The two other systems, which go by default in Hasan Khan's account, were also clearly old-established ones, which were not interfered with, by Sher Shah

3. "X" "Ain-i-Akbari" translated by Blochmann, Vol. I. p. 294.

4. "Daulat-i-Sher Shahi" by Hasan Khan. English Translation of the Farmans only by Dr. R. P. Tripathi. Unpublished. Referred hereafter as "Daulat". Farman X.

5. "The first is that we make one person from the village responsible for the payment of government dues. He is expected to collect the dues from the various pieces of land and farms and to pay a fixed sum. But (in some case) some power of coercion shall have to be conceded inevitably. Therefore it is necessary that government officials should be instructed to look to the protection and security of the people so that none of the malguzars should stretch out his hands for oppressing the subjects in any place. Both the Hindu and Musalmans should obey these orders." Daulat Farman X.

except for regularizing the procedures and mapping out the land and classifying the tenures and ownerships under which a particular piece of land was held.⁶

Lastly, there were exceptional areas where new ideas could not have been and were not introduced. In Multan, for instance, the traditional assessment and administration were allowed to continue.⁷ It would have been scarcely possible to realise any revenue from trans-Jhelum area (Ghakkharland) or Rajputana. In Malwa, the zemindari system was allowed, though the land might have been mapped, for Shujaet Khan is reported to have been rebuked by Sher Shah for withholding lands allotted to his lieutenants.⁸

Therefore though Sher Shah might have had a decided preference for the system of Measurement, he did not press his choice except in areas where the system could be worked without handicapping the cultivator. The peasant enjoyed the freedom of choosing any of the prevalent method of assessment, though his rights over his land were clarified and the field mapped. He was freed from the vexatious extortions of the *muqaddams* and other petty functionaries, the *amin* contacting him directly to assess his revenue according to the system he preferred.⁹

Sher Shah was no doubt trying to extend the sphere of king's authority and therefore desired a wider application of Measurement. Islam Shah continued the work of his father and under him the administration became more centralized than ever.¹⁰ So it seems to have been Islam Shah who was responsible for what

6. "The tenth farman was issued regarding the measurement of the cultivated and uncultivated land of the dominion. Ahmad Khan Tangi (or Bangi) who was the soul of this system of management and whose rank commanded a good reputation in administration, accomplished this work with the help of able and learned Brahmins, and prepared a register in which were entered the rights of owners and the measurement of all arable and other pieces of land. The land was divided into several classes and the rate for every one of them was fixed." Daulat Farman X.

7. "Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi" by Abbas Sarwani, Allahabad University MSS., hereafter referred to as Abbas, p. 191; Dorn, "History of the Afghans", I, p. 135,

8. Abbas pp. 232-236.

9. Abbas Alld. Mss. p. 216; 10 Ms. fol. 106a.

10. Ain I. p. 296, lines 5-6.

'Abu'l Fazl calls, freeing Hindustan from the systems of ghalla-bakshi and muqtei.¹¹ He had more time than his father, he was more disregarding of the established usages, the nobles as a land-owning power collapsed under his rule and their place was taken by the king's bureaucracy.

The above observation also apply to the second problem, namely, the mode of payment. The system was based on the produce reaped and the basis of assessment was grain or other produce. The schedule of Sher Shah given in the A'in has kind as its basis and not cash as Akbar's later schedules have.¹² The state's share could be converted in cash by selling it according to market rates or the cultivator if he chose, for the time being, could pay cash in lieu of his share of his produce. This was encouraged by the state.

The third question, viz., the amount of the share which the state took is the most complicated. Dr. Qanungo and Dr. Qureshi believe that Sher Shah took one-fourth of the produce while Dr. Saran and Mr. Moreland are of the opinion that the state's share was one-third.

Dr. Qanungo adduces the following arguments for his statement:

a. Makhzan-i-Afghanan has it that Sher Shah wrote to Hai-bat Khan to take $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the produce from Multan.

b. 'Abu'l-Fazl writes, "The revenue levied by Sher Khan which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment". Later, 'Abu'l-Fazl writes that Akbar raised the land revenue to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd. Hence in Sher Shah's times, it must have been only $\frac{1}{4}$ th.¹³

Mr. Moreland refutes the arguments given above:

a. The above passage (Makhzan quoted by Dr. Qanungo) is found in page 135 of Part I of Dorn, who writes that Sher Shah who was naturally elated at the conquest of the region, "excluded

11. 'A' in I. p. 296; lines 5-6.

12. 'A' in I. p. 294; also A 'n XIV & XV and 10 year and 19 year rates.

13. "Sher Shah" by K. R. Qanungo pp. 373-4; A 'in tran. by Jarrett Vol. II. pp. 63 & 66.

"exempted Multan from all public charges, except a fourth of the produce which was to be levied". A more literal translation of the Ms. used by him (No. 60 in Morley's Catalogue of the R.A.S.), would be, "(he) ordered that a fourth share should be taken from the country of Multan, it being exempted from all "takalif". The last word has a wide range of meaning from troubles to taxes but in this context it means cesses or miscellaneous imposts. Multan thus received specially favoured treatment and the fact that the revenue demand there was fixed at one-fourth does not justify the inference that the same fraction was taken from the rest of the kingdom.

b. In the second argument, Dr. Qanungo has relied on Jarret's version of the 'A'in, but had he referred to the original, he would have found that this version is rather loose: the text says, "In all provinces at the present day less than that is not indicated", the word "that" referring to a Schedule of Sher Shah's assessment rates: in other words, the assessment when the A'in was written, were not Sher Shah's; they might have been equal or greater and the passage cannot be used to prove that they were greater. No statement to the effect that they were raised by Akbar to one-third appears on page 66 of Jarret nor can Mr. Moreland find them elsewhere.

Continuing, Mr. Moreland uses the words of Abbas as given in Elliot's translation and which are not found in any of the available Mss., and the Schedule of Sher Shah given in the 'A'in to prove that Sher Shah claimed one-third of the gross produce as the king's share and assessed the claim by measurement on the basis of an average yield determined separately for each crop.¹⁴

Dr. Saran agrees with Mr. Moreland in his conclusions and suggests that the text of 'A'in at this passage clearly says that the "rây" "of Sher Shah found acceptance". So whatever rates were prevailing and were approved by the Emperor were those which had come down from Sher Shah's time. Hence Akbar's rate at this time were equal to those of Sher Shah. Dr. Saran then discusses the meaning of the word "ray" and comes to the conclu-

14. Moreland *op. cit.* pp. 452-459; also "Agrarian System of Moslem India" (Cambridge 1929) pp.

sion, on basis of the Schedule, that Sher Shah claimed one-third of the produce.¹⁵

Dr. Qureshi gives the following reasons for his opinion that Sher Shah charged one-fourth of the produce as land-revenue.

a. The passage in Elliot (to which Mr. Moreland refers) is based on some exceptional Ms. of 'Abbas Sarwani and is not supported by the versions of the available ones.

b. A critical study of the passage in 'A'in shows that Abu'l-Faql is referring to Sher Shah's figure of average produce as the lowest available in the kingdom at the time.

c. The favour to Multan lay in exempting it from a number of taxes and not in the reduction of land revenue.

d. There is clear evidence to show that it was Akbar who first demanded a third as land revenue. Timur demanded a third in some of his dominions and Babur demanded a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred. Sher Shah's demand was not exceptional and it was raised by Akbar which 'Abu'l-Faql seeks to justify by saying that Akbar abolished various other taxes including the jiziyah.¹⁶

There are three passages in the authorities which furnish a clue to the revenue demand of Sher Shah. Hasan Khan writes, "The principle (regarding revenue assessment) is that the government demand should be less than the income accruing from the land so that they (the cultivators) might not be afraid of government demand and tax if there is scarcity of water or insufficiency of rains. Rather he arranged that every one of the landholders and payers of revenue should pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of their tax to the public treasury so that it might be spent in case of accidents or heavenly punishments".¹⁷

This is general. It indicates only the principle of revenue assessment and the fact that $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the revenue was held as a reserve for exigencies.

15. Saran, (cited in footnote 2, page 1. pp. 147).

16. Qureshi "The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi" by Dr. I. H. Qureshi (Lahore, 1944). pp. 118-119.

17. Daulat Farman X.

The second passage is the one in Elliot's rendering of Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, to which Mr. Moreland refers. It runs as follows, having for its context, a discussion of the pargana officials under Sher Shah: ".....; and he ordered the governors to measure the land every harvest and collect revenue according to measurement in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator and half to the mukkaddams and fixing the assessment with regard to the kind of grain in order that mukkaddams and chaudharies should not oppress the cultivators who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom."¹⁸ The word "governor" and the continuing "giving one share to the cultivator and half to the mukkaddams" has no equivalence in the available Mss. of Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi. It has led Mr. Moreland to label it as an "incorrect gloss" though he remarks that it accords with the Schedule in the 'A'in.

The passage is in fact rather confusing. It postulates the universal prevalence of the system of ghalla-bakshi or division of grain as the basis of revenue administration, for such a rule of thumb could not operate under measurement.¹⁹ Though the former system may have extended over considerable areas it could not have been the only one. It is with caution therefore that the passage may be used to represent the revenue which the state realised from areas where the malguzari and the ghalla-bakshi systems prevailed.

Therefore, it also does not deserve the scorn with which Dr. Qureshi treats it for even if it comes from an exceptional Ms., it equates with what Hasan Khan writes regarding "malguzari" and what Abu'l-Faql gives with reference to Sher Shah's Schedule.

This schedule is the third important piece of information. Jarrett²⁰ translates it as follows: "Of the first two kinds of land,

18. Elliot IV. pp. 414-415.

19. Moreland op. cit. 449. "Measurement was based on the area sown; a charge of certain weight of each kind of grain or its equivalent in cash was made on each unit of the area sown and the assessment for the area was complete when the crop areas had been measured, though in practice, it was found necessary to make allowances when the crops failed."

20. A'in, Blochmann Edition I. p. 294.

there are three classes : good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third of which is exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Khan, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment, generally obtained; and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money."²¹

Dr. Qureshi considers the translation to be incorrect. In the first place, he thinks the stops to have been wrongly read, the passage being read without a stop, which translates as : "Of the first two kinds of land, the good, the middling and bad produce should be added together and a third of this represents the medium produce...." For the second part, he believes that the translation of the word "ray'" as "revenue" is wrong since it is only recently that the word has figuratively come to mean this. Its older connotation was that of "produce" and it is in this sense that it has been used by Abu'l-Fa \ddot{a} l. The correct translation of the latter portion therefore is, "The (figures of mean) produce adopted by Sher Shah, lower than which cannot be found throughout the provinces, were accepted and for the convenience of etc., etc." 'Abu'l-Fa \ddot{a} l is referring here of the classification of land by Akbar into polaj, parauti, chachar and banjar. It appears that the first part of Dr. Qureshi's emendation is correct, for as he writes, his interpretation of finding the average produce is more logical. His second verification is doubtful. How is it possible for the figures of "mean produce" to have been "lower than which cannot be found throughout the province" unless the years concerned had been those of exceptional scarcity? And such does not appear to have been the case in the reign of Sher Shah. It cannot be supposed that the figures had been deliberately altered to provide a lower level than actual. It appears therefore that Abu'l-Fa \ddot{a} l is using the word "ráy'" in the sense of revenue and means that, "The revenue levied by Sher Khan, lower than which cannot be found throughout the provinces, was accepted and for the convenience of etc., etc."

21. A' in Trans. II. P. 63.

'Abu'l Fazl goes on to give tables which are apparently those of Sher Shah. These were generally accepted as the basis of land revenue before the 19-Year Settlement. Until then, Akbar's only modification was to demand cash instead of kind. The full and fresh evaluation which resulted in the 19-Year Settlement and for which also Abu'l-Fazl gives figures, changed this state of affairs.²²

The estimate here clearly is of one-third. It was due to this fact that Akbar did not raise the land demand except in some cases where he imposed extra cesses.²³ It is also obvious that Sher Shah also charged the same fraction (one-third) of the produce as land-revenue.

Multan, it is certain was a special case and was treated as such. It cannot be held up as an example for the rest of the kingdom.²⁴ For here the Langah tradition was ordered to be continued by Sher Shah and the revenue balance was not altered to bring it into line with other provinces. It is difficult therefore to accept Dr. Qureshi's statement that the respite granted to Multan consisted only of cesses.

Lastly, as Dr. Qureshi himself states, Sher Shah's demand was not unusual. Babur demanded a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred and as this tradition could hardly have been disturbed by Humayun, it is scarcely possible that Sher Shah would have cut down this most fruitful source of state income. I have failed to discover the statement in the 'A'in to which he refers in saying that Akbar raised a demand to a third;²⁵ even if such a statement exists, and Akbar did raise the demand, it does not follow that Sher Shah's demand was a fourth which was raised to a third by Akbar. The difference might have been insignificant and what is more likely, the rates might have dropped in the chaos that followed the death of Islam Shah.

22. A'in-i-Akbari, Bibliotheca Indica Text, edited by Blochmann, Vol. I. pp. 294-295; also Ains XIV & XV for 10-Year and 19-Year rates.

23. A'in, Blochmann Text, Vol. I. p. 298 ff.

24. Abbas p. 191; Dorn, I. p. 135.

25. A'in Blochmann Text I. pp. 300-301.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Modern Works

Moreland, W. H. : *Agrarian System of Moslem India*. Cambridge 1929.

Qanungo, K. R. : *Sher Shah*. Calcutta 1921.

Qureshi, I. H. : *Administration of the Sultanat of Delhi*. Lahore 1944.

Rashid, Sheikh A. : *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*. Unpublishd.

Saran, P. : *Provincial Government of the Mughals*. Allahabad 1941.

Tripathi, R. P. : *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*. Allahabad 1936.

Persian Histories and Manuscripts.

Daulat-i-Sher Shahi by Hasan Khan. Fragment of 22 pages only but front page showing that it was used by 'Ab'ul Fadl. English translation of the Firmans only, originals being lost, by Dr. R. P. Tripathi.

Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi or Tuhfa-i-Akbar Shahi by 'Abbas Khan Sarwani. Allahabad University Ms. & Indi Office Ms.

Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani wa Makhzan-u'l Afghani by Ni'mat-u'llah Hirawi: Two M. U. Aligarh Ms.

English translation of the above but from a different manuscript by Richard Dorn called "History of the Afghans". London 1829.

A'in-i-Akbari by 'Abu'l-Fadl Allami. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1873.

Translated into English by H. Blochmann & Jarrett. Bib. Indica Calcutta 1894. Also Revised Edition.

Jawaharlal Nehru and India's Freedom Movement

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.Litt.,

Professor and Head of History Department, University of Lucknow

Jawaharlal, the agent of India's historic destiny, was not cast out by high birth and opulent surroundings for the role of a nation-builder. A Harrow-and-Cambridge scholar, he had all that riches could provide, and he should normally have led the life of a well-to-do and high-brow lawyer. But, it is a strange phenomenon that such a man on his own initiative deliberately chose a path of trials, tribulations, renunciation and repeated jail-goings in the cause of the motherland. How can Nehru then be regarded as a product of his times? The verdict of history will be that he is one of the makers of the age and a daring path-finder.

Nehru did not grow up into a spoiled child even though he was the only son of his well-to-do parents. Even though he passed the days of his sheltered childhood in anglicised atmosphere, he began to dislike the alien rulers even in his younger days. He had no particular animosity against individual Englishmen, but he knew that the ruling race was unjust and oppressive to the Indian people. This is borne out by the fact that, as a boy of ten, he felt an instinctive sympathy for the Boers in the Boer War.

At the age of fifteen he went to England for education, and after this he should have become an Englishman in all but name. But, he was so intelligent and mentally alert that he did not cease to take interest in politics which fascinated him always. The news of political developments in India stirred him tremendously, even though he got meagre enough accounts of India from the British newspapers. For meritorious progress at school he got Trevelyan's Garibaldi books as prize. The subject interested him so much that visions of similar exploits in India came before him, of a grand struggle for freedom, and in his mind India and Italy got curiously mixed together. In short, he became mentally

at least an extremist of the school of Tilak and Aurobinda Ghosh. That is why when he heard that his father had joined the moderates he was not pleased.

When he was back home, he gradually leaned to aggressive activity against foreign rule. He started by joining Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant and during the World War I he began to rebel against too much submission that was in the air. The moderate policy of keeping away from the Congress at this time caused much indignation in his mind, and he considered their opposition to be undignified and unbecoming. His first meeting with Gandhiji which was about the time of the Lucknow Congress during 1916 was a great event in his life for it was destined to mould the youthful patriot's future life and career. Nehru was afire with enthusiasm when the Satyagraha Movement began even though his father was dead against the new-fangled trend of jail-going. Ultimately the son triumphed and the father, despite his initial reluctance, yielded gracefully. Nehru became an enthusiastic political follower of Gandhiji, and an unquestioning faith in the latter's political insight grew gradually in his mind. Then followed a close political partnership between the Guru and the disciple which finally brought freedom to India. The Non-Co-operation Movement found Nehru almost at his best. He was in a kind of intoxication of excitement and optimism. He had no doubts or hesitation. The path seemed to be clear. And he marched ahead as a bold crusader for the cause of his Master. Jail-going had no terrors for him. And, there was no feeling to avoid getting into trouble with the government. Gandhiji's stress on the religious side often troubled him, but Nehru could judge everything on the political and ethical plane and did not mind the eddies and backwaters when he was certain that the main direction was correct. In any case, he had no doubts that though Gandhiji was incomprehensible at times he was a glorious leader who knew and understood the masses and was a symbolical expression of their ardent hopes and aspirations.

The famous statement which Nehru made before the Court of the District Magistrate of Allahabad on May 17, 1922, breathes noble sentiment and sums up his articles of faith as a soldier of freedom. He made it clear that his weapons were not the old time one of force and coercion. The weapons which Gandhiji

had put in people's hands were those of love and self-sacrifice. "We are fighting", he said with eloquence, "for our freedom, for the freedom of our country". "I shall go to jail again most willingly and joyfully", he went on to say, and finally concluded by saying "To suffer for the dear country! What greater good fortune could befall an Indian unless it is a death in the cause or for the realisation of our glorious dream".

India has been blessed with a Gandhi but also with a Jawaharlal Nehru. Both were complementary to each other and both have advanced the cause of India's freedom in different ways. The greatest follower of Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, is yet a liberator in his own right. If Gandhi gave the idea, Nehru gave the colour and shape and the concrete form of India's independence. And, there is no doubt that Gandhiji forged the weapon which Nehru wielded with will and ability. Nehru is the best interpreter and spokesman of Gandhiji's thought and it was the two together in a brilliant partnership that led India's fight for freedom. Gandhiji was the Lord Krishna and Nehru the Arjuna of the great Indian Mahabharata conflict of the twentieth century.

Why did Nehru accept non-violence in this struggle for independence? With his rational and historical sense Nehru could not simply have done otherwise. Terrorism made no appeal to him, for he regarded it as a sign of political immaturity. He had no doubt that it formed a tragic and futile weapon and no nation had really benefited by it. Non-violence, he was convinced, was to be the salvation of India and, indeed, of the whole world. Violence, he thought, had had a long career, and had been weighed repeatedly and always found wanting. Violence must go from excess to excess and ultimately it would perish in the flames it kindled and be reduced to ashes. But, like Gandhiji Nehru was also clear that non-violence could not mean cowardice or weakness. Nehru made his choice because Gandhiji represented to him the age-old soul of India more than the cult of violence that western ideologies idolised and worshipped. He chose the path of non-violence and suffering in the spirit of a true votary and assumed thereby the proud position of the vanguard in the army of freedom which believed that freedom would be valueless and tainted, if it came through resort to foul means.

It was at the Madras session of the Congress in December, 1927 that Nehru moved his historic resolution on India's independence. The resolution which was a bold and unexpected statement of India's future goal reads thus : "The Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete independence". For the first time, the Congress ceased to equivocate, and it said frankly and publicly under Nehru's leadership that India wanted complete power to rule herself. And, it is to the credit of Nehru that he outlined this new goal. He was no weaver of phrases or trafficker in eloquence. He literally meant that the Congress must change its programme radically. With his ideal clear-cut and its approach firmly fixed national independence was, according to him, an essential requisite of all progress, and without it there could be no really political, economic or social freedom. But, the inter-nationalist in Nehru was apparent from his warning that independence, if it meant an addition to the warring nations, would be a dangerous thing. He wanted independence to be a step towards a world commonwealth of nations in which India should assist in the fullest measure to bring about peace and world harmony.

In 1928, when the question was debated by the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow as to whether India should have Dominion Status or complete independence, Nehru again gave the clear lead. He pointed out that the conception of Dominion Status represented an ideology of a past age utterly out of touch with the reality of the present day. To talk of this ideology would be to delude the nation for the only goal meant for the country was full and complete independence, and it would be a bad policy and worse tactics to agree to Dominion Status even for a while and even as a temporary compromise.

In 1929, Mahatma Gandhi who had so far been rather lukewarm about the independence creed at last gave it his blessings in the Lahore session of the Congress. This enabled the Congress to unfurl the flag of independence on the banks of the river Ravi at midnight of December 21, 1929 and in the early hours of first January, 1930. This was indeed a glorious day in the political career of Nehru. He had positively changed the outlook of the Congress and had given it a new orientation altogether. The word 'Swaraj' in the Congress constitution was henceforth to mean complete independence.

Temporary failures did not discourage him, but were incentives to greater efforts. He searched his mind for an explanation of that failure, and by means of this self-questioning—he wished to keep on the correct path. It was under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi that he converted the Congress from an inane body weakly functioning among the richer classes into a competent national organisation with its roots in the Indian genius and the common men who live in it. He had the genius to feel the new spirit of mass-awakening, and was able to break the mental inertia that had so far cramped the vast masses. He could sense that political freedom was not far off, because he realised that his own mind had become free. He knew very well that it is very much more difficult to break the chains which bind the mind than the bonds which bind the body. He always felt that the world-forces had come upon him and that he was to be an agent of historic destiny. He viewed the Indian struggle as a part of a bigger fight for independence, and the force that moved him seemed to him to be moving countless people all over the world and forcing them into activity. If all Asia was responsive to the new spirit, India was bound to play a not insignificant part in modern history. This shows that very few of the Indian leaders possessed the world sense which characterised Nehru's outlook on Indian struggle. He could never miss the vital connection between world events and our national problem.

As a soldier of freedom, Nehru took his stand with the socialist and nationalist forces of the world in order to rise above the tide of world-imperialism. He saw the world divided into two blocs—the Imperialists and Fascists on the one side, the Socialist and anti-imperialist on the other. The British Empire represented the strongest and oldest imperialism and this was the real argument for India's freedom and for the end of India's connection with this Empire. After all there could be no connection between India's freedom and British imperialism. So, if India remained within the imperialist fold, whatever name or status and whatever external appearance and power India might have, India would have remained a slave to the reactionary forces and to the imperialist bloc.

What was his indictment of the British rule in India? Firstly, he said that it cramped the soul of the people. Secondly, he con-

sidered it largely responsible for our terrible economic poverty. Thirdly, he held that it gave us only a fare of the fiercest repression and deprivation of civil and even personal liberties. Fourthly, he thought that India's intellectual and moral decadence was also due to the presence of the policemen's baton and the soldier's bayonet which made the country a vast prison-house and detention camp. Lastly, British rule, according to him, perpetuated our social and economic problems and weaknesses which could not be solved so long as the British connection lasted.

Nehru was always indignant of our national shortcomings — the spirit of occasional disunion and the petty conflicts and disagreements amongst the political leaders. He tried to discourage them as best as he could and he reminded everybody that we should not forget at any time the bigger ideal we stood for and we should not fight over trivial matters. He constantly told his contemporaries that we must not lose touch with the masses and be deprived of the life-giving energy that flows from them. Mass backing alone could be a corrective of the difficulties of the middle-class leadership which is often confused and looks in diverse directions at the same time, even though it is from the middle-classes primarily that revolutionary leadership comes. Though middle-class leadership could not be done away with it must, he argued, look more and more towards the common man and get inspiration and strength from him. The Congress was not only to be for the masses, as it certainly was, but also of the masses; only then would it be for the masses in the real sense of the term, for only then their needs and aspirations vague as they were could find expression in the Congress.

The real problem for him was how in India's struggle for freedom he could join together all the progressive forces in the country and make a broad front of all the mass elements and the great majority of the middle-classes that stood for freedom. If the Congress favoured the upper classes alone it would betray the national interests it claimed to represent and lose the very justification for its continuance.

Nehru saw as no other leader saw it, that the only key to the solution of India's problems lay in socialism and this socialism he viewed in its scientific and economic sense. To Nehru socialism was more than an economic idea. It was a way of life and as such

it immensely appealed to him. He saw no way of eradicating economic backwardness, the large-scale unemployment, the political subjection and the misery of the masses except through socialism. He was aware that this meant drastic changes both in the political and social structure of the vested interests in all spheres. It was ultimately to mean the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of cooperative service — which would amount to a change of philosophy of life, completely different from the existing capitalist order. But, Nehru was always clear on the point that there could not be a slavish imitation of the Soviet system which he personally admired. He held that every nation must have its socialist system after its own way and fit it in with its own genius.

He worked for Indian independence not only because the patriot in him could not put up with foreign rule but also because it appeared to him to be the inevitable step to a socialist rebuilding of society. But, he realised that the majority in the Congress might not be prepared to go thus far and so he was prepared to slow down the pace of advance. In any case he was not willing to force the issue in the Congress and thereby create difficulties in the way of India's nationalist struggle against the British rule. He was always ready to cooperate gladly and with all the strength in him with all those who worked for independence even though they did not feel much attracted to the socialist idea. The object was to convert the Congress slowly, if not all at once. The Congress was in the British period a broad popular front representing a variety of ideologies. It was to remain thus for a long time to come. That is why Nehru could with his passion for socialism and rapid industrialisation cooperate with Gandhiji for the village uplift, Khadi and untouchability-removal programmes. But, these appealed to him no more than temporary acceptance of a transition stage rather than a permanent solution of the country's problems.

He opposed the Act of 1935 tooth and nail, even though he was willing to seek election on the basis of a detailed political and economic programme with the nation's demand for a Constituent Assembly in the forefront. He was convinced that India's political and cultural problems could be solved through such a Constituent Assembly provided it was elected on adult franchise and mass basis. A Constituent Assembly was the only proper

and democratic means for the improvement of India's situation, he held. When the question was fiercely debated as to whether office must be accepted after election Nehru warned the Congress of its dangers. He maintained that it was always risky to accept responsibility without power even in democratic countries; it was far worse with a reactionary constitution hedged in with safeguards and reserve powers. He emphasised that would lose much and gain little by acceptance of office in terms of the Act of 1935. He strongly condemned the Communal Award for this and democracy could never go together. As for the federal part of the constitution, Nehru would not simply look at it even though he might start the provincial legislatures for some time.

As a soldier of freedom, Nehru always experienced the thrill of mass feeling, the power of influencing the common man. Unlike Gandhiji he kept religion outside politics. He took to the crowd as the crowd took to him, and yet he never lost himself in it, even though the crowds loved and adored him. His sentiments and languages were noble but they were never those of a rabble-rouser. From his higher mental perch he never ceased to feel how different he was from those thousands who idolised him, different in outlook, in taste and in aspirations. In order to be sure that the people really liked him for what he was, he was often frank, critical and even rough and rude in his criticisms and denunciations. Still the people put up with him and he remained their hero and darling.

On a survey of Nehru's contributions to the freedom struggle, it would appear that Nehru powerfully influenced it and gave it a new orientation. Firstly, he introduced the independence creed which even Gandhiji had not at first approved. Secondly, he gave the Indian freedom movement a world background and perspective which could not have been possible under Gandhiji. Thirdly, though no pioneer in the socialist field in India Nehru was the first Congress leader who popularised the socialist thought of the Marxian kind. Fourthly, he organised a broad-front against all kinds of communalism and casteism. Lastly, it was Nehru who first gave a concrete shape to the idea of national planning after the Soviet model of the Five-Year-Plan. Nehru's name in modern Indian history will live for ever as that of a great patriot and architect of freedom.

The Tariff Walls in the North-east Frontier—in the Early Days of the Company

BY

H. K. BARPUJARI

(Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam)

The external trade of Assam with Bengal, during Pre-British days, was subjected to customs duties, which were levied at Kan-sahar, commonly known as the Hadira Chokey,* at the mouth of the river Manas, a tributary of the Brahmaputra. The Chokey was entrusted by the Assam Government to an official, the Duaria Barua¹ who had to pay according to Francis Hamilton, an annual rent of Rs. 45,000/-. The duties were reported have been fixed at 10% *ad valorem*, but fluctuated from time to time at the hands of different Baruas. There was no law to prevent the merchants, protected as they were by a *Rowana* (permit), from proceeding far into the province; yet 'the trouble and expenses' on the way, the difficulties in procuring ready payment and the delays and the vexations at the gateway itself, induced them to transact the whole traffic through the Baruas, who had thus enjoyed an exclusive privilege to trade with Bengal.² 'The high rates of duties demanded by the Duaria Baruas, the non-fulfilment of their contracts or their refusal to carry on trade with particular individuals led to constant frictions with the Bengal merchants'.

After British occupation, the Chokey was placed in-charge of a merchant from Bengal, who received a commission of 10% on the collections, according to a scheduled tariff besides permission to raise contributions of rice and money to maintain the

! This was also known as Kandar, Kangrar or Assam Chokey. Vide Hamilton. B, An Account of Assam, page 42.

1. Sometimes, this office was held simultaneously by more than one Duaria Barua. In 1809, according to Hamilton, Kamal and Parsuram, two Rarhi Brahmins occupied this post.

2. Hamilton. B: An Account of Assam, pp. 42-43; Bhuyan, S. K.: Anglo-Assamese Relations, pp. 50-52, 339-342.

searchers; *majhees* and *choukidars*.³ It was farmed out, subsequently, to an Assamese for a sum of Rs. 15,983-0 and the farmer was authorised, like the predecessor, to collect the requirements of his establishment.⁴ Mr. Scott, the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East Frontier, clearly perceived, as early as 1826, that the existence of Kandahar with its attendant evils was a standing menace to the commercial traffic with Assam.⁵ With a view to encouraging foreign investors and traders, in his despatch of 28th February, 1927, he urged on the Government of Bengal to abolish, altogether, the customs *chokies* of the North-East Frontier, including Kandahar. The representations which the Agent repeated in the succeeding years failed to rouse the authorities at Fort William and, therefore, without waiting for their orders, in 1829, Mr. Scott abolished the duties on a number of indigenous commodities exported from Assam⁶ and this was, of course, regularised in December, 1830, by the Government of Bengal and the exemption list, too, it appears, subsequently augmented.⁷

The duties levied at Kandahar were such as to deter even the most enterprising speculator to have commercial relations with Assam. The rates stood, in 1831-34, as follows:—

On Exports

Lac	..	8 annas per maund
<i>Munjit</i> *	..	Do.
Pepper (long)	..	1 rupee Do.

3. The rates, which were fixed, stood as follows:

(a) Searcher eight annas for laden boat
one seer of rice per boat.

....four annas per empty boat.

(b) Ghat *Majhee*two sers of rice per boat.

(c) Choukidar....half a seer of rice per boat. Revenue Consultations, Bengal, 1835; 7 March, no. 89: Bogles to Robertson 23 February, 1833.

4. *Imid*.

5. *Ibid*, No. 81; Jenkins to the Secy. Govt. of Bengal, 14 August, 1834.

6. Revenue Consultations, Bengal, 1835; 7 March No. 81.

7. *Ibid*; Commodities free from duties:—

(a) Exports,—Cotton, Silk, molasses, honey, tobacco mustard seed, seed, paddy, gold-silver and precious stones.

(b) Imports—Cotton, shells, brass *battas*, precious stones, rice, dolls, gram, wheat, cocoanut oil, shoes, European and Chinese goods.

Elephant teeth	..	10 rupees	Do.
Wax	..	5 rupees	Do.
Elephant	..	10 rupèes each	

Copper, brass and iron wares, Bhutia blankets, silk-thread and cloth, rattan, ivory ware, rhinoceros' horn, beads, mats, poppy-seeds, musks, yak-tails—all 10% on the Goalpara value. .

Salt	..	8 annas per boat of 99 maunds
Spirits	..	8 annas per gallon
Pepper (black)	..	One rupee per maund

Copper-steel-brass and iron wares, cotton-silk-woolen goods, carpets, spices, sugar, candles, mustard oil, garlic, butter, tumeric, drugs, perfumes, furnishers, umbrellas, paper and writing materials, etc.—all 10% on the value.⁸

No consideration, whatever, was shown as to the quality and price of the article bought for foreign markets.⁹ The work for appraising proper value, of course, bristled with difficulties and provided ample scope for corruption. The detention for search, the forfeitures, the penalties besides unauthorized exactions, common to the customs chokies in Bengal, were practised, unblushingly, at Kandahar. What was worse, the *Rowanas* granted at Kandahar would not protect the merchandize from further levies up or down the river Brahmaputra.¹⁰ Inland transit duties were collected at every conceivable check-posts—at about a dozen places nearabout and beyond Kandahar,¹¹ at the *Garrow Khats*, the *Naga Khats* and the river-ghats of Cachar and Manipur.

The local authorities after the death of Mr. Scott, in September 1831, reversed his policy and sought to retain the chokey at Kandahar from a 'Political point of view' affording, as they viewed, some check on the river dacoity and also to the exportation of children which was previously rife along this frontier.¹²

8. *Ibid*; Nos. 81 and 90.

9. Thus Elephant teeth of inferior quality valued at 30/- per manud was taxed at the same rate with the excellent variety @120/- per maund. Revenue consultations Bengal, 1835; 7 March, No. 84. Vide the petition of the Merchants.

10. *Ibid*.

11. These were as follows: Gawalpara; Moheah(?) Dhubri, Nagarbera, Dobapara, Samkota, Nowgong, Bohotee(?) and Bengabhellenga.

12. Revenue consultations, Bengal, 1835; 7 March, No. 89; Bogles to Robertson; 23 February, 1833.

Impressed by such considerations, Mr. Robertson, who succeeded the late Agent, in 1832, brought the chokey under the direct control of the Principal Assistant of the six Parganas,* although, he strongly advocated that the Rowanas granted by its collector should cover the goods from further duties within or outside the province.¹³ Captain Jenkins, who followed Mr. Robertson, in April 1834, as the Commissioner of Assam, suggested that the tariff duties of Regulation XV of 1825 be adopted at Kandahar as the scale on which collections are to be made, lest the merchants be subjected to the illegal exactions by the unscrupulous officers.¹⁴ The divergent views held by the local officials, lack of effective public opinion and the indecision of the authorities in Calcutta, thus, left the merchants, local or foreign entirely at the hands of the customs officials. The delays, repeated exactions and occasional oppressions, in all stages of the journey of the commodities, from the producer to the consumer, doubtless, discouraged merchants, impeded trade and did incalculable harm to the industrial and agricultural activities of the undeveloped North-east Frontier.

The representation made by successive Commissioners, ultimately, drew the attention of the Supreme Government. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, in a minute, dated 6th August, 1833, analysed fully the anomalous position confronted by the merchants trading with Assam, 'the duties now levied in Assam' he observed, 'in addition to the customs paid in the provinces and that the Rowanas at Dacca, Calcutta and elsewhere do not cover commodities imported into these provinces nor the local Rowanas protect their export the exports and imports of Assam are (consequently) subject to much heavier duties than it is politic to levy'.¹⁵ The Governor-General, though highly sympathetic, wavered to arrive at a final decision of the Assam Chokies, in particular, because the subject of inland transit duties, as a whole, was then under consideration of the Supreme Government. The question was, however, mooted again in July, 1835, when the Governor-General in Council felt it inexpedient to drag this matter any further. 'If the investigations' it was remarked 'now making into the subject should lead to the establishment

13. *Ibid*; Robertson to the Secy. Govt. of Bengal, 17 June, 1833.

14. *Ibid.*, No. 81, Jenkins to the Secy., Govt. of Bengal, 15 August, 1834.

15. *Ibid.*, No. 91, Vide the Minute, 6 August, 1833.

of a better system, Government will then consider how far it may be expedient to extend the mitigated rules into Assam in the meantime, he (Governor-General) can only anticipate benefit from encouraging the growth of an habitual and unrestricted intercourse with that province'.¹⁶ Accordingly, the Commissioner was directed to abolish Kandahar and all other Chokies in the neighbourhood of Goalpara and 'to leave the trade to and from with Bengal perfectly free, until, otherwise hereafter provided.'

Kandahar, the gateway of Assam, thus, became free. Innumerable toll-gates still fettered the trade along the border of the southern hills and in Upper Assam, which was then ruled by the Ahom Prince Purandar Singha. In the South-East corner of Jatter's territory, Jenkins reported,¹⁷ in the vicinity of salt wells, there situated 20 to 30 *hats* (markets), mostly resorted to by the Nagar. 'Of the articles brought to barter for salt, the Raja takes here $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ according to the kind of articles and the manager of *haut* (the *Hatkhowa*) taxes $\frac{1}{2}$ of that for himself; another $\frac{1}{5}$ is again taken at the wells. Of the salt purchased, out of four lumps, (the buyer) has to give the Raja one piece and a half to the Manager. Articles that cannot be divided are valued at the same or lesser proportion of the value taken. Thus about 50% is taken on trade upwards and near 40% on the trade downwards'¹⁸ The retention of *Naga hat* duties, even after the resumption of the territory of Raja Purandar, in October 1838, was,¹⁹ indeed, an ill-conceived measure. In the Cachar-Manipur frontier, the hill-men were made to pay such odious duties that many had to forgo the few luxuries, which they bartered at the hill marts and, consequently, the traffic on the border dwindled to such an extent that some of the toll-gates had to be closed, altogether.²⁰ On the west, the Garrows, who had been subjected invariably to illegal exactions were besides forced

16. *Ibid.*, No. 86; Vide the Extract from the political Department.

17. Political Consultations, India, 1838; 28 March No. 46.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Political Consultations, India, 1838; 28 November, No. 114.

20. To procure bettlenut, salt, tobacco and dried fish, the hill-men, previously, bartered cotton, timber, rattan, ivory and bamboes at the *hats* situated at Bikrampur, Borkhola, Kiling ghat, phara ghat, Ticul(?) and Oodabari. In addition, there were river-ghats, which were farmed out, at Lakhipur, Banskandi, Burdawn, Jaynagar, Jatrapur and Syal Tek; Revenue Consultations, Bengal, 1836; 7 March, No. 89.

to bring their bulky but less costly loads of cotton down to the *hats*, where to avoid harassments at the hands of hat holders they had to undersell their commodities; although, these mountaineers could dispose of their goods even at spot, which had always been accessible to eager customers from Bengal.²¹

The main 'political object', for which these check-posts were maintained—as the only means to bring the turbulent highlanders under control—was defeated. The retention of these *hats*, with their illegal exactions, vexations and delays, effectively checked the intercourse between the dwellers of the hills and plains and provided a perennial source of trouble to the British Government. Captain Jenkins, who held, of course, a different view and advocated, as far as practicable, a policy of rapprochement between the two peoples, never failed to draw the attention of the Government of Bengal to this anomalous state of affairs;²² In spite of his reminders and the nice sentiments occasionally expressed by the authorities in Calcutta—'that every facility should be afforded for the highlanders and lowlanders' 'our object is to cultivate friendly intercourse with the Garrows, Nagas and other hill-tribes'²³—the *hats* and their odious duties continued to exist even after the abolition of the inland customs chokies of the North-east Frontier. However, in the middle of 1839, the Deputy Governor of Bengal took a serious view of the whole situation,²⁴—'that the retention of these customs-gates militates against the spirit of the Act XIV of 1836' 'it operates as a great impediment to the attainment of the primary object for which these (*hats*) were set up.' When the Board of Revenue, too, endorsed the same opinion, the Supreme Government resolved, finally, to abolish the hill-hats and authorized the Commissioner of Assam 'to allow the Garrows and other hill-tribes to dispose of their articles, free of duties, at places most convenient to them' on the understanding that 'if disturbances should occur, in consequence of the withdrawal of these restrictions, the propriety of reimposing these and other restrictions will become a matter for consideration.'²⁵

21. Revenue letters from Bengal, 1839; 4 December, No. 15.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Revenue Consultations, Bengal, 1836; 7 March, No. 91; Vide the Minute, 6 August 1833.

24. Revenue letters from Bengal, 1839; 4 December No. 15.

25. *Ibid.*

An Intercepted Letter of Keir Hardie to Bal Gangadhar Tilak

A proposal to hold a session of the Indian National Congress
in London

BY

DR. SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

University Grants Commission, New Delhi

While the Indian National Congress was trying to educate the Indian people about the supreme necessity of having their self-government, a group of men in Great Britain who were friendly to India felt the importance of educating the public opinion in that country in favour of the movement for the political emancipation of India. Foremost among them was Sir William Wedderburn, one of the architects of the Indian National Congress and twice the President of that august body.¹ Presiding over the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1910, Wedderburn said, "Let me remind you of the twofold character of the Congress work. There is first the work in India: the political education of the people, having for its first object to create solidarity of the Indian public opinion, founded on the widest experience and wisest counsel available. This part of the work has been in great part accomplished.What is now wanted is a vigorous propaganda in England, in order to bring the appeal effectively before the High Court of the British nation. The work to be done is of a missionary kind and must be mainly directed to influencing the British people in whom the ultimate power is vested.What is wanted is a systematic, continuous and sustained effort to bring before the English public the Indian view of Indian affairs".²

The idea of Wedderburn found a staunch advocate in the late James Keir Hardie,³ the first Socialist member to be elected to

1. Bombay Session, 1899, and Allahabad Session, 1910.

2. "Indian National Congress", G. A. Natesan, Madras, 1917, pp. 1005-06.

3. J. Keir Hardie (1856-1915), M.P., from 1900 till his death.

the British House of Commons and the first Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Keir Hardie came to India in 1907-08, and in the course of an extensive tour in this country he gathered personal knowledge of the men and affairs in India. A man of the people, Keir Hardie could easily realize the role of the Indian leaders in the political movement. He acquired great respect for the Indian patriot Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who in the words of Lord Minto, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1905-1910) "was recognized throughout India as the leader of sedition".⁴ Impressed by the personality of Tilak and the influence he exercised over the Indian National Congress, Keir Hardie in 1911 wrote from England to Tilak about the importance of educating British public opinion about India and her aims and aspirations.

But the letter never reached the great Indian leader. In 1908 Tilak was sentenced to imprisonment for six years on a charge of publication of seditious articles, and in March 1911 when the letter was addressed to him, Tilak was serving his sentence at the Mandalay jail in the far off Burma. The letter was intercepted on its arrival at Bombay and as the result of a triangular correspondence between the Government of Bombay, the Government of India and the Government of Burma it was decided not to deliver the letter to the "convict". The Government of India read into the letter more than what was written. In their opinion Keir Hardie must have anticipated the interception of the letter and Lord Hardinge,⁵ the then Governor-General, and his Council came to the conclusion that the letter was "probably written so as to create a grievance over its being intercepted".⁶

Almost half a century has passed by since the letter was written. Many events have happened since then. Both Tilak and Keir Hardie as also Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge are no longer in the land of the living. None of them were destined to see the emergence of an independent India, for which Tilak lived

4. "India Minto & Morley, 1905-1910", Mary, Countess of Minto, p. 247.

5. Baron Hardinge of Penshurst (1858-1944), Viceroy & Governor-General of India, 1910-1916.

6. Home : Poll-B : Progs., July 1911, No. 17-19.

AN INTERCEPTED LETTER OF KEIR HARDIE 83

and died and which the friends of India like Keir Hardie might have visualized. The fact remains that the British public opinion and particularly the Labour Party, of which Keir Hardie was the first representative in the House of Commons, played a large part in the enactment of the Indian Independence Act of 1947 which transferred power over India from the people of Great Britain to those of India and Pakistan.

The letter of Keir Hardie to Tilak which so long lay hidden in a dark corner of the Archives of the Government of India may speak for itself about the emphasis put by Keir Hardie on the importance of holding a session of the Indian National Congress in London to educate public opinion of Britain on Indian questions. The following is the text of the letter:—

House of Commons Library

March 31, 1911

My dear Mr. Tilak,

I have many times intended writing to you but somehow one's good intentions often get pushed aside by the pressure of necessities of the moment. I have been hearing of you indirectly through our mutual friend Mr. G. S. Khaparde.⁷ I expect you are finding the time hang heavily on your hands, unless you are allowed a good deal of latitude in the way of doing some useful studies.

You have of course heard of the result of the General Election and how the Labour Party was returned two stronger than it was in the last Parliament. We are now 42 members in the House of Commons. Some of these are beginning to take quite an intelligent interest in India and its problems. I never miss an opportunity of driving home the point that the only solution for the difficulties of the situation in India is such a measure of self-government as will make the people of India masters in their own households. I am quite aware, as you know, that this state could not be attained immediately, but that is the real goal towards which every friend of India should be diligently striving. Every extension of power has justified the belief that

7. A Congress leader of Amraoti, Berar, and a co-worker of Tilak.

the more these powers are extended the greater will be the proof of the fitness of the people to attend to their own affairs and the greater also the disproof of the carefully nurtured fallacy that India needs a strong controlling hand to keep its different sects and races from cutting each other's throats.

I have been strongly urging upon the heads of the Indian Congress Movement the advisability and importance of holding their next Congress here in London. The presence of men like yourself and your colleagues in Conference assembled would go far to break down prejudice, and were the Congress followed by a series of big demonstrations in our most important industrial centres the effect could not fail to be excellent. I do not know how far you agree with me that next to the education of the people of India concerning their political rights and duties the next important thing is the education of the people of this country concerning India and her aims and aspirations. There is no reason why the two things should not go on side by side and the Congress and the meetings would aid both objects.

I do not know if there is anything else I can add except that whether the Congress be held here or not, I trust that after your release you may be able to come here upon a visit. Should that happen I should be greatly delighted to renew the acquaintance in which I found so much to respect and admire, and with all good wishes for your health and well-being I beg to remain.

B. G. Tilak, Esq.

Yours sincerely,
J. Keir Hardie^{8*}

8. Home: Poll-B: Proceedings, July 1911, No. 17-19. Interception of a letter addressed by Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., to Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

* Read at the Indian History Congress, Trivandrum Session, 1958.

Dungarpur Succession, 1846

BY

DR. HIRA LAL GUPTA, M.A., D.PHIL

University of Saugar

With the establishment of British ascendancy in India towards the end of the administration of Lord Hastings, British relations with the Indian States entered upon a new phase. During the period of Lord Amherst, the work left unfinished by his predecessor was completed and the idea of annexing the dependent states of British creation on the failure of natural-born male heirs was conceived and applied as an experimental measure in certain very small but not very unimportant states. However, the period before Lord Dalhousie was marked by hesitation and restraint in the application of the idea of escheat. Annexations on that score were effected only in exceptional cases where promptings of British interests made them unavoidable and imperative. Fear of unpopularity and adverse reaction against British rule in India imposed an effective check on the application of that policy as a regular routine. Although very few states were annexed on that pretext by 1848, there was hardly any case of succession after 1834 in which lapse remained wholly unthought of and the pros and cons of it were not properly adjudged. One instance of this kind was the case of Dungarpur in Rajputana where succession question engaged the attention of Lord Hardinge in 1846.¹

Jaswant Singh, the titular Maharawal of Dungarpur expired on the 19th December 1845 at Brindaban.² About twentyfive years before that melancholy event, having no male issue, he had adopted Dalpat Singh, a collateral and a member of the royal house of

1. Foreign Department letter from Fort William to the Home Government, 5th November 1847. No. 15.

2. A letter from Edward Thornton, Magistrate of Muttra, to Lt. Coll. T. Robinson, Political Agent in Mewar, 19th December, 1845.

Partabgarh, as his son and heir presumptive of his state.³ Since then Dalpat Singh virtually ruled over Dungarpur in de facto capacity in the name of Jaswant Singh, who was deposed and removed from the state by the British Government but was allowed to take abode at Brindaban where he passed the rest of his life. It was, however, conceded that in the case of a son being born to him, he would become the natural lineal successor to the throne and that Dalpat Singh would be assigned some jagir for his maintenance.⁴ But in 1845, a year before the death of Jaswant Singh, Dalpat Singh acquired the throne of Partabgarh, on the chance death of its ruler and his son, by virtue of being the eldest surviving descendant of the ruling family of that state.⁵ Consequently, after the death of Jaswant Singh without a son of his own, succession question cropped up in Dungarpur. It seemed as though the two small principalities would be united into one political unit under a common ruler.⁶

The British authorities had no objection to a scheme of this kind. It was presumed that nobody would dispute this union, as the late Maharawal had long ceased to enjoy real power and Dalpat Singh had wielded power and authority for more than twenty years.⁷ Tranquillity prevailed in the state and there seemed to be no danger of a breach of peace. Lt. Col. T. Robinson, the British Political Agent in Mewar, therefore, reached Dungarpur to regularise succession and to give the existing arrangement a de jure status. He was given full discretionary authority by the Governor-General to effect an appropriate political and administrative arrangement which could be congenial to the peace of the realm and enjoy the approbation of the Government of India, the Court of Directors and the Chiefs of Dungarpur.⁸

On reaching Dungarpur, when Col. Robinson started investigations he was surprised to find strong objection to the proposed

3. A letter from Robinosn, Political Agent in Mewar to Maj. C. Thoresby, Officiating Agent to the Governor-General for the States of Rajputana, 24th December 1845.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Despatch from Thoresby to the Secretary to the Government of India, 9th January 1846.

7. A letter from Robinson to Thoresby, 24th December 1845.

8. Letter from Thoresby to Robinson 29th December 1845.

political union of the two states under Dalpat Singh, the ruler of Partabgarh.⁹ The idea of the merger of Dungarpur with any state and the consequent loss of its political status were highly repugnant to the Rajput dignitaries of the state who wished to maintain their state as a separate entity.¹⁰ Hence, the entire case was opened afresh for discussion and decision. Three alternatives occurred to Robinson for a possible solution. Firstly, nominal unification of the two principalities of Partabgarh and Dungarpur under Dalpat Singh's rule and maintenance of two separate autonomous units of administration.¹¹ Secondly, permission to the state to adopt a new successor, and maintenance of it as a distinctly separate political entity.¹² Thirdly, escheat of the state to the British Government in the manner of other heirless principalities, and assumption of its administration by the paramount power.¹³

When the succession question was being discussed in this manner, the deposed Maharawal Jaswant Singh offered the strongest opposition to the proposal for merger. He made an attempt to recover his lost authority and to regulate succession in his own way. He adopted Hanwant Singh, son of the Thakur of Mungla as his new successor. But he was unsuccessful and his attempt to emerge from oblivion resulted in his removal to Brindaban where he remained under close watch as a British pensioner till his death in December 1845.

In ordinary course and under unchanged circumstances, on the failure of the contingency of a son being born to the Maharawal, Dalpat Singh's claims to succession were undoubted and undisputed. All things were in his favour. He enjoyed the support of the paramount power.¹⁴ His adoption was not disputed by any claimant. Under the title of a Regent he had shown his merits

9. Despatch from Thoresby to The Secretary to the Government of India, 6th February 1846.

10. *Ibid.*

11. A letter from Robinson to Thoresby, 28th January 1846; A letter from Fort William to the Home Government Foreign Department, 5th November 1847 Con. No. 15.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. A letter from Robinson to Thoresby, 28th January 1846.

as a talented and successful administrator. He had managed the affairs of Dungarpur with credit to himself and to benefit of the state. All sections of people bore the mark of satisfaction under his rule. There was no opposition to him on that account. He would have administered the state with change in his designation from Regent to Rawal. But as he had already become the ruler of Partabgarh in an unthought of contingency, the situation was materially altered. Now he could have become ruler of Dungarpur also if it was finally decided to unite the two principalities under him. On this point the high dignitaries of Dungarpur held an entirely different view.¹⁵ Fear of the state losing its entity haunted their imagination as they did not like to cast their lot with the state of Partabgarh. Patriotic sentiment as well as self-interest worked in their minds to crystallize into a strong opposition against the proposed merger. Their contention was that having become the ruler of Partabgarh Dalpat Singh had lost his claims to the throne of Dungarpur.¹⁶ Union of the two states was never envisaged and provided for in the deed of adoption. He should not have accepted the rulership of Partabgarh. His acceptance of it virtually annulled his adoption as heir presumptive to the Dungarpur Raj. There was no law, usage or custom in Rajputana whereby the same individual could be entitled to hold sovereignty of two separate states.¹⁷ He could become the ruler of Dungarpur only by relinquishing his new position which was not possible. They, therefore, suggested that under the new and unforeseen circumstances a fresh adoption should be made for the throne of Dungarpur.¹⁸

On the validity of these objections Col. Robinson was unable to offer any decided opinion as he was not aware of any precedent of exactly the same nature or even analogous to it.¹⁹ He, therefore, submitted the matter to his superior officer Maj. C. Thoresby, the Officiating Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, who collected pertinent information from the official documents. He

15. A Durkhawst from the Thakurs of Dungarpur to Robinson, 18th January 1846.

16. A letter from Robinson to Thoresby, 28th January, 1846.

17. *Ibid.*

18. A Durkhawst from the Thakurs of Dungarpur to Robinson, 18th January 1846.

mentioned that when Dalpat Singh was adopted as heir and appointed as Regent, the Court of Directors had not altogether lost sight of a probable contingency of his becoming a ruler of Dungarpur at some future date. Nor had they failed to visualise the circumstances in which he became the ruler of Partabgarh. Having given due consideration to the problematical issue they were inclined to favour under special circumstances an arrangement by which two small and friendly principalities might be united under one sovereign.²⁰ They were quite positive in their view that there was no objection to a union on the score of policy if there existed none 'in point of right'.²¹ With this remark they approved on principle the incorporation of the two contiguous states under one head, if it could be effected without a sacrifice of the rights of the incumbents or the claims of the expectants and without any breach of peace.²²

Col. Robinson was not aware of any other claimant to the throne whose rights would be infringed if that state was merged in the neighbouring principality of Partabgarh and ceased to exist as a separate political entity. He knew that there was no lineal descendant of Jaswant Singh to claim his inheritance whose pretensions would conflict with those of Dalpat Singh, unless his adoption was declared void by reason of his subsequent accession to the gaddi of Pratabgarh.²³ Notwithstanding all this knowledge and reasoning, he held a definite opinion that recognition of Dalpat Singh as a ruler of both the principalities, even without the infringement of the rights of any individual, would prove to be an utterly unpopular measure and excite more discontent and dissatisfaction among the chiefs and *Thakurs* of Dungarpur than what would happen if the state were declared an escheat to the British Government.²⁴ Even the idea of nominal unification with separate autonomous administrative units created fears in their minds that it might be used in future as a step towards the complete merger of their state. Therefore, the first alternative was not likely to meet the approbation of the people.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

This impression of Robinson was based on the feelings and sentiments of the influential personages of Dungarpur and on the well-known fact that though Dungarpur was inferior in value as a territorial power it had always claimed precedence over Partabgarh in point of rank and station because the rulers of Dungarpur were descendants of the senior branch of the reigning family of Udaipur as compared to those of Partabgarh who descended from the junior stock.²⁵ Moreover, he felt that no class of people in India were more sensitive in matters of rank and precedence or more tenacious in maintaining the dignity of their position, when once recognised, than the Rajputs. He, therefore, feared that it might be highly revolting to the Rajput sense of pride and feeling to witness the absorption of their principality into one of avowedly inferior rank and pretensions. To this notion of dignity of their ruling house the Rajputs of Dungarpur were fanatically attached, although, due to frequent failures of male issues and numerous adoptions made to fill the vacancies hardly any blood relationship could be traced between any of those states. However false, this sense of pride undoubtedly existed in Dungarpur.²⁶

Although Dalpat Singh's doption was perfectly regular and had met with the general concurrence of the people of that state, yet, as it was not then anticipated that he would be reclaimed by his own family and as no provision was made for such a contingency, the arguments of the Dungarpur Chiefs were not without weight. In the absence of a precedent of that kind, where the same individual inherited two distinct and separate principalities, this new contingency was not considered admissible. Hence the adoption of Dalpat Singh stood annulled. This point attracted the attention of the Court of Directors who observed in their despatch, "We are of opinion that it would have been ascertained what according to the Hindu Law would have been the effect of this adoption and the subsequent reclamation".²⁷

To this Robinson replied that all writers on Hindu Law admitted that any person once adopted into another family ceased to have any claim on the inheritance of his own.²⁸ This practice was

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

violated in this case as Dalpat Singh became the ruler of Partabgarh which was his original inheritance. This deviation from the rule in this case was permitted by the Governor-General at the earnest solicitations of his octogenarian grand father Savant Singh who sent a representation to him that subsequent to his grandson's adoption by the Maharawal of Dungarpur, he had the misfortune to lose all his offsprings and since his grandson Dalpat Singh was the only surviving lineal descendant he should be assured that his grandson would be permitted to succeed to his birth right and that his Raj would not be allowed to pass on to a stranger at his death, which would be certain unless Dalpat Singh's reclamation was effected.²⁹ Under these peculiarly stressing and strange circumstances Savant Singh's petition was acceded to. In view of all this Dalpat Singh's succession to the principality of Dungarpur seemed to be highly anomalous and was destined to create many complications. Active consideration was, therefore, given to the second alternative of selecting a ruler for Dungarpur.³⁰

Believing that it had been the policy of the British Government to leave to the petty Rajput principalities the choice of their rulers and that with the exemption of this question of succession there had always prevailed good understanding and cordial relations between Dalpat Singh and the Chiefs of Dungarpur, Robinson thought that there would be no difficulty in effecting a compromise between the two conflicting view points.³¹ He, therefore, unofficially suggested to Dalpat Singh, through one of his confidential servants whether with his knowledge of the feelings and sentiments of the Chiefs of Dungarpur it would not be advisable for him to relinquish all his claims on the state of Dungarpur and remain contented with the Regency during the minority of a boy of the late Rawal's kith and kin or, failing that, any other boy whom the chiefs might conveniently select as a successor to the Raj. Robinson was sure that to this arrangement the Chiefs of Dungarpur would agree. Even then he did not give any assurance to Dalpat Singh that the proposed arrangement would be acceptable to his Government because he had no authority to make

29. *Ibid.*

30. A despatch from Thoresby to the Secretary to the Government, 6th Feb. 1846.

31. A letter from Robinson to Thoresby, 28th January, 1846.

overtures of that kind and the final decision on the matter lay with the Governor General.³²

Dalpat Singh was quick to catch the hint. He did not want to complicate the issue. He was inclined to accept any reasonable proposal emanating from the representative of the paramount power. He, therefore, readily agreed with the suggestion and promised to communicate with the Chiefs of Dungarpur on the course suggested by Robinson.³³ On the 27th January 1846, he proposed to adopt a good and well-behaved young boy from amongst the relations of the deceased Rawal to be placed on the gaddi of Dungarpur and to continue to administer the affairs of that state in the usual capacity of Regent, if the arrangement was acceptable to the paramount power to whom he owed his position.³⁴ Similarly, on the 18th January 1846, the *Thakurs* of Dungarpur sent a joint representation to the Political Agent requesting him to ask Dalpat Singh to adopt a boy for succession to the gaddi of Dungarpur.³⁵ On receipt of this mutually agreed arrangement, Robinson transmitted the copies of the two communications to his Government and asked for instructions.³⁶ In the forwarding note he expressed his opinion that the proposed arrangement would prove most satisfactory and would obviate the possibility of any local disturbance.³⁷

The third alternative was not altogether unthought of. On examination it was found much more hazardous. It would have unnecessarily aroused suspicions and resentment in Rajputana. In it were involved the dangers of internal turmoil and external disapproval. The idea of lapse, therefore, did not go beyond the state of contemplation³⁸ and examination and was ultimately given up.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. A Kharita from Maharawal Dalpat Singh to Robinson, 27th January 1846.

35. A Darkhwast from the *Thakurs* of Dungarpur to Robinson, 18th January 1846.

36. A letter from Robinson to Maj. Thoresby, 27th January 1846.

37. *Ibid.*

38. A letter from Sutherland to the Under-Secretary to the Government of India, 23rd June 1846.

Connected with this issue of succession, a claim was advanced by the Maharaja of Udaipur which surprised Robinson. He received a Kharita, dated the 29th December 1845, from the Maharaja Swarup Singh of Udaipur³⁹ addressed to the Governor General in which he had put forward the claims of the members of his royal family for adoption as heir to the gaddi of Dungarpur on the plea that late Rawal of that State had descended from a branch of the house of Udaipur and that he himself had favoured an arrangement of that kind prior to the adoption of Dalpat Singh. In that letter the Rana of Udaipur suggested that in the interest of justice, equity and popularity of the British Government in Rajputana and for its friendship with the Rajputs, he should be allowed to name a successor to the throne of Dungarpur.⁴⁰ But Robinson considered these claims as untenable on the ground that the two states had long ceased to have any ties of consanguinity and that neither the Chiefs of Dungarpur nor Dalpat Singh had ever made any reference to the claims of the house of Udaipur.⁴¹ The claim was, therefore, rejected as preposterous.

Ultimately, on the 15th June 1846, the Governor General was disposed to favour the adoption of an heir to the gaddi of Dungarpur by Dalpat Singh in accordance with the usages of Rajputana from amongst the nearest kins of the late Rawal.⁴² But before giving final decision he wanted to be very clear about the future so that no complications could arise again. He, therefore, desired the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana to express his views whether, subsequent to the death of the adopted heir without an offspring, the state should revert to Dalpat Singh or he would be authorised for the second time to adopt an heir, or the state would become an escheat to the British Government like the other states to which no heirs existed.⁴³ In this way, the matter dragged on for sometime without a final decision. However, Sutherland, the Agent to the Governor

39. Kharita from Maharaja Swarup Singh of Udaipur to the Governor General Sir Henry Hardinge, 29th December 1845.

40. *Ibid.*

41. A letter from Robinson to Maj. Thoresby, 28th January 1846.

42. A letter from the Under-Secretary to the Government of India to Lt. Coll. J. Sutherland, 15th June, 1846.

43. *Ibid.*

General for the states of Rajputana forwarded the letter of the 15th June to the Political Agent in Mewar for his guidance⁴⁴ and sent reply to the queries made by the Governor General.⁴⁵ He found no reason why recourse to a second adoption should not be had if the first adopted child died before or after attaining maturity.⁴⁶ He could not think of a plea on which lapse would ever be justified. The state was connected with the East India Company by a treaty which did not postulate escheat and there was no want of collateral heirs to the throne.⁴⁷ Even if the Paramount Power had a right to apply the principle of lapse and there was an occasion for it also, he considered it highly undesirable and inadvisable to burden the British Government with the administration of Dungarpur.⁴⁸ Acquisition of this state was not considered to be economically advantageous to the East India Company.⁴⁹ Robinson also held similar views.⁵⁰ The idea of escheat was, therefore, entirely dropped and a path of least resistance was adopted. The second alternative became the declared policy of the Government.

During the pendency of the question of succession the Governor General did not like the conduct of his Agent in Rajputana on the matter of procedure.⁵¹ He felt surprised to learn that J. Sutherland acted upon the despatch of June 15 as if it contained a final decision on the subject and thereby committed the paramount power to a course of policy which was by that despatch made contingent on certain points on which opinion was sought.⁵² Although the Government was not placed in any inconvenient position by the conduct of the Political Agent, yet the Governor General's sentiments were communicated to him that he had acted precipitately in treating his intention as his

44. A letter from Sutherland to Robinson, 23rd June, 1846.

45. A letter from Sutherland to the Under-Secretary to the Govt. of India, 23rd June 1846.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. A letter from Robinson to Sutherland, 30th June 1846.

51. Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India to Lt. Col. J. Sutherland, 9th July 1846.

52. *Ibid.*

final order which he should not have done.⁵³ However, he agreed with the views of the Political Agent about the future of the state provided they were acceptable to the Chiefs of Dungarpur, and sanctioned the adoption of a successor to the Gaddi from among the nearest of kin of the late Rawal.⁵⁴ The Maharaja of Udaipur was informed of the decision.⁵⁵

In accordance with the decision of the paramount power and in keeping with the Rajput usage Maharaja Dalpat Singh of Partabgarh adopted Udai Singh for the Dungarpur gaddi. He was the second son of Jaswant Singh, the Chief of Sablee, and was about seven or eight years of age.⁵⁶ This arrangement was made with complete concurrence of the Chiefs and nobles of the principality who expressed their satisfaction with the arrangement sanctioned by the Governor General.⁵⁷

This incident shows that the Governor General was watchful of the activities of his Agent and was not ready to approve any unauthorised move or premature action on his part. Correspondence on the question of succession indicates the slow evolution of the principle of lapse and its application only in exceptional cases where the British interests prompted it as the only fruitful alternative.

The new political arrangement did not prove salubrious to the administration of Dungarpur. Maladministration became the inevitable outcome of the exercise of functions of the regency by Dalpat Singh from Partabgarh. The regency under him was, therefore, dissolved in 1852 and the administration of the state was entrusted to an Indian Agent appointed by the British Government for the remaining period of the minority of Udai Singh.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Ibid.*; A letter from Sutherland to Robinson, 20th July 1846.

56. Letter from Sutherland to the Secretary to the Government of India, 7th Oct. 1846. Letter from Robinson to Sutherland, 3rd October, 1846; Kharita from Maharwal Dalpat Singh to Robinson, 27th Sept. 1846.

57. Letters from the Chiefs of Dungarpur, 27th Sept. 1846.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy—His Life and Achievements

BY

MISS NONDITA CHATTERJEE, M.A.

Life

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in the village of Radhanagar in the district of Hoogly on 22nd May, 1772. He belonged to a respectable Brahmin family which was honoured with the title of "Roy Roy" by the Nawab of Bengal. Realising the boy's intellectual capabilities, Raja Ram Mohan's father gave him excellent education from the beginning. He studied Persian at Patna and Sanskrit at Banaras and acquired mastery over these extremely rich classical languages. After completing his education he had to leave his father's home for his attacks on meaningless rituals. He travelled all over India and visited Tibet. Having finished his tour of India he came back to Bengal and entered the service of the East India Company as a clerk. Here the Raja started the study of English in 1796 and studied the Bible. Study of English brought a turning point in his life and in the history of India. He decided to lead his countrymen who were buried deep in superstitions, meaningless rituals and illiteracy, towards light. Ram Mohan left his job in 1814 to start his august work of reformation and reconstruction of the Hindu Society. The Raja was bold, honest and had a great heart. He rose like a lion, attacked fearlessly the age old meaningless ceremonials and started a movement which gave birth to the Indian Renaissance and sowed the seeds of Modern India. The Mughal Emperor of Delhi appointed Ram Mohan as his envoy, conferred on him the title of Raja and sent him to England to plead his cause with the British Sovereign. This God-fearing man of cosmopolitan sympathies reached England in 1831 where he was already known as the mouthpiece of India. Public honours came quick on him. At the Coronation of George IV, the Raja was honoured with a place among the foreign ambassadors. He visited France in 1832 and was received by Louis Philippe. But all this incessant strain

told on the Raja's health. He fell ill and passed away at Stapleton Grove, Bristol, in 1833.

The study of Vedanta, Koran and Bible gave him the key to the treasures of the Hindu, Islamic and Christian theologies. The Raja brought about a concord among these heterogeneous and hostile forces and thus laid the foundation of a new age and became the father of Modern India.

Study of Koran had made him a monotheist. Study of Vendanta confirmed his views. He started an association at Calcutta, (i) for spreading monotheism, (ii) to put an end to idol-worship, (iii) to stop the intelligentsia of Bengal from becoming christian. He founded a society at Calcutta for meditation and worship which was named as Brahmo-Samaj in 1830 and which brought about a revolution in the field of religion, education, society and emancipated women.

Ram Mohan started expressing his views by writing books, pamphlets and in newspapers, etc., in Persian, Bengali and English and thus became the father of Bengali-prose and father of Indian Journalism. His Bengali Journal "The Sambad Kaumudi" first appeared in 1821, "Mirat-ul-Akbhar" was his Persian newspaper. In 1829 he became the proprietor of an English Paper "The Bengal Herald". He published "Bangaduta" in 1829 in Bengali and Persian. Ram Mohan fought against the Press Act of 1823 for he wanted freedom of Press and expression and had realised its importance in the national life of India. In 1823 Ram Mohan made a brilliant defence of the freedom of Press in India in his "Memorial to the Supreme Court" and "Appeal to the King in Council". Freedom of Press was granted to the Indians after the Raja's death.

Ram Mohan realised the necessity of giving education to both men and women of this country. He was a patriot and hated the British rule and slavery. But he knew that the people must learn English to achieve freedom and for the awakening of India, because through English, people would get access to Western Science. Therefore he protested vehemently when the Committee of Public Instruction recommended the opening of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The Raja yielded to none in his admiration for the fathomless treasures of ancient philosophy and reli-

gion. But he was not an Utopian visionary. At a time when the British people themselves were against imparting the knowledge of Western Science to the Indians, the Raja's fight for the introduction of English, is unique. Twelve years before Lord Macaulay's famous minute 1835 the Raja, in his letter to Lord Amherst in 1823, pleaded for the introduction of English language in the schools for Indian boys. Macaulay pleaded for the establishment of schools where English language could be taught and cheap clerks for the Company and slaves for the British Empire could be produced. The Raja laid emphasis on the teaching of Western science which would enlighten India and bring about her political emancipation in the course of time. Ram Mohan took a prominent part in the famous controversy between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists" and the Raja triumphed. For the direct and indirect beneficial results of Western Education, we are indebted to the Raja as much as Lord Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck and David Hare. Ram Mohan wanted to establish girls' schools too. A girls' school was opened only after his death by an English Lady—his admirer.

It was in the field of social reform that Ram Mohan took a very bold step and was successful in abolishing an age old practice. A custom prevailed that women of high caste used to burn themselves alive on the pyre of their deceased husbands, even against their will. In 1811 when Ram Mohan saw his sister-in-law becoming Sutte on the pyre of her husband, he felt miserable and determined to abolish this practice and took rest only when Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, enacted a law which abolished the practice of Suttee in 1829.

Ram Mohan, the patriot, fought for the women's right to property, widow-remarriage, abolition of child-marriage, polygamy and caste-system. He said that caste-system must be removed for the sake of political advantage.

He pleaded the cause of the ryots who were oppressed by the Zamindars and even urged some English landlords to settle in India to provide a model to the Indian Zamindars who were greatly benefited by the permanent Settlement of 1793.

The Raja was a patriot and a true nationalist. He wanted India to be a free country and even represented her in foreign

countries. Ram Mohan was a true ambassador of India, both cultural and political and made many friends for India in England and in Europe. The Raja's nationalism was not narrow. It was as broad as the sky. Raja, the humanist, could not be unsympathetic towards any nation or country. He was very happy when he heard the news of the French Revolution of 1830. He even stopped his connection with his European friends, temporarily, when he heard the news of the overthrow of the constitutional Government in Naples in 1821 and how the despots of Europe were crushing the ideologies of the French Revolution of 1789.

Ram Mohan was born in a period which is perhaps the darkest age of India. There was devastation and destruction everywhere. People were illiterate and had lost that quest for knowledge and faith in national capabilities which lead men from ignorance to knowledge — from darkness to light. They had forgotten the glory of the past and had no ambition to build a glorified future. Ram Mohan stands in history as a bridge between the past and future. The Raja in his effort to build new India became the pioneer of Indian Renaissance. By starting all those movements which brought about the regeneration of Modern India, he became the Father of Modern India. He embodied the new spirit of "Risorgimento" he embodied its spirit of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, its reverent but critical regard for the past and disinclination for revolt. His efforts for reformation and regeneration of India could be compared with that of Erasmus in Germany. Some compare Ram Mohan with Luther and Calvin, the pioneers of the reformation movements in the West. But Luther and Calvin were only religious reformers where as the Raja was a religious as well as a social and political Reformer. He fought against the corrupt practices of the Hindu religion and society and clearly recognised the interdependence of political advancement and social and religious progress. His political programme was intimately connected with the social uplift of the nation. He started all those movements which brought about the regeneration and reformation of India. Therefore he is called the pioneer of the Indian Renaissance.

The Raja came in such a period of Indian History when a vast gap was made between the Hindus and the Europeans, between

the ruler and the ruled and there was no understanding between the Orientals and the Occidentals.

The Raja worked as a bridge between the two and also tried his best to make his English friends understand India. He assimilated in himself Hindu as well as Western Culture and thus laid down the foundation of Modern Indian Culture which is a synthesis of the East and the West.

The greatest glory that Raja Ram Mohan Roy's name has acquired in history is his being called the Father of the Indian Renaissance. At a time when India stood in urgent need of regeneration and upliftment, the advent of the Raja marked an epoch in her history. He was a student of History and knew to what a great height Indian culture and civilisation had reached in the past. He had full faith in the genius of his countrymen. The degraded condition of his countrymen mortified the Raja and therefore he launched his reforming and renaissant movement and his efforts were crowned with success.

The Capuchins in Madras

BY

M. AROKIASWAMI,

*Department of Indian History & Archaeology,
University of Madras*

The history of Christianity in Madras in the centuries following St. Thomas is still comparative darkness and one has to wait till the Portuguese arrival in Madras in the mid-sixteenth century for this darkness to be lifted. San Thome begins once more to be the centre of Christian activity only round about 1517 A.D., when Diogo Fernandes, "a virtuous old man of good conduct" who figures chiefly in the excavation of St. Thomas' tomb in San Thome, arrived at the place. From this period onwards numerous missionaries, both secular and regular, belonging to various organisations, landed and worked in Madras. The Theating, The Jesuits, the Franciscans, and a few Dominicans have laboured in Madras throughout the XVII and XVIII centuries and among them the Capuchins¹ were larger in number and worked longer in point of time. They were the missionaries who had to bear the brunt of the struggle with the English East India Company, which was Protestant at heart and in politics opposed to the great Catholic nations of the time, the Portuguese and the French. The lot of the Capuchins was cast with this company of merchants and how they existed and preached in this trying situation form interesting study.

The history of the Capuchins in India is, however, yet unwritten. What is proposed here is but a silhouette study culled from a cursory survey of the English records of the period belonging to Fort St. George. From very early times the community at the Madras fort consisted of a good number of Portuguese settlers,

1. Chief among the permanent offshoots of the Franciscans the Capuchins branched off as a separate Order, round about 1520 under the lead of Matteo di Bassi and were constituted as an independent order in 1619. Their name is drawn from their peculiar hood (Capuche).

who were Catholics, and whose religious interest was allowed to be looked after by a Portuguese Priest. Suddenly this supervision by the Portuguese yields place to Capuchin supervision in the person of Father Ephraem de Neveos who, bound for the further east, arrives at the Fort in Madras and is invited by the English merchants to accept the position of a pastor in place of the Portuguese priest who was already doing the office—Very strange happening for which the records do not vouch with the date or the cause. It is obvious however that the English Company could not like the Portuguese. Both their religion and their imperial projects caused the latter to be disliked by the former, and it is also just possible that the company had already known Father Ephraem. This event must have happened in or a little before 1654, since we find in that year the Protestant pastor at the Fort, Rev. Isaacson, complaining against the aggressive character of Ephraem and his companion Zenon.

The Ephraem episode created not a little stir in ecclesiastical circles; appeals and representations were made to both the Governor in Madras and the Home Board of the East India Company; and while the latter was of the opinion that the Company would do well not to enter into religious controversies the merchants in Madras felt that they could not be blind to commercial and possible political interests that were involved in all these matters. Ephraem and his companion were treated well by the English Company which helped them to build a church within the Fort. This Church dedicated to St. Andrew, one among the first churches in Madras, was thus built and consecrated in 1675.

Ephraem apparently lived up to a ripe old age. In 1693 he was given the assistance of Fr. Michael and later on he petitioned to the company and got its approval for the appointment of another named Fr. Lewis de Olivera as his second Assistant. These had still another assistant by name de Mello who officiated at Fort St. George without any licence. Now Fr. de Mello was a Portuguese while the others were French by nationality and the former sought to bring Fr. de Olivera to look before the Bishop of San Thome, whereupon the English Company expelled Fr. de Mello from the fort.² This pro-French policy continued for some time.

2. P. C. 1-11-1694.

The growth of the French Power along the coast, however, caused a change in the policy of the English Company. From the dawn of the XVIII century the French were growing in alarming proportions and the English company began to develop a pro-Portuguese policy. 1699 the last year of the XVIII century saw the appointment of Fr. de Saa a Portuguese national and a nominee of the Bishop of San Thome in the Fort. We know that in 1721 one Fr. Thomas was in charge of St. Andrews in the fort and he was responsible for changing the whole style of the church and the living quarters by its side. An unpublished document dealing with the eastern voyages of Chevolier Hebert of the French Navy, who was in Madras in 1721, gives the following account of St. Andrews and Fr. Thomas.³

"They (the English) have permitted Padre Thomas, a Capuchin, a man of the best character, wit and ability to build near the castle a church both handsome and lofty, which ornaments the town and does honour to its founder, all the more that it is the English themselves who have paid the cost".

Fr. Thomas died in 1742 and a small controversy ensued with regard to his successor. Fr. Severini was appointed by the Government of Fort St. George to succeed Fr. Thomas and be the superior of the Capuchins in Madras. Severini had continued in office for two years when Fr. Renatus, brother of the one who had preceeded Severini as a Superior, was appointed with authority from Rome not only as the Capuchin superior but as the "Apostolic Missionary and the Guardian of the Missions in the India and Persia".⁴ The English Company hated this title and much more the source from which it came and could recognise only their nominee, Fr. Severini. The Board of Directors in England wrote meaningfully approving this decision.⁵

"The Church must never be independent of the State, nor the French suffered to intermeddle in our affairs are maxims of such true policy that we entirely approve your proceedings as to Fr. Severini".

3. MSS. Preserved in the National Library at Paris.

4. P. C. 10-2-1744.

5. Despatch 7-2-1745.

It is to be said to the glory of Rev. Renatus that he saved the Capuchins from this difficult situation by accepting to abide by the decisions of the local Government.⁶ For some time the Capuchins were on the high tide of popularity with the English Company. Fr. Severini undertook the project of running of a Female Orphan House,⁷ and placed in safe deposit with the company 6,000 pagodas at 6% per annum for this purpose.

In 1746, however, came the fall of Madras before the French arms. The Fort was surrendered by the English to the French and Severini retired with his orphans to Pulicat. The English still kept their love for him; but this could not go on undiminished for any length of time, especially in view of the local opinion freely expressed along the coast that the French had been helped by the Roman Catholic Missionaries in Madras during the recent attack on the fort. In 1748 Madras was returned to the English; the Capuchins were sent out of the fort their church here having been confiscated. The English took over another Capuchin church also which was in Vepery. The Armenian, Petrus Usan, who claimed to have built it represented to the English merchants both at Madras and in London, that they could not in justice take over what belonged to him. But this was of no avail. On the other hand the Home Board ordered the demolition of St. Andrews in the fort: "You are therefore immediately on the receipt of this; without fail, to demolish the Portuguese Church in the White Town at Madras and not suffer it to stand on pretence; of settling the Danish missionaries in it, its usefulness for warehouses, store-houses or any other purposes whatsoever".⁸

As the end of 1782, the Roman Catholics had only 5 Churches in Madras—besides the two old Churches at Little Mount and St. Thomas Mount and the highly venerated one of San Thome. The one at Luz and the other at Mile End, possibly the residence of the Fisher folk along the beach. The last two only were managed by the Capuchins, the others being under Portuguese management. By 1758 we find the Capuchins building another church in Muthialpet, but almost as the building was completed it was taken by the

6. P. C. 28-4-1744.

7. *Ibid.*, 17-2-1745.

8. Despatch dated 23-8-1751.

English company to be used as a Hospital for soldiers during the French war that broke out for a second time in that very year. The English occupation however, did not end with the war. It continued till 1772 for a period of nearly 25 years. Nor did the handing over come off of its own accord. The Madras Capuchins were at the end of their tether and as early as 1769 they sent out a deputation to the Directors of the Company in England to represent their grievences and Mr. John Baptiste Saur de Colmart was chosen for this purpose.

We are not in a position to know the antecedents of de Colmart. He must have been a Frenchman of consequence with a great deal of political pull, as otherwise the Directors of the English Company would not have agreed to the rather tall demands that de Colmart made. The Directors agreed to pay a compensation of 15,000 pagodas for the damages caused to the Capuchin Churches in Madras, to allow them build a new Church and to recognise their right to nominate their superior and other members of their Body.

In the meanwhile events in India also fortified the Capuchin position in Madras. Of these the first in point of importance was the abolition of the Jesuits in 1773 by which the Church of the "Mother of God" (now in Mandaveli) which was for some time under the Jesuits passed into the hands of the Capuchins. To add further strength to their position a Capuchin Bernard of Mailapore, had become the Bishop at San Thome. Though other outward reasons were given it was to offset the favour of the Capuchins that Sir Archibold Campbell who was then Governor of Madras, introduced a system of control by which four representative Catholics of Madras called 'Syndics' were to manage the temporal affairs of the Roman Catholic Church. The four were to be selected by the Governor from a panel of eight proposed by the Bishop and the names of the first four who occupied this position were Raphael, de Souza, de Fries and Joannes.⁹

In 1789 the superior of the Capuchins of Madras died and they petitioned the Government to appoint Fr. Ferdinand, a German, in his place. The Government agreed without consulting

9. P. C. 13-3-1787.

the Syndics. This was the beginning of fresh trouble to the Capuchins, the Government and the Syndics themselves. They levelled the charge of financial mismanagement against the new superior and the Government requested the Bishop of San Thome to enquire into the matter. When Ferdinand heard of this he resigned his office as superior and all the bonds together with other financial documents representing a money value of 54,100 pagodas were handed over to the Syndics. Soon, however, a petition signed by some Roman Catholic representatives reached the Government representing them to reinstate Fr. Ferdinand and suggested that two syndics should be appointed every year, two retiring every year so that there would be always new blood in the committee of management.¹⁰ This was accepted and Ferdinand was reinstated. But he did not live long to continue in the office. The year 1800 saw the death of both Ferdinand and the Bishop of San Thome.

The XIX century opened well for the Capuchins. The English Company had by then found its feet in India and its Government in Madras had become a *fait accompli*. The Missionaries increased in number and they were of both varieties, Protestant and Catholic. In these circumstances it was easy for the English Government to leave Christianity to itself. In the increasing responsibilities of civil administration, the English could not also find time to interfere in religious controversies. For sometime thus it was smooth sailing for the Capuchins. We find the English records of the time of Governor Munro and others referring to financial help rendered to them by Government not only in the city of Madras but also in interior regions like Malabar and South Canara where they were helped in putting up churches and to use the words of a Capuchin petition to the Company from the former region, "the Governor himself became their advocate".

10. *Ibid.*, 21-7-1792; also of 24-7-1792.

Pāli, Pāli and Pāli *

BY

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM

Professor of Archaeology, University of Maras .

Some of the natural caverns in the hills and rocks lying in out of the way places in the southern-most districts of the Madras State namely Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Tiruchirappalli, as also in some other parts of the Tamil country were in ancient times made fit for human habitation and used by the Buddhist, Jaina Ājīvika monks for their religious exercise and contemplation. Many of these monuments, which are in fact the oldest in South India so far known, have close resemblance to similar early monuments in Ceylon and suggest that they must have come into existence at the same time shaped probably by the same hands, and for the same purpose. They may roughly be assigned to the third and second centuries B.C. with the help of the inscriptions in the Brāhmī script engraved on the rocks near some of the caverns or in the caverns themselves. Among the places where such caverns with inscriptions exist are Viraśikhāmaṇi, Varichchiyūr, Āykuḍi and Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi in the Tirunelveli District, Marugāltalai, Ānaimalai Kongarpuliyankuḷam, Kīlakkuḍi, Muttuppaṭṭi, Kīlavaḷavu, Vikkiramangalam, Karungālakkuḍi and Tirupparrankunram in the Madurai District, Śittannavāśal, Ummāchatram, Puḡalūr and Śivāyam in the Tiruchirappalli District, to mention only a few.

The language of the inscriptions is mainly Tamil, with an occasional admixture of Prākṛt words. There are a few words in them, the interpretation of which have baffled scholars. One among them is the term *pāli* which is found thrice in the inscriptions at Kīlavaḷavu, Karungālakkuḍi and Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi. There are differences of views among scholars about the meaning and import of this word, as also the relation between it and the words *pāli* and *pāli*.

Let us consider the significance of the term *pāli* (with the cerebral *l*) found in the three inscriptions mentioned above. The word in the inscription at Kīlavaḷavu reads *pāli-y*, while the record at Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi reads *pāliya*. The latter may be read as *pāli-y*, *y*

* A paper submitted to the 46th session of the Indian Science Congress held at Delhi in January, 1959.

being the suffix at the end of words in several Tamil inscriptions of the early period upto about the tenth century A.D. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar who has made a study of these Brāhmī Inscriptions thinks that the word *pāli-y* with the expletive use of *y* at the end is a Tamil word meaning an excavation in stone set apart for the residence of monks, and that it is not unlikely that it is connected with the Prākṛt word *pālya* as suggested by Krishna Sastri another scholar who has worked upon some of these Brāhmī inscriptions. He supports his interpretation by quoting extracts from the Tamil *Nighaṇṭu* where we find readings like *pāli tāpatan karaṇḍai polliye munivar vāsam* and *pugalun karpāli karaṇḍai*.¹ *Pāli*, *tāpatam*, *karaṇḍai* and *palli* in the first quotation denote the abode of sages, while the meaning of the second quotation is 'Karaṇḍai denotes a *pāli* made of stone'.

Though the word for which the meaning stone excavation has been suggested by him is *pāli* with the palatal *l* and the word in these label inscriptions is *pāli* with the lingual *l* the two words were obviously not different and probably meant the same thing.

Evidently the word *pāli* or *pali* stands for *palli*, with the double or second *l* dropped. This feature which is common in Prākṛt is met with in Tamil literature frequently. The word *palli* is taken to mean different things. According to Tamil epigraphy it denotes a Jaina or Buddhist temple, and *pallī-candam* denotes the land or village, gifted, obviously as tax-free to such religious institutions. The devotional literature of the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas also uses the word to mean a temple. It is also used to denote the hermitage or cell of a recluse of the Jaina or Buddhist religion. But etymologically the word means a bed, a sleeping place or even sleep. Very probably the word originally indicated the bed or sleeping place and later on came to denote the residence of monks, which in course of time came to include also the places of worship which were made in their compounds or very near them.

Thus the words *palli*, *pāli* and *pāli* are all closely connected. A verse in the *Periyapurāṇam* which describes the destruction of the Jains at Madurai says that "all the *pāli* where the *Amaṇar* were gathered and the *palli* where the *Arugar* resided in both the urban and suburban areas in the city were uprooted". It is a known fact that the word *Amaṇar* (Śramaṇar) denotes the Jains in general and the word *Arugar*, their Lord, *Arhat*. Thus according

1. *Proceedings of the Third All India Oriental Conference*, p. 291.

to the *Periyapurāṇam* the word *pāli* would refer to the place where the Jainas gather and *paḷli* their temple. • The *Nālāyiradivya Prabandham* refers to the *Vāṇavarkōṇ-pāli* and the commentary known as the *Īḍu* on the *Tiruvāy-moḷi* mentions an *Aiyaṇ-pāli* which means the temple of *Aiyaṇār*. In Tamil literature the word *pāli* is also used in the sense of a hermitage or abode of saints and seers and sleeping place. It may be taken from the above pieces of evidence that in Tamil the words *paḷli* and *pāli* convey the same idea or meaning. Obviously these two words denoted the institutions of different religious sects namely the Jainas, the Ājīvikas and the Buddhists. Thus it may be concluded that the word *paḷli* (*pāli*) originally meant a bed or sleeping place used by the monks, and in course of time came to designate their residence and later still, by extension, it came to denote the hermitage of the monks and and the temple attached to it.

Then with regard to the word *Pāli*. There is no unanimity of opinion among scholars with regard to the interpretation of the word. Childers in his *Pāli Dictionary* gives the following meaning for the word: a 'series' 'row', 'line' etc., and for the word *Pāli-bhāṣa*: the language of the (Buddhist) 'sacred texts. Macdonell gives it the meaning dyke. Buddhaghōṣa uses the word to denote a line to mark a boundary. Thus according to them a language known as *Pāli* is not known. But Walleser who has examined the meaning of the term is not inclined to accept the above, but thinks that it was a language and derives the term from the word *Pāṭali* or *Pāṭal-igrāma* "When the Buddhist Bhikkus assembled soon after the death of the Buddha and which for a long time was the centre of Buddhist life". He assumes that it was originally known as *Pāṭalibhāṣa* or the *bhāṣa* of *Pāṭali* or *Pāṭaliputra* (or *pura*) and as a result of phonetic changes, (1 shortening of the final vowel, (2) dropping of the intervocalic *t* with contraction and (3) cerebralising of *l*) the word became *Pālibhāṣa*. According to him therefore *Pālibhāṣa* was the language of *Pāṭaliputra*. Further he connects the term *Pāli* with the term *pāli* which has the cerebral *l* and holds that it is more likely that the latter is an expression which comes straight from the native commentaries of Ceylon.² Linguistically the suggestion of Walleser does not seem to be sound

2. *Sprache und Heimat des pali Kanons* No. 4. referred to in *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. IV. (1928, pp. 773-5). See also, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 377-9.

It may be asked how *Pāli*, which was predominantly used in Western India, became associated with a town in Magadha "unless one maintains that *Pali* was the name of the language in which was written the Buddhist primitive canon some of whose linguistic features did penetrate in the *Pāli* Canon." If *Pāli* is derived from *Pāḥali* (*putra*), it must be really very old. But as Childers points out "the term *Pāli* as a name for the Buddhist scriptures was of late introduction, probably dating from the second or first century after Christ".

V. Pisani has tried to derive the word *Pāli* secondarily from the word *Pāli-bhāsa*. He considers the word *Pāli-bhāsa* to be a *vr̥ddhi* derivation from *paribhāsa* meaning teaching, rule, definition. Thus *paribhāsa* or its *prākṛitised* form *Pālibhāsa* meant the language in which the rules of the faith were written, (i.e.) the language of the Canon.³

Probably the word *Pāli* was known as *pāḷi* in Tamil. The commentary on the *Yāpparukalakkārikai*, a work on Tamil prosody mentions *pāḷittiyam* as a grammatical work on the *Prākṛt*. It will be evident from this that the word *pāḷi* denoted a *Prākṛt* language in the tenth century when the commentary seems to have been written. Is it possible that the early Buddhist literature got the name *pāḷi* and *Pāli*, because it was exclusively the language of the monks who resided in the *pāḷis*?⁴

3. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar *Felicitations Volume*, pp. 189-191.

4. The term *Pālidhvaja* occurs in some inscriptions of the western *Cālukyas*. It was the banner of the Kings of the dynasty and was the insignia of their 'supreme dominion or overlordship. It is believed to be a particular arrangement of flags in rows (*pāḷi* meaning a row) and is said to have been acquired by Vijayāditya Satyāśraya after 'causing the lord of all the region of the north'. (See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, p. 129; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V., pp. 203-5). According to the *Ādipurāṇa* of Jina Sēnācārya, the preceptor of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I (814-870) it did not mean any particular kind of flag, but denoted a peculiar arrangement in rows of ten kinds of flags such as those of garlands, cloths, peacocks, lotuses, geese, eagles, lions, bulls, elephants, and wheels. In each direction a hundred and eight flags of each kind—or in other words a thousand and eighty flags in all were ranged in lines. Thus the total number of flags in the four directions was 4320. (See *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIV, pp. 104-05). Fleet suggests that the *Pālidhvaja* was the banner of the sword edge. (*Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII, pp. 111 and 245.). See for a discussion of the whole question the author's *South Indian Polity*, p. 86 and n). The word *Pālidhvaja* however does not seem to have any connection with the terms considered in this paper.

Reviews

THE SEPOY MUTINY, 1857: A Social Study and Analysis—Harpasad Chattopadhyaya, M.A. (History & Politics). Agents: Bookland Private Ltd., 1, Shankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta, 6, pp. iii-235. Price Rs. 15/-.

The causes, spread, and ultimate failure of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 had been and will ever remain a topic of absorbing interest to students of modern Indian History. Scholars beginning from Kaye and Malleson have sought to explain meticulously the various social, economic and political factors that ultimately led to the sudden flaring up of discontent in extensive regions of North India from Bengal to Delhi. The work under review is a valuable contribution to the subject on these lines. The learned author has made a painstaking study in collecting the various social and economic changes that took place in pre-1857 days. These changes, however beneficial for the country in the long run, were not always acceptable to the classes concerned. Then, the policy of Lapse inaugurated and applied by Lord Dalhousie naturally caused great resentment among the ruling classes of the country. Three great leaders of the Mutiny atleast, viz., Zinat Mahal of Lucknow, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi and Nana Sahib of Cawnpur fought along with the mutineers not definitely out of any patriotic feeling for the country as such, but because their own interests were seriously jeopardised by the policy of Lord Dalhousie.

The author has given us a full and critical description of the religious, social and military background of the Mutiny. He has also pointed out that "the discontent and disaffection born of the reforms in the social and economic spheres did not directly lead to the outbreak of the Mutiny. It was the discontent and estrangement of the sepoys that led ultimately to the upheaval of 1857". In this connection he has made a detailed study of the British army-administration and pointed out its many bunglings and shortcomings. The Bengal Army created problems of caste and community for the administration, while the special privileges awarded to it to the exclusion of the other two Presidency armies of Bombay and Madras, and the ultimate withdrawal of these privileges actually fomented mutiny in the Army.

The role of the army in the disturbances of 1857 has been very fully and ably dealt with by our author. There is no doubt that the uprising of 1857 was military in its inception. But it is perhaps a little too much to say that 'in fact there would have been no revolt in India in 1857, had not the initiative been taken by the disaffected sepoys of the Indian army' and that 'The Mutiny gave them (a certain percentage of the landed and territorial aristocracies such as the Princes, land-owners, chieftains and talukdars) an opportunity to strike a blow towards recovering their former status, power and privileges of which they were deprived by Government' (P. 93). The latter statement may be accepted as a fact with certain reservations and the author is aware of them, for he states that the mutiny took the character of a general movement in parts of North-Eastern India, viz., in Oudh and Bihar.

It has been shown by the author that both Hindus and Muslims supported the cause of the Mutiny and at places jointly deserted it. On the whole the movement was not influenced by any communal considerations.

In the treatment of a controversial topic the author has taken a commendable stand on ascertained facts and is not swayed by any pre-conceived opinion. But perhaps he has over-emphasised the view that the Mutiny was a mere revolt of the army against the military administration. It had admittedly its wider and popular aspect. For it is undeniable that at many centres the mutineers received a popular backing, the ready help and active participation of the civilian population in their cause. The fundamental question that arises is: Should the outbreak of 1857 be regarded as a national movement and ultimately as India's war of liberation? In Oudh and parts of Bihar it seems to have assumed that colour. But elsewhere the people were not so conscious of its national implications. Further, as has been pointed out by the author himself, there was no connected plan of action or a common organisation behind the mutiny. But, on the whole, the fact remains that not a negligible part of the people in the North were behind the mutineers in their general stand against British rule as foreign rule.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE

ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS, edited by Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., Ph.D.; published by Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1959; pages xxxi + 162, with 2 Plates and 1 map; price Rs. 15 or 28 s.

Dr. Radhagovinda Basak is one of the few serious students of Indian epigraphy. He has brought out this edition of the inscriptions of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka, who flourished in the 3rd century B.C., in order to help the post-graduate students of Indian and foreign universities. Although a few books of this kind are now available to the students of ancient Indian history, there is no doubt that Dr. Basak's work will be welcomed by the class of readers for whom it is intended.

The book under review has a short introduction dealing with such topics as the geographical distribution of Aśoka's inscriptions, Aśoka's administration, the Dharma preached by Aśoka and the language of the epigraphs. The book contains the texts of most versions of the various edicts of Aśoka printed in Devanāgarī characters together with their Sanskrit renderings and English translations. There are also some explanatory notes on difficult words occurring in the records. The two Plates appended to the book illustrate the letters of the Brāhmī alphabet used in the inscriptions of Aśoka. The map shows the distribution of Aśoka's epigraphs including the bilingual Gariaeo-Aramaic inscription recently discovered at Kandahar in Afghanistan.

The inscriptions of Aśoka are being studied for more than a century now. But there is still no unanimity among scholars on the interpretation of many passages of the epigraphs. Fresh study of the inscriptions is therefore always welcome. We are glad to find that Dr. Basak has offered new interpretations of some words and passages occurring in the records of Aśoka. But it may not be possible for the readers to agree with all his suggestions. The nature of the study is such that no unanimity among scholars on all points of interpretation is possible in the present state.

We feel that in some respects the usefulness of the book could have been enhanced. The inclusion of a table of Kharoshthī characters used in Aśoka's edicts found in the north-western part of his empire would have benefited the students of the subject, while students of foreign universities would have appreciated the

inclusion of transcripts of the inscriptions in Roman characters along with those in Devanāgarī. The learned author may consider these questions in the second edition of the work.

Dr. Basak has generally avoided discussions of the views of different scholars on the interpretation of Aśokan records. Thus in the Kalsi version of Rock Edict IV the passage *hini cha mā alochayisu* has been Sanskritised as *hāniḥ cha mā ārochayeyuh* and translated into English as 'not to speak of their decrease or diminution' (pp. 18-20). In a nexplanatory note on the verb *alochayisu*, it is said, "Cf. *lochetayvā* of G[irnar], *lochesu* [of] S[hahbazgarhi] and *anulochayisu* [of] M[ansehrā]. Pāli *ārocheti* means 'to tell, inform, announce' and also 'to explain, speak to, say to'. The word has nothing to do with *ālochanā* in the sense of discussion or beholding. Cf. the double consative form *ārochāpeti* in Pāli which means 'to be caused to be told or announced, to make known, to publish' (p. 21). But it has not been indicated that the verb in question has often been associated with Sanskrit *ruch*, 'to like, to long for', and the passage has been understood in the sense that no decrease should be approved or countenanced. See Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 8, etc; my *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 42.

In some cases, Dr. Basak has briefly referred to others' views, with which he does not agree, not only without any discussion but even without any reference. Thus, with reference to the statement in Rock Edict I that two *mayūras* and one *mṛiga* were daily killed in Aśoka's kitchen for the preparation of curry, he has the following note on the words *majulā* and *mṛige* (sic. *mige*) occurring in the Kalsi version: "Here in the edict we should not take the first word *majulā* (=Skt. *mayūrau*) and the second *mṛige* (=Skt. *mṛigaḥ*) to represent generally all kinds of animals and birds as interpreted by some scholars" (p. 5). He follows certain earlier writers in translating the passage *duve majulā eke mige* (Sanskrit *dvau mayurau ekah mṛigaḥ*) as two peacocks and one antelope (p. 4; cf. Hultzsch, *op.cit.*, p. 2, etc.) without any further discussion and without any reference to the works in which *mayūra* has been taken to mean 'a bird in general' and *mṛiga* 'an animal in general'. We feel that the two views should have been presented to the readers more clearly (cf. Barua, *Aśoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 88). As regards the interpretation of *mayūra* and *mṛiga* in

the senses of 'a peacock' and 'an antelope' respectively, we are inclined to point out that it is apparently against human nature to take the same dish day after day. It is not easy to understand how peacock's flesh, which is not regarded as a special delicacy in India and elsewhere in the world, could have been taken by one regularly every day without break in preference to the recognised delicacies among birds.

There are several other cases where we are inclined to disagree with the learned author's interpretation. By way of illustration, we may refer to his explanation (pp. 11 ff.) of the word *parisā* (Sanskrit *parishad*) in the last sentence of Rock Edict III stating that the *Parishad* would direct or order the *Yuktas* in certain respects (in the matter of calculation of all expenses of the touring officials of Aśoka, in the opinion followed by Dr. Basak). He understands the *Yuktas* in the sense of royal officers of the lower rank and the *Parishad* to mean 'the assembly of followers of the religious instructions inculcated by the touring officers'. If the followers of the religious instructions were ordinary subjects of the king, as they no doubt were, I do not understand how they could enjoy any power in directing or ordering a group of royal officers in respect of the calculation of state expenses. The word *parisā* = *Parishad* should better be understood in the sense of the Council of Ministers (*mantri-parishad*) as is now the opinion of the generality of scholars (Hultzsch, *op.cit.*, p. 5, note 7). It was no doubt the business of the ministers to direct the royal officers serving under them in the various departments of administration.

It should however be pointed out that such differences of opinion do not detract from the value of Dr. Basak's work and that we have no hesitation in recommending the book to the students of early Indian history and culture.

D. C. SARKAR

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Ancient India—Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 14, 1958, New Delhi.
 1. *Birbhanpur, a Microlithic Site in the Damodar Valley, West Bengal*, by B. B. Lal.
 2. *Studies in the Stone Age of Nagarjunakonda and its Neighbourhood*, by K. V. Soundara Rajan.
 3. *The Pallava Architecture of South India*, by K. R. Srinivasan.
- II. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 20, December 1957, Numbers 3 and 4, U.S.A.
 1. *Fairbank, J. K. Patterns behind the Tientsin Massacre*.
- III. *Indian Review*, Vol. 60, April 1959, No. 4, Madras.
 1. *Catherine II of Russia*, by P. Balakrishna Menon.
 2. *Kautilya and, Machiavelli—A comparative study*, by C. V. Ramachandra Rao.
 3. *History of Islamic India (1605-1748)*, by T. S. Ramachandran.
- IV. *Indian Review*, Vol. 60, May 1959, No. 5, Madras.
 1. *Historical Heresy*, by Ajit Kumar Mukerji.
- V. *Orient Review*, March 1959, Vol. V, No. 3, Calcutta.
 1. *Chanakya: Master of Indian Polity*, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
 2. *Ancient Culture and Civilization of Afro-Asian Peoples*, by T. N. Kary-Niyazon.
- VI. *Our Heritage—Bulletin of the Department of Postgraduate Training and Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta*, Vol. IV, Part 1, January-June 1956, Calcutta.
 1. *Two Ascriptions Examined*, by Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya.
- VII. *Pakistan Historical Society—Journal of the*, Vol. VII, Part 2, April 1959, Karachi.
 1. *The origin and Early Development of Sufism*, by Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, Ankara.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

2. *Barani's History of the Tughluqs (II) Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq*, by Dr. S. Moinul Haq.
 3. *Shahjahan's Relations with Golconda*, by Dr. Yar Muhammad Khan.
 4. *Alamgir's Grant to a Brahmin*, by Jnan Chandra.
- VIII. *Tamil Culture—Journal of the Academi of Tamil Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 4, October 1958.
1. *Some Aspects Relating to the Establishment and Growth of European Settlements Along the Tamil Coast in the Seventeenth Century*, by S. Arasaratnam.
- IX. *Uttara Bharati—Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. IV, No. 1, December 1957, Agra.
1. *Nature of the State in Medieval India*, by A. L. Srivastava.
 2. *Churaman Jat of Sinsini*, by K. R. Qanungo.
 3. *Peshwa Bajirao in Bundelkhand*, by B. D. Gupta.
- X. *Uttara Bharati—Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. IV, No. 2, March, 1958, Agra.
1. *Hindu Kings of Afghanistan (C. 430-870 A.D.)*, by A. L. Srivastava.
 2. *Continental States of the Future*, by Anatol Von Spakovsky.
 3. *Chronology of the Karkota Naga Dynasty of Kashmir, the Ancient Land of the Nagas*, by U. N. Mukerjee.
- XI. *Uttara Bharati—Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. V, No. 1, July, 1958, Agra.
1. *The Historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, by A. L. Srivastava.
 2. *Re-organisation and Promotion of Research in Indian Universities*, by A. N. Agarwala.
 3. *An Interpretation of the Carving at Rajasamudra Lake*, by G. N. Sharma.
- XII. *Uttara Bharati—Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. V, No. 2, November 1958, Agra.
1. *Some Problems of Medieval Indian History*, by A. L. Srivastava.
 2. *Political Ideas of the Early Leaders of the Indian National Congress*, by S. N. Dubey.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
15. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review*, Madras.
18. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review*.
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.

Printed by G. Srinivasachari, B.A., at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A., PH.D.,

(Sometime Research Fellow, University of Madras, and for many years a Senior Member of the History Department of the Union Christian College, Alwaye).

A fully documented historical treatise of particular interest. Now when the long dreamed of Kerala State has just been formed, the book furnishes an exhaustive account of the foundation period of the Dutch Power in Malabar, with descriptions of contemporary social and political conditions based mainly on Dutch sources, and serves as a useful prelude to the study of Dutch documents on Malabar, preserved at the Madras Record Office. Dr. Jadunath Sarkar has observed as follows about this work:

"This survey, though limited to a small area in time and geographical extent, has nevertheless been done with such scholarly care and accuracy that it must rank as a standard work of reference in its own corner of South Indian History.....The value of Mr. Poonen's work lies in its going beyond the usual conquests and battles and gives us the commerce, polity, administration, people's conditions, etc.

"It reflects credit on the University of Kerala, to have selected the useful book as one of its first publications."

Price Rs. 8.50.

Copies available at :

**Messrs. University Co-operative Stores,
Trivandrum-1, Kerala State.**

JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXVII, Part II

August, 1959

Serial No. 110

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
DUTCH VICTORIES IN MALABAR (1661-1662)—by Dr. T. I. Poonen, M.A., Ph.D. ..	123	LOKAMANYA BALAGANGADHAR TILAK—AN APPRECIATION—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	161
THE LEGITIMACY OF SKANDAGUPTA'S SUCCESSION AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS—by Dasharatha Sharma, D.Litt. ..	145	A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE THUGS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES—by Dr. Hiralal Gupta, M.A., D.Phil. ..	167
AN INCOMPLETE MANUSCRIPT OF MADHAVASARASVATI'S PRAKRIYASUDHA, A COMMENTARY ON PRAKRIYAKAUMUDI—by M. S. Bhat, M.A., Dip Lib. ..	153	THE ORIGIN OF MAYA IN SANKARA'S PHILOSOPHY—by R. B. Joshi ..	179
THE BATTLEFIELD OF HALDIGHATI AND "TWO UNNOTICED MONUMENTS AT KHAMNOR"—by R. C. Agrawala, M.A. ..	157	THE UNTENABILITY OF THE POSTULATED SAKA OF 550 B.C.—by T. S. Kuppanna Sastri, M.A., L.T., and K. V. Sarma, M.A., B.Sc. ..	201
REVIEWS:—(1) Planning in India by Dr. G. P. Khare. (2) Some Aspects of Economic Advancement of Under-developed Economies by Dr. A. N. Agarwala. (3) Problems and Processes of Economic Planning in Under-developed Economies by H. C. Gupta. (4) An Introduction to Food Economics by Gorakh Nath Sinha. (5) Sudras in Ancient India by Ram Sharan Sharma. (6) Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Vol. I) & Essays Presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Vol. II). (7) The Military System of the Marathas by Surendra Nath Sen. (8) Index of Papers submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference Session XIII to XVII (1945-54) by K. Venkateswara Sarma. (9) The Excavations at Maheswar and Navdatoli 1952-53 by Hasmukh Dhirajlal Sankalia, Bendapudi Subbarao and Shantaram Balachandra Deo. (10) A Social History of Islamic India (1605-1748) by Mohammad Yasin. (11) Kashmir under the Sultans by Mohibbul Hassan. (12) Tribal Demography in India by C. B. Mamoria. (13) A Comparative Analysis of the <i>Jajmani System</i> by Thomas O. Beidelman ..			
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS ..			225
OUR EXCHANGES ..			249
			251



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Journal of Indian History

CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

1. DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., HONY., D.LITT., Emeritus Professor, University of Lucknow.
2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandal*, Poona.
3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., College of Indology, Hindu University, Benares.
4. PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB, B.A. (OXON), Professor of History, University of Aligarh.
5. PROFESSOR D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., University of Poona.
6. DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON).
7. A. N. TAMPI, B.A. (OXON), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.
8. SURANAD, P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.
9. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., formerly Principal, University College, Trivandrum.
10. DR. YOUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS), Osmania University.
11. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., University of Lucknow.
12. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON), Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay.

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription: Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-65 Naye Paise and 16s. abroad.

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15 or £1 Half page cover : Rs. 8 or 12s.
Full page inside : Rs. 10 or 14s. Half page inside : Rs. 6 or 8s.

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to :—

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Editor,
Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

JOURNAL *of* INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
*Professor of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum.*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (Oxon.)
*Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.*

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,
*formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.*

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (Oxon.)
*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*



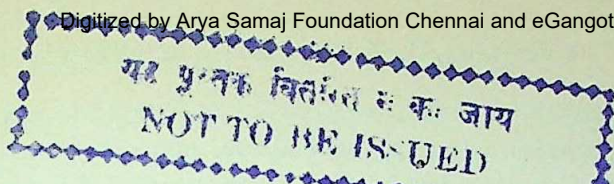
Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

CONTENTS

DUTCH VICTORIES IN MALABAR (1661-1662)—by Dr. T. I. Poonen, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 123
THE LEGITIMACY OF SKANDAGUPTA'S SUCCESSION AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS—by Dasharatha Sharma, D.Litt.	.. 145
AN INCOMPLETE MANUSCRIPT OF MADHAVASARASVATI'S PRAKRIYASUDHA, A COMMENTARY ON PRAKRIYĀKAUMUDI—by M. S. Bhat, M.A., Dip. Lib.	.. 153
THE BATTLEFIELD OF HALDIGHATI AND "TWO UNNOTICED MONUMENTS AT KHAMNOR"—by R. C. Agrawala, M.A.	.. 157
LOKAMANYA BALAGANGADHAR TILAK—AN APPRECIATION —by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.	.. 161
A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE THUGS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES—by Dr. Hiralal Gupta, M.A., D.Phil.	.. 167
THE ORIGIN OF MAYA IN SANKARA'S PHILOSOPHY—by R. B. Joshi	.. 179
THE UNTENABILITY OF THE POSTULATED SAKA OF 550 B.C. —by T. S. Kuppanna Sastri, M.A., L.T., and K. V. Sarma, M.A., B.Sc.	.. 201
REVIEWS :—(1) Planning in India, by Dr. G. P. Khare. (2) Some Aspects of Economic Advancement of Under-developed Economies, by Dr. A. N. Agarwala. (3) Problems and Processes of Economic Planning in Under-developed Economies, by H. C. Gupta. (4) An Introduction to Food Economics, by Gorakh Nath Sinha. (5) Sudras in Ancient India, by Ram Sharan Sharma. (6) Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Vol. I) & Essays Presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Vol. II). (7) The Military System of the Marathas, by Surendra Nath Sen. (8) Index of Papers submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference Session XIII to	

CONTENTS

XVII (1945-54), by K. Venkateswara Sarma. (9) The Excavations at Maheswar and Navdatoli 1952-53, by Hasmukh Dhirajlal Sankalia, Bendapudi Subbarao and Shantaram Balachandra Deo. (10) A Social History of Islamic India (1605-1748), by Mohammad Yasin. (11) Kashmir under the Sultans, by Mohibbul Hassan. (12) Tribal Demography in India, by C. B. Mamoria. (13) A Comparative Analysis of the <i>Jajmani System</i> , by Thomas O. Beidelman	..	225
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS	..	249
OUR EXCHANGES	..	251



Dutch Victories in Malabar (1661-1662)

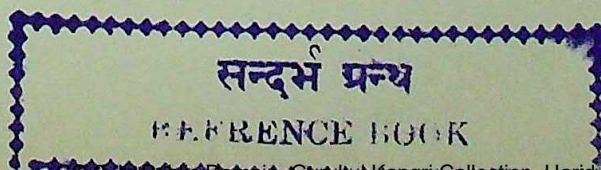
(Translated from Mrs. Meilink's narrative by kind permission of the author)

BY

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A., Ph.D.

Notwithstanding the slender success achieved in Malabar by the United East India Company despite the utmost exertion of their strength, their leadership was more firmly resolved than ever to plant the Dutch flag the following monsoon on one or more of the Portuguese forts on the West Coast of India Proper. But if they wanted to perform anything of importance, then a very strong military force would be necessary. In Ceylon itself too few soldiers were available for the purpose. And although the position of the Portuguese in India was also not rosy, yet the Company would have to carry on a still severe fight against the rest of their forces. Reinforcements from Batavia and the Netherlands was urgently desired, and it was to be hoped that the Indian princes with whom the United East India Company had negotiated would fulfil their promises.

The peace negotiations begun between Portugal and the Republic had not prevented the Portuguese from sending three galleons to India in 1660 when their shores had again become free. One of these ships was only destined for Mozambique and was intended to return thence to Portugal *via* Brazil. The second ship suffered shipwreck near the island of Madagascar. If the remaining one reached Goa safely, then the enemy would have a strength of nine galleons there so as to hurt very much the trade of the Company on the coast of India and in Ceylon besides sending return cargoes to Europe if they were not prevented by the Dutch from doing so. Therefore the High Government resolved on again fitting out a blockade fleet this year also. Eight warships and two yachts were brought into readiness for this purpose. This time the fleet was not placed under Adriaan Roothaes. Five times had he carried the staff of authority in front of Goa. As he was



now Commander at Galle, they could not now get on without him in that governmental office and Pieter de Bitter who had taken part as Vice-Commander in the blockade of 1659 was meanwhile promoted as master of the crew and Commander-in-Chief of the fleet.

But while they were busy with the fitting out of those ten blockade ships, the yacht *Nieuwenhove* arrived at Batavia from the Netherlands with letters from the Directors of the various Chambers assembled at the Hague and from the Chamber Amsterdam dated the 7th and 12th January 1661 respectively which brought a complete change in the plans of the High Government.

The peace negotiations which were going on in the fatherland with Portugal as a result of which a speedy peace was likely to be achieved would put an end to all voyages of conquest and restore the *status quo*—something that the United East India Company did not certainly wish to happen. They were just so well on the way to push out the Portuguese completely from the Indian seas. An all too sudden end would come to this whilst the centre point of Portuguese India lay unattacked. And not only the threatening peace but also the projects of marriage under negotiation between the Portuguese and English crowns aroused no less the uneasiness of the Government of the United East India Company. That India played a principal role in the dowry of the Braganza princess was an open secret. It was not known how far the promises reached but in the Netherlands they were prepared for the worst. At the end of 1661 news reached India that the marriage was actually contracted, but they were not yet wholly informed about the territory ceded. It was feared that, if they appeared with armed forces in front of one of the Portuguese forts, there the English flag would be found waving.

Towards the speedy realisation of the marriage contract between England and Portugal, the promise of Louis XIV counted not a little. The latter informed the English King with the utmost secrecy that he had no complaint against an alliance between England and Portugal. Charles II felt himself supported against Spain.

In a secret article added to the treaty of the 23rd June 1661, King Charles declared himself prepared to bring about a peace

between Portugal and the Republic. And if the latter refused, then an English military force and a naval force would be sent to India to defend the Portuguese possessions against the Dutch. In connection with this possibility and for the improvement of the English trade in the east, the Portuguese King, by the 11th article of the treaty, ceded the harbour and island of Bombay with all the rights, advantages, territories and belongings thereunto appertaining. As speedily as possible, the English should be placed in possession of this on condition that the inhabitants were permitted to remain Catholic and be permitted freely to practise that religion. Article 12 guaranteed to English merchants the self-same trade privileges at Goa, Cochin and Diu as to the Portuguese. But not more than four English families would be permitted to be settled at the same time in one of these places. By the 14th article, it was agreed that, if the English sovereign had obtained from the Republic some places or territories which belonged earlier to the Portuguese, the latter power should put forward no claims to the same. If the Portuguese reconquered Ceylon, then, the harbour of Galle should be ceded to England. And in case the English obtained the island in possession, they should hand over Colombo to the Portuguese. In both cases the cinnamon trade was to be equally divided between both lands.

The cession of Bombay was not, to any extent, the consequence of the pressure exercised on the English Government by the English East India Company. Bombay satisfied little of the wishes which the Company cherished for a firm fulcrum to the Indian Coast i.e. that this could be a centre of the Indian trade and be capable of covering its own expenses. Originally, Bombay did not lend itself to this. The mainland offered little prospects of trade and was too waste and too much exposed to the plunderings of Sivaji, the rebel against Bijapur. Much less could the cession of Bombay find its cause in any pressure exercised on the Government in Lisbon by the Portuguese authorities in India disturbed by the pitiless intrusion of the Dutch whose pushing could apparently be stopped with foreign help as this would not explain the opposition which the Portuguese in India offered to the actual delivery of the ceded territories.

Portugal had urgently required support in her hard fight against Spain and the Republic and Charles II wished gladly to

render such help against further infractions from the side of the latter state.

In England the jealousy against the growing commercial and maritime power of the Netherlands assumed continually acuter forms. They considered it as a threat for the English national security and in particular they felt themselves now threatened by the Dutch attacks on the Portuguese possessions in India. Should all these possessions fall into their hands, then, the Dutch would acquire a total monopoly in the pepper and cinnamon trade and the English share in that branch of the trade would be threatened with annihilation. If for obtaining the English support Portugal wanted to make large concessions, cession of territory was indeed the most attractive for the other party.

The rumour that Goa, Macao, yea even all Portuguese possessions were ceded appears thus to have been highly exaggerated. The cession of Goa would also for that matter have meant a great insult to the Portuguese national sentiment. Moreover the Government and defence of such a large territory as Goa would have been a heavy burden on the English Government. What the English actually had needed was a base in the Indian seas whence effective help could be given to the Portuguese, and for this Bombay was eminently suitable. The necessity for England herself actively interfering in the war between the Republic and Portugal was obviated though the peace was concluded between both countries some weeks after the marriage treaty. The Portuguese had to pay for the delay in the ratification with the loss of their possessions on the Malabar Coast.

The Lords Seventeen decided to go ahead and as they grasped that the military forces in India would not be sufficient especially because troops for other undertakings were perhaps necessary elsewhere, they sent, over and above the usual fleet which this year turned out already to be a considerable one, six large ships besides manned with 1400 to 1600 persons ($\frac{2}{3}$ soldiers and $\frac{1}{3}$ sailors). The Chamber of Amsterdam equipped for the expedition a ship named the *Rijzende Zon* (Rising Sun). From the Admiralty was purchased a large war ship named the *Huis te Swieten* besides a second war ship named the *Wassende Maen* (Waxing Moon). The Chamber Zeeland sent the ship *Zeepard* (Sea Horse). This Chamber as well as that of Hoorn delivered in addition the two ships which were still wanted.

In contrast to the usual fleet which was destined for Batavia, these ships were to sail from the Cape of Good Hope direct to the Indian Coast and Ceylon so that they might achieve there those important feats which were necessary for the welfare of the fatherland and especially of the United East India Company.

After the receipt of the above intelligence, the Governor-General and Council decided, as a departure from the practice of previous years, not to blockade the bay of Goa but to bring together such large military forces and such a large number of ships as was possible so that they might be used for the expedition to be sent to Ceylon. The ships already put in readiness could be joined to ones already fitted out while the garrisons in Ceylon also were to furnish their contribution to the fleet. As the largest number of soldiers coming from the Netherlands had to come in the auxiliary squadron of six ships, some weeks had certainly to pass before the fleet in Ceylon was ready to sail. Owing to the very late arrival from the fatherland of the usual annual fleet from which the Governor-General and Council likewise wanted to send ships and soldiers to Ceylon, these ships could hardly be made to depart from Batavia with reinforcements. The two yachts *Sluys* and *Roode Leeuw* (Red Lion) had already been sent in advance with soldiers numbering one hundred and fifty.

On the 2nd September, 1661, the yacht *Bloemendaal* sailed with the fly-boat *Elburg* from Batavia followed some days later by the ships *Erasmus*, *Noteboom*, *Vlissingen*, *Tholen*, *Zeepard* and the yacht *Goudsbloem*. With these ships the Governor-General and Council sent 768 of the best soldiers that they could spare. Two newly appointed captains were to accompany these soldiers to Ceylon, i.e. Christian Poolman who on various occasions had shown proofs of valiant conduct and Adriaan Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, a member of a well-known noble family who after many years' military service had now a short while ago come from the Netherlands with the ship *Maarseveen* and of whom the High Government entertained no small expectations. Besides these captains two lieutenants and two ensigns also formed members of the party. Over each company of soldiers a lieutenant, an ensign and two sergeants were placed while each of the captains had three or four companies fighting under him.

The number of soldiers whom the Governor-General and Council sent with the fleet could have been much greater if shortly

ago a considerable force of ten ships with seven hundred soldiers had not to go to the help of the Dutch in Formosa where the Chinese pirate Coxinja had made a raid on the island, conquered the greatest portion of it and besieged the Company's fort, Zeelandia. Only if the affairs there took a different turn could these soldiers turn back to Ceylon to be sent further to the coast of India proper or to reinforce the weakened garrison in Ceylon.

As the bay of Galle did not offer sufficient room for this large number of expected ships, the Governor-General and Council sent them not there but to Cape Comorin and the bay of Kayalpatnam. Here the ships were to await the order of Rijcklof van Goens. He was surely to have again the direction of the expedition provided he had not already departed. In this latter case, his place was to be filled by Adriaan van der Meyden, Governor of Ceylon. The vacant governorship was then to be occupied by Adriaan Roothaes.

The instruction drawn up by the Lords Seventeen had not yet been received by the High Government. Indeed there was a project for offering terms to the Portuguese established in India. Such rumours that went round at the time as that the Portuguese would perhaps be moved to place themselves under the protection of the Company provided freedom of religion was permitted and which penetrated to the Netherlands fell on fruitful soil with the Directors. They positively expected that, by an undertaking against the Portuguese fortresses, the power of weapons would not only compel the Portuguese to surrender but perhaps very favourable terms of religious freedom and retention of possessions would move the Portuguese to place themselves under the protection of the Company.

The Governor-General and Council were very sceptical of these proposals. Awe of the Company's armed might alone would bring the Portuguese to surrender. But no Portuguese would accept the articles drawn up by the Directors unless they were brought to the end of all means and expectations. And how injurious would these much too favourable terms turn out for the Company's trade if the Portuguese might accept them! They (the Dutch) were naturally also conscious that the Portuguese brought into too tight a place could indeed place themselves under the protection of another state than the Republic and they thought more over with fear of the English rival. The latest news from Europe

had corroborated this fear very much. Only after the capture of the Portuguese forts and if the Company was actually lord and master there, could the vanquished Portuguese perhaps be permitted freedom of religion and free divine service and that only because those places did not require to be occupied with garrisons, trust being reposed in the good disposition of the so generously treated vanquished. And it was only in order to obey the command of the masters in the Netherlands that the High Government recommended such a line of conduct to Van Goens, certainly not heartily. Only if the Portuguese, that "perfidious nation", have the knife on the throat and could see no other result than to be totally destroyed and cut off, would they place themselves under the obedience of the Company and they would not any longer remain positively loyal till they again obtained a chance to throw off the Company's yoke. In case the Company's forces were not sufficient to occupy these places permanently, it was better to dismantle and hand over these to the princes of the land under the stipulation that they would not again permit the Portuguese to nestle here.

On the loyalty of the Malabaree princes no more could they yet rely. The experiences with the Zamorin had indeed taught that to the Dutch. After the departure of the Dutch fleet in 1661, the Malabaree princelets had come to an agreement with the Portuguese. Even the Zamorin and the king of Cranganore concluded peace. The unfolding of Dutch forces was too formidable for them. There were no favourable circumstances for risking an attack and this caused no small anxiety to the future leaders of the expedition, Van Goens and Van der Meyden. The Dutch would be obliged to fight with those they had properly to live in friendship with and who would not now neglect to protect the Portuguese with all their might. Fierce resistance of the Nairs instigated by the Portuguese was to be expected, and this certainly was not underestimated by the Dutch. The Dutch were convinced "that they could never be made to imagine the Malabaree unbelief although we have before us their benefit."

As the instructions of the Lords Seventeen had not reached Batavia, a plan for war was drawn up by the High Government according to the advice of Van Goens and Van der Meyden. While the experiences of the expeditions of the previous years were taken into account, they put the capture of Quilon as the first point in

their programme. Van Goens who was always eager for the capture of Cochin let himself to be convinced, under the influence of the news from the Malabar Coast that the princes had made peace with the Portuguese and that Cochin was fortified, of the justice of Van der Meyden's proposals which were also advocated by the High Government.

THE RECAPTURE OF QUILON

From the south from below they had to begin in Quilon to secure Ceylon and to dominate the trade in pepper, cinnamon and cardamom. They had to capture the place with violence. After capture would arise the question whether to fortify and occupy Quilon with garrison or give the place back to the Signati. If they pursued the latter course, they would perhaps thereby win the trust of the king of Cochin. If they fortified Quilon, that would give the Portuguese material for the worst denunciation and cause the Dutch to be hated and suspected by the Zamorin as well as the king of Cochin. And as it was feared that the time would appear too short to capture Cochin which had been well fortified and brought to a defensible state, Van Goens and Van der Meyden counselled the High Government to direct the Company's forces first against one of the less strengthened forts of the Portuguese after the taking of Quilon and then to a place where the arrival of the Dutch would least be suspected by them for instance Diu situated on the north of the Indian coast. The bay of Goa must then remain occupied till the passing of the ships out of Formosa (China-Japan). The attack on Cochin would be more difficult if the Zamorin really showed himself inimical to the Dutch by not permitting the Dutch to furnish their troops and ships with provisions in his land. In order to attack Goa, the Company's forces were not enough nor the time available sufficient. Moreover, Diu would be more useful to the Company than Goa. The Governor-General and Council who were indeed convinced of the fact that Goa would be difficult to capture had readily seen that the fortified citadels in front of Goa, namely Aguade, Signora de Cabo and Marmagoa could be captured. By so doing, they could cut off all supplies to the town. As the supplies from the landside were wholly insufficient, the city would in a short time be compelled to surrender. It is true that the Portuguese had protected these citadels very strongly and heavily but the Company's military forces this time

were not small. In Goa, the galleon *St. Sacramento* for which they had so long waited in vain, had arrived from Mozambique. This galleon brought with it orders about a new arrangement for the Government in India. Manuel Mascarenhas, Luiz de Mendoca Furtado and Dom Pedro de Lancastre should accept for the Portuguese crown the responsibility for the general Government of India. As Mascarenhas was governor in Mozambique, the Government was assumed by Furtado and Lancastre. These continued to administer the Portuguese possessions in India till 14th December 1662. Immediately the governors took various measures to put matters in order. To get the people on their side, they reduced the price of rice and compelled the contending parties to be mutually reconciled. The number of servants was limited, no fidalgo being allowed to have in service more than two white Portuguese. Moving about armed on the streets was forbidden on pain of being immediately shot down. War frigates were equipped for the relief of Cochin and five galleons were brought in readiness to sail out this year.

In addition to the fortress of Diu, the Governor-General and Council let their eyes fall on the Portuguese fort of Daman. This town lay in the dominion of the Great Mughal and could, after capture, be probably given back to the Mughals who had already made proposals to the Company. It was now only to be hoped that this time the expedition would turn out more fortunately than in the preceding years.

Van Goens had at the end of July departed to the Coast of Coromandel in connection with the venture against the Portuguese fortress of San Thome and the inspection of the factories of the United East India Company on that coast. It was intended that he after performing this work should return *via* Malacca to Batavia where he hoped to arrive by the middle of November. In Coromandel while negotiations about St. Thome were in full swing, the information from the Lords Seventeen about the attempted expedition to Malabar that was sent to him from Ceylon reached him on the 1st of September. In accordance with the wishes of the Governor-General and Council, Van Goens was bound to return to Ceylon immediately without delay to undertake the leadership of the military expedition. With some regret Van Goens now left off his lesser designs for sailing on this weightier command. He showed himself greatly pleased about his inspection

voyage along the Coromandel settlements. Everything was found by him in good order so that the visit was not only no labour but much more an amusement. Only, by reason of the unexpected order, he had to leave the factory of Masulipatam unvisited. But Van Goens did not delay to satisfy the wishes of his superiors. He did not count it grievous that he should again bear the very large weight of such a heavy burden and face a thousand perils especially if the result of this new enterprise turned out to be different from his previous successes.

From Pulicat Van Goens departed with the ships *Vlieland*, *Achilles*, *Schelvis* and the frigates *Sterre*, *Zeeblom* and *Canaanoor* to Ceylon with all "freed" old soldiers of whom most had served two and three years in excess of their period besides a company of Amboynese.

These old well-trying soldiers were further persuaded to join this expedition also as 600 new soldiers would not balance against these 300 experienced men who directly understood their officers, who were stimulated by the fears and timidity in battle, who were acquainted with the nature of the enemy and who had never chosen to take to their heels. The Amboynese also offered their services to Van Goens.

To Colombo Van Goens had already sent a message previously in order to set everything in order. On the way he touched at Negapatam and drafted from the garrison there as many soldiers as could be spared for the use of the military expedition.

On the 3rd October 1661 Van Goens arrived in Colombo overland from Jaffnapatam and began with full vigour the preparation of the expedition. The Batavia ships had already arrived, but from the fatherland only the ships the *Huis te Swieten*, the *Raathuys* and the *Beurs van Amsterdam*. The *Huis te Swieten* had many sick and dead on the way but could fortunately take over at the Cape men from the ships returning to the Netherlands just as the other two ships. The people that eventually arrived in Ceylon did not excel in capability and health. They were mostly very young, inexperienced, hurriedly collected boys without any experience in war matters. The very worst were exchanged by Van Goens for the better men from the Ceylon garrison, but he could not too much weaken the defence of the island "so that we might not be taken in another chase and taken prisoners."

As Vice-Commander the Governor-General and Council appointed the experienced and well-tried Adriaan Roothaes. Edward Ooms remained in his place in Galle. Isbrand Godske was also in the expedition because of the experience he was having on that coast. As they had learned by experience that that in such expeditions most of the great confusion and blunders in administration caused by transferring people very unexpectedly from one ship to another should be prevented, they entrusted the supervision over this to a special merchant, Abraham Verspreet. Also, a servant with knowledge of the affairs of Malabar who followed Van Goens to the Coast was the undermerchant De Haze who had long served at Kayamkulam.

Also, as clergymen there went with the expedition the Reverend Joannes Nathaniel Donker and the Reverend Caletus and, what for posterity was to be of more importance, the Reverend Baldaeus of whose services the United East India Company was to make use not only as a caretaker of souls, but also as a politician who through his "moderate" associations had to try to prevent the "subtleties" of the Jesuits and other priests in the drawing up of eventful peace treaties.

The fact that the fleet had only such a small number of capable men as leading figures was saddening. Specially, there was a lack of good bargemen and steersmen in so many drunken rags and boors. It was still more astonishing that more misfortunes did not happen.

Of the chroniclers of the occurrences on the Malabar Coast in 1661-1662 who were themselves present at these events, the Reverend Baldaeus, Wouter Schouten and Johan Nieuhoff, Wouter Schouten has left behind the most lively eye-witness's account. Excepting some inaccuracies and occasional exaggerations, he delineated his experiences as faithfully to truth as possible. Although he well knew the four year older work of his companion Baldaeus and had even taken some phrases from his sentences, yet he worked, in his own way, his material into a captivating and savoury narrative. This boy from Haarlem, animated by an uncontrollable love for travel and thirst for knowledge, had enlisted himself in his nineteenth year as surgeon on one of the Company's fly-boats, the *Nieupoort*. That he hoped to augment his theoretical knowledge as surgeon's disciple acquired in his home town through a stay

on the sea and the tropics was the profit motive; delight in adventures and desire for the strange furnished the driving power. How happy he felt himself at that time when he succeeded in finally being taken and could prepare for his journey! His joy was so great and his longing for the far-off situated portions of the world so strong that he considered himself the happiest man on the earth. During his journey, he showed himself a good observer and he understood the art of communicating his experiences to others. After his return to the fatherland, he recorded his experience in writing for so many of his contemporaries and on this account we are thankful for his East Indian voyage. He knew to wield not only the pen but also the drawing pin, and so he could illustrate the diary of his journeys by drawings made by him in India.

After various journeys to the Moluccas, Maccassar and Arakan, destiny carried him in 1661 to Ceylon on the *Roode Leeuw*, one of the ships appointed by the High Government for the expedition to the Malabar Coast. Before the ship itself could join the rest of the fleet at Colombo, it performed a small voyage to the Coromandel places of Negapatnam and Tegenapatnam for the unloading of a shipment of arecanut. On the 1st November it anchored in front of the roadstead of Colombo.

However much Van Goens expedited the equipment of the fleet, a strong north wind very much hindered the sufficiently speedy acquisition on board of the necessities of the ship. It was no small thing to supply all these ships with shovels, spades, pick-axes, scaling ladders, baskets and palisades not to forget gunpowder, cannon balls, artillery mortars and other war material. Before the fleet set sail, a general fast and prayer day was observed in the city as well as on the fleet so that God might manifest Himself as God of the Dutch. The ships which Van Goens had brought with him from the Coromandel Coast and those that were received from Batavia were made ready for the sea. Only on the 1st November and following days did the ships *Beurs*, *Raodhuis*, and the small fly-boat *Hilversum* appear from the Netherlands. In the end the fleet consisted of the following ships: *Vlieland*, the *Zeep* and the *Beurs van Amsterdam*, the *Erasmus*, the *Noteboom* (or *Muskaat Boom*), the *Raadhius*, the *Goudsbloem*, the *Tert-holen*, the *Achilles*, the *Vliesingen*, the fly boats the *Elburg* and *Hilversum*, the yachts *Sluis*, *Schelvis Bloemendaal*, *Bantam*, *Roode Leeuw*, the *Kat*, the *Romein*, the galliot, the *Parkietje*, the frigates,

the *Cananoor*, the *Tuticorin* and the *Kleine Angelier* besides six shallops.

Van Goens decided not to wait any longer for the ships yet to come from the Netherlands. On the 5th November he had already sent seven vessels in advance. Ten days later the ships *Noteboom*, *Zeepard*, *Erasmus*, *Beurs*, *Raadhius*, *Vlieland*, *Sluis* and *Roode Lieww*, the fly boats *Elburg* and *Hilversum* the galliot *Parkeit* and the frigates *Kat*, *Romein*, *Cananoor* and *Tuticorin* and six shallops were ready for departure from Colombo. All these ships together with the seven vessels already sent earlier were manned with 2139 soldiers, 1550 sailors, 240 lascars and 180 slaves, altogether 4109 men. Further the fleet was equipped, men could well say stuffed, with the necessary munition stocks and war material.¹ One of those to whom was committed the charge of the camp train was Johan Nieuhof,² the writer of *the sea and land journey*.

After all the soldiers had embarked on the ships, the people of the war fleet caused the flags and streamers of all topmasts and masts to flutter in the wind. The soldiers put on their colours. Van Goens, on being very solemnly led out by the Council and commonalty of Colombo, assumed charge of the admiralship of the *Noteboom*. Meanwhile, the swing of festive salutes broke loose everywhere in Colombo. It thundered from the walls with gruff artillery that appeared to crack everything while everywhere drums, trumpets, reed pipes and flutes sounded. The Ceylonese lascars also rose to the occasion. It was a festive and soldierlike sailing. The governor Adriaan van der Meyden who had

1. The principal source of the expedition against Quilon, Cranganore and Cochin is the report of Van Goens of 28th May 1662 delivered to the Governor-General and Council.

2. Johan Nieuhof was born on the 22nd July 1618 at Ulzen in the County Bentheim. At first he was in the service of the West India Company. In 1653 he entered the service of the United East India Company. In the Company's service he was head of Quilon and remained on the Malabar and Madura Coasts till 1666, in which year, being accused of malversations, he was dismissed and placed under arrest. In 1667 he was released. Till 1670 he lived in Balavia outside the Company's service and made there an extensive study of the neighbourhood and of the flora which grew there. He returned to the Netherlands in 1670 and in 1671 he again departed for India as Merchant in the service of the United East India Company. On the way he was murdered in Madagascar by the natives.

had led out the Admiral again went back to the land; the ships weighed their anchors, sailed out of the harbour of Colombo, to the north and moved with a bright sky, small breezes and a calm sea. The soldiers were divided into 27 companies over which authority as General and Admiral General was wielded by Van Goens. For that reason he caused a streamer to hang out under the flag of the main top-mast. Further the Admiral Roothaes, the Vice-Admiral Godske and the Captain Peter Wasch led separate ships with separate flags. Likewise, the sailors shared flags; gunners and bow-shooters were to conduct themselves in accordance with the orders of their captains. The surgeon-major of the war forces had strict orders from the General to exercise a conscientious superintendence on the surgeons of the different ships and on their instruments and further necessities. Every fortnight a fast and prayer day was to be observed in the fleet.

In consonance with the wishes of the Lord Seventeen and the High Government it was decided in the Council of Ceylon to turn the Company's forces first to Quilon. From there they wished to continue the conquests. As the soldiers had mostly just come from Batavia and the time was too short to supply them with sufficient refreshments, Van Goens directed his course to Kayalpatnam where the Governor of Ceylon had caused all possible victuals to be purchased for that purpose. At the same time 30 Tuticorin Sampans which the Company had brought at Tuticorin to serve for the landing of the crew were to be dragged away.

After the departure of Van Goens, there further arrived at Colombo the *Huis te Swieten* from the Netherlands. This ship had many dead and sick on the way. The *Rijzende Zon* had likewise arrived too late. Together, these ships went behind the expedition fleet and joined them in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin. From the *Rijzende Zon* also men were mostly unusable because of exhaustion and sickness.

On the voyage to the coast of Madura the ships experienced violent counterwind. It lasted long before Kayalpatnam was reached. Drudging along the blue and azure brine, the fleet passed Negombo and reached beyond the corner and the reef Calpentijn. Several times the violent counterwind caused them to throw anchors. Ultimately with a strong west wind and a calm sea, they crossed over to the mainland of India and Ceylon fell out of reach.

In addition to the above misfortune, a fire broke out on the *Beurs*. Without the firmness of the Commander Godske, the ship would have run into great danger as the people began already to jump overboard. With this misfortune the expedition suffered their first damage caused by water which was highly hurtful to their stock of match and gunpowder.

From Tuticorin, abundant refreshments were brought to the fleet. They did not anchor here but continued the voyage to Kayalpatnam. The ships sent in advance from Ceylon were already there so that the fleet was now united. The flat-bottomed vessels which they took on board here and which were distributed among the different ships could do much service in landing men at the attack on the coast. Having come in front of Kayalpatnam, Van Goens sent the undermerchant De Haze with four ships to the Raja of Travancore. Van Goens hoped that this monarch was so favourably disposed to the Company that the Dutch, through his influence, could take Quilon without bloodshed. These ships were further to blockade the town of Quilon so as to cut off supplies from the sea in good time. After Van Goens' fleet was supplied with provisions at Kayalpatnam, they sailed away from there on the 22nd November, 1661. But unfavourable winds still continued to prevail. With the ship *Huiste Swieten* which had joined Van Goens's fleet near *Cape Comorin*, there came from the Netherlands 144 sailors and 214 soldiers, all wholly young and untrained people of whom there were not ten who could go about with weapons. Van Goens had at his disposal 2353 soldiers. Of these only a third part consisting chiefly of those drafted from the Ceylon garrisons and those who had returned from the Coromandel could be used as soldiers; another third part was only large grown up boys who had not sufficient strength to go about with their weapons and therefore did not properly deserve the name of soldiers. The rest formed an untrained multitude of whom but very few ever had taken part in wars. And it was not without danger that in Ceylon just this last sort of people was chiefly left behind as the occupying garrisons.

The victuals obtained in Madura appeared to be not wholly sufficient. And also through the long stoppage along the Madura coast all kinds of diseases broke out among the people.

Finally on the 2nd December the fleet reached Tegenapatnam, ten (Dutch) miles to the south of Quilon in the territory of the

Raja of Travancore. Here Van Goens received news from the Raja. He showed himself well disposed to the Dutch and had already tried to mediate with the princess Signati and her Nairs. Van Goens went alone with a ship in advance to Quilon. Here he found the cruising ships sent in advance and showed himself peaceably disposed.

In the town there were only very few Portuguese who perhaps wished to accept the terms of the Lords Seventeen, but it was the bellicose Nairs who made every agreement impossible. The brutal insolence of the subjects of the Signati was so great that Van Goens dared send no one to the land. The weapons had to decide. Before men moved to a landing, Van Goens determined who should be his successor in case of his death, taking into account the confusion that event would cause.

At mid-day on the 7th December, with a clear sky, still water and warm sunshine, the Dutch succeeded, without meeting any resistance to go on land well two miles to the south of Quilon with about 2000 soldiers. They cherished the hope that the Nairs would ponder over the situation and run away. The Dutch encamped that night in a very favourably situated place where they were protected on three sides against an attack of the enemy by an inland waterway and the sea. Early on the following day they again broke through with 24 companies, each of the strength of 80 to 90 men. They divided themselves into three squadrons, the first troop consisting of six, the middle of ten and the rear of eight companies. Between each detachment were carried two field pieces dragged by the sailors. With difficulty had a path to be beaten through the woods. A hundred lascars marched on from the first troop while some went in advance with a raised peace flag. The rest of the lascars came at a distance with the rearguard. Only very few were with the middle troop which served chiefly for patrolling in the surrounding woods. Until 9 a.m. the Dutch marched without their meeting an enemy. As they still had always the hope to get inside Quilon in a peaceful way, no signs of enmity were given and they reached forward with the peace flag always in front. Continually the Dutch saw armed Nairs in the neighbourhood, sometimes in advance, then again behind, yet sometimes within the distance of a musket shot. Between 9 and 10 in the morning, there came suddenly in the midst of the Dutch troops a Nair

subject to the influence of opinion who took all possible trouble to get himself killed by the soldiers. It appeared that this native was expressly sent to give the Nairs an occasion to attack the Dutch first. This ravished foot was sent back with good words, but it now appeared clearly that the natives wanted to fight. Shortly after this followed a furious attack first on the advance guard, then on the side, and finally on the rearguard. The number of these Nairs was estimated at no less than 7 to 8 thousands. In the first onset the Dutch lost six men among whom the merchant Doubleth who had gone too far and too courageously among the enemy, after being severely wounded himself, resisted heroically to the last. The Lieutenant Van Anden who led the front companies of the advance guard to the right hand as the Dutch marched in two companies in front likewise ran into great peril as he was wounded in two places. He was however assisted by his ensign although he too was wounded. The new troops who came to help them both relieved them. The Dutch knew to keep their rows serried and to charge dexterously. The ships which remained as much as possible in the neighbourhood of the Dutch troops drew up so that their own countrymen might not be affected by firing. The Nairs, as if dull and mad from opium, stood firm, shot and hooked on their adversaries and thrust down with their broadswords all who came within their reach. But the Dutch did not weaken, opened their ranks, and attacked the enemy in the flank with some small cannon loaded with grape-shot. Many Nairs were killed, but the others sprang over the dead and attacked anew. Finally they were compelled to be defeated. The Dutch drove them to flight at the end of a path but not so far that they could advance there. Scarcely for half an hour did they proceed further. As they approached a short distance from the town, Van Goens's troops came across a fortification thrown up by the Nairs and fitted with three pieces of cannon. By this the Dutch were cut off from the path along the coast. To the right side of this fortress lay a marshy wood. Through this there ran but a small and impassable footpath. Some of the troops went along this path. The rest were obliged to cut a passage for themselves to unite with the others that they heard charging and storm the fortification together. In a short time the enemies were driven out from here leaving behind diverse dead. The Dutch estimated the loss of the Nairs killed at one hundred.

J. 3

This caused such a dismay among the Nairs that they all took to flight and the Dutch were allowed to march unhindered to the town, but they did so only after enjoying a well deserved meal. The flesh of the sheep and cows caught were, with their four limbs, divided by the soldiers after being roasted to troopers' meat. With their hide and hair against the fire and wood on wooden spits, swords, pikes and long stockades it was roasted and divided fraternally while yet bloody, spattered, greased and covered with sand. The fruitful cocoanut woods supplied in large numbers ripe cocoanuts, a welcome amplification to the menu. After an interval of two hours, the army went to the town in full battle order along new roads bewteen magnificent plantations bounded with high walls.

The Portuguese in Quilon who in the beginning still thought of some resistance and shot the Dutch ships were very much afraid on seeing the advancing Dutch army with flying flags beating drums that they did not consider themselves capable of resisting the army and navy of the enemy. According to Schouten, the Portuguese then made an offer of peace on conditions which Van Goens did not wish to accept. In the official reports, i.e., the reports of Van Goens to the Governor-General and Council and the Lords Seventeen, nothing is mentioned of this.

The terror and fear among the small Portuguese garrison caused by the approach of the Dutch was so great that they decided to abandon the town and to flee landwards with women and children to take refuge in the woods. While they sent their women and children further away to Cochin, the men united themselves with the Nairs that they might resist the Dutch yet once more.

Van Goens's troops found the town in such a state as it was at the time of its abandonment by them. A single Portuguese was no more left behind in the place and the Dutch again found back their own cannon on the defence works. No booty of any importance was made as the Portuguese had already sent their best and most valuable goods to Cochin long before the arrival of the Dutch. The town made on Schouten the impression of being in a very dilapidated condition. There were indeed still preserved seven large churches, but the chief streets were not more than heaps of ruins, the greater part grown with thickets and shrubs where serpents,

toads and reptiles entertained themselves. However this was in some degree to be imputed to the rubbish left in front of their fortification works by the Dutch during the first occupation.

Further, the Dutch fleet likewise came to anchor in front of Quilon on the same day. This did not happen without misfortunes as four of the ships got stuck on the ground and they were set free only after some trouble.

From these ships Van Goens drafted the remaining soldiers and put on land the incapable and sick ones so that the latter could pick up. However, there was no time to sweep the ships. No unnecessary business! Next day they considered in the Council what further must be done now. They decided to send a punitive expedition to avenge the disgraceful breach of contract and murder perpetrated on the Company's servants in 1659. Also, the Dutch who had come to the land as friends were now greeted as enemies. The members of the Council who best knew that land and people sounded a warning that, if they made their appearance gently, the subjects of the Signati, taking liberties in this mood, would indeed wholly lose the respect for the Company and they could not afterwards trust them absolutely. If they but once felt the power of the Company's tormenting weapons, they would, it was hoped, keep in check for all time their brutalities. It was inconvenient for the Company that again and again they were without forces to march against them. The Company's honour had already suffered and stood in need of being restored especially in connection with the plans in respect of Cochin. For this punitive expedition 24 companies advanced very early on the morning of the 10th December. The Nairs who fought for their lives, goods, and not the least for their reputation as the bravest militia on the Coast, immediately offered vehement resistance. They had anticipated the attack and therefore sent their women, children and principal house-furniture elsewhere. All fighting, the Dutch, had pressed forward labouriously. Especially the rear of the army who with the crude artillery could not go forth so quickly through the narrow hardly beaten roads suffered worse. The Nairs shot fearfully from their fortifications on the Dutch troops. But the latter broke through the positions of the enemy to the palace of the Queen who had fled. The Dutch lost in these fights seven men and had about eighty wounded who made their escape. Further, there was very

vehement fight around the palace and the pagoda or temple situated near it which was defended by the Nairs to the utmost in the hope that the god to whom the temple was consecrated would grant victory in the holy fight. After the Dutch had become masters of both buildings, the Nairs took to flight here also and retreated behind the river while they left behind their costly and beautiful landed estates as booty to the enemy. The Dutch did not hesitate to lay waste the whole land and to burn the plain. Neither the very beautiful old temple nor the palace was spared. Before they set the buildings on fire, the cannon were dragged away from the store-houses for ammunition. Loaded with booty including four large and ten small cannon, the Dutch turned back to the town. The work of destruction was ended. The conquerors had to mourn for thirty killed and thirty-four wounded. The former were buried and the others properly treated. To the enemy side, the losses were all too greater as such fierce resistance was offered.

On the 24th December, on the command of Van Goens, a general fast, thanksgiving and prayer day was observed at Quilon both in the army and the fleet while in one of the principal churches of the town; they solemnly celebrated the Lord's Supper thanking the Lord God with hearts and souls for the undeserved grace and praying further for help and salvation so that with God's blessing a victory might recur.

On the circumjacent princelings the Dutch victory had made a deep impression; they as well as the Raja of Travancore hastened to wish the Company good luck with their successes, but still they did this more out of awe than with a good opinion.

The Raja of Travancore mediated the peace which the Queen of Quilon, now become mellowed, had sought. The quick departure of the Company's forces, combined with the slow way of the subjects of the Indians, had the consequence that with the departure of the Dutch no definite treaty was yet concluded. Especially over the artillery, no agreement could be reached as the Company did not wish to return this.

Very speedily the troops were made ready for a new undertaking. By the mustering, it appeared that not less than 400 men must have remained behind of whom most were sick (much dysentery prevailed in the army) and the rest young and inexperienced

in war. These men remained behind under the command of Captain Coex³ and were to reinforce the town. Of the Portuguese buildings which they found in Quilon, very little remained spared. Thus fell under the hands of the wreckers a costly town hall and all the seven churches and cloisters on a day consecrated to St. Thomas. The strong castle, the seat of the Portuguese Commander of the town, was set apart for accommodating the Dutch. This Castle lay close to the sea and had three towers on which the Dutch now floated the tricolour. In the town very many cocoanut and other trees grew and they found several water tanks.

3. Burchardt Lambertsz Coex came with the ship Wesel in 1639 as sergeant in India; promoted as ensign in India, he became first lieutenant in 1644 and Captain in 1648. He served several years in Ceylon.

The Legitimacy of Skandagupta's Succession and Connected Problems

By

DASHARATHA SHARMA, D.LITT.,
Delhi University

Of the various grounds adduced to disprove the legitimacy of Skandagupta's succession to the Gupta throne the chief one is the failure of Gupta records to mention his mother's name as a *Mahādevī*.¹ The argument appears to have been taken very seriously. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri was at pains to rebut it by showing that in this respect inscriptions followed no uniform rule. Sometimes even queens who were not *Mahadevis* were mentioned; while, on the other hand, the names of queens, the mothers of kings, were now and then omitted.² Dr. Raychaudhuri could perhaps have even added that a queen mentioned as a *Mahādevī* in the inscriptions of her descendants may not have been so. Chandragupta II's queen, Kuberaṇāgā, is given the title of *Mahādevī* in the Poona Plates of her daughter Prabhāvatī-Guptā, though the chief queen was Dhruvasvāminī, the mother of Kumāragupta I and Govindagupta. Where is the unlikelihood then in presuming that Purugupta's descendants probably followed the same procedure while describing Purugupta's mother, Anantadevī, as a *Mahādevī* of Kumāragupta I?

But is it really necessary to give so much of importance to the non-mentioning of a king's mother as *Mahādevī*? In succession to the throne, the eldest son might have received some preferential treatment, provided he was as qualified as others to rule the empire.³ But the argument that a prince should not come to the throne, unless his mother was a *Mahādevī* is something new to us. The *Rājadharmakaustubha*, which deals in detail with the ques-

1. JPASB., XVII. 253 ff.; B. P. Sinha's *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 3-49; *Classical Age*, pp. 25-6.

2. PHAI., Fifth Edition, pp. 572-577.

3. cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.110.36; *Mahābhārata*, I.85.22.

tion of succession on the basis of older authorities like the *Rāmāyana* and the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, lays down definitely that if the son of a junior queen is senior by birth, he succeeds in preference to the son of the senior queen. Only in the case of two sons being born to two queens at the same moment, the son of the senior queen was preferred.⁴ This was also the prevailing practice in Rājasthān among Rājput States. As to the Guptas, even being the eldest son was no necessary condition, for their succession went not by primogeniture but ability and the preference to a favourite prince by his being appointed either as a *yuvarāja* or named as his rightful successor by the dying or abdicating monarch.⁵ Skandagupta probably was the favourite son of his father.⁶ He was certainly the ablest, and the best suited to succeed him.

We find no substantial evidence to question the legitimacy of his succession, though there is some reason to believe that the succession was disputed.⁷ Skandagupta's coins and inscriptions proclaim this legitimacy in no uncertain terms. He bore the title *Vikramāditya* like his grandfather, Chandragupta II, but he called himself *Kramāditya* also, using in fact this title oftener than the other one. In the Bhitari pillar inscription he is said to have achieved his objective by *vikrama* and *krama*.⁸ From his other record, the Jūnagaḍh inscription, we learn that Lakṣmī took his *krama* as well as *buddhi* into consideration before choosing him as her lord in preference to the other claimants.⁹

4. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 48.

5. Basarh seals mention a *yuvarāja*. Samudragupta's appointment as his successor by Chandragupta I is well known.

6. Skandagupta is described as *Pitr-parigata-pāda-padma-vartī* in the Bhitari inscription. Dr. B. P. Sinha also, though against the legitimacy of Skandagupta's succession, is constrained to remark, "At any rate it can be easily admitted that Skandagupta....may have been a hot favourite of Kumāragupta I (*Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 37).

7. Of the disputants one perhaps was Ghaṭotkachagupta (See our short note entitled, "*Ā-Kumāraṁ manuṣyāiḥ*", *PIHC*, 1956, 148 ff).

8. *Vinaya-bala-sunāitair=vvikkrameṇa kkrameṇa pratidinamabhiyogād=īpsitaṁ yena la [bdhvā]* | v.3

9. *krameṇa buddhyā nipuṇaṁ pradhārya dhyātvā cha kṛtsnān guṇadoṣahetūn* | v. *vyapetya sarvān manuḥjendra-putrāṁ-Lakṣmīḥ svayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁchakrāra* || v.5.

As to what *krama* meant in these contexts and how it was distinguished from *vikrama*, which is sometimes regarded as its synonym, it is best to turn to the following *sūtras* of Somadeva Sūri's *Nītivākyāmrta* :—

1. *Rājyasya mūlaṁ kramo vikramaścha* (V. 26)
2. *Ācharasampattiḥ kramasampattiṁ karoti* (V. 27)
3. *Krama-vikram-ānyatara-parigraheṇa
rājyasya duṣkaraḥ pariṇāmaḥ* (V. 29)

According to the commentary subjoined to the *sūtras*, *krama* means *pitr-paitāmahika rājya*, i.e. succession to a kingdom by inherited right. *Vikrama* is *śaurya* or valour. An inherited kingdom prospered, if the ruler adhered to established customs and usages. *Vikrama* was necessary, for without it a *kramāgata rājya* could also be lost. And equally necessary was *krama*, if the *rājya* was to pass on peacefully to a ruler's successors.^{9a}

It is only with this understanding of the exact significance of the terms, *krama* and *vikrama*, that we can realise the importance as well as appositeness of their frequent use in Gupta coins and inscriptions. Every Gupta ruler, from Chandragupta II onwards, had an *āditya* title, with a prefix determined by his personal predilections. One emphasised his *vikrama*, another the performance of *aśvamedhas* perhaps, entitling him to the title Mahendra, and a third probably his benevolent character by the assumption of the title, *Bālāditya*. In Skandagupta's case the emphasis had to be twofold. He had to remind the people not only of the valorous deeds which saved the empire from succumbing to the inroads of the Hūṇas and Puṣyamitras but also his right to the throne by inheritance. That is why, besides assuming the title *Vikramāditya*, he called himself also by the comparatively colourless title, *Kramāditya*. The Jūnāgaḍh inscription puts forward his superiority in intellect over other claimants as a reason for his being selected as Lakṣmī's bridegroom; but in the same breath we are given another equally weighty reason, namely, *krama*, i.e. the right to succeed to the imperial throne by inherited right.¹⁰ Similarly in

9a. See our paper, "The significance of two old historical titles", *IHO*, 1951, pp. 337 ff. for references.

10. See footnote 9. The translation of *kramena* as "in succession or by turns" can be thought of only if one does not keep in view the technical meaning of *krama*.

the Bhitari pillar inscription where the two words, *krama* and *vikrama*, occur in juxtaposition, their meaning should, in view of the interpretation of the *Nītivākyāmrta*, respectively be "inherited right" and "valour".¹¹ Fleet could interpret them differently, only because he was unaware of the technical meaning of *krama*.

Nor is this technical meaning of *krama* confined to the *Nītivākyāmrta*. The seal of the Vākātaka king, Pravarasena II, a cousin of Skandagupta, reads as follows:—¹²

Vākātaka-lalāmasya kkrampaṛāptanṛpaśriyaḥ/
rājñaḥ Pravarasenasya śāsanaṁ ripuśāsanaṁ//

Here obviously the meaning of *krama* is inherited right. Pravarasena II fought no wars to secure his kingdom. And the same meanings of *krama* and *vikrama* can, again, be seen in the following verses from Śukra quoted by the commentary on the *Nītivākyāmrta*:—¹³

krama-vikrama-mūlasya rājyasya tu yathā taroḥ/
samūlasya bhaved vṛddhis=tābhyāṁ hīnasya saṁkṣayaḥ//
laukikaṁ vyavahāraṁ yaḥ kurute nayavṛddhitāḥ//
tadvṛddhyā vṛddhimāyāti rājyam tatra kramāgatam//

Skandagupta was quick enough to implement this view of his twofold right to the throne, by *krama* as well as *vikrama*, and made himself the master of the Gupta empire, almost immediately after Kumāragupta I's death in 136 G.E. or 455 A.D. Dr. B. P. Sinha, we know, thinks otherwise.¹⁴ Of the three dates, 136 G.E., 137, G.E. and 138 G.E., found in the Jūnāgaḍh inscription, he has to put the second in Skandagupta's reign, because it states clearly that the repairs of the lake Sudarśana were begun in that year by Chakrapālita, the son of Skandagupta's Governor, Paṇḍadatta. But he puts Skandagupta's accession early in the same year, regarding 136 G.E. as merely a year having reference to the bursting of the lake. 138 G.E., according to him, is the year of the

11. In this case again the term has been generally mistranslated. The occurrence of the word in the title "Kramāditya" should have acted as a pointer in the right direction, if the translators had not been misled by the meaning assigned to it in common parlance.

12. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 418.

13. *Nītivākyāmrta*, Mānikchand Digambar Jain Series, pp. 52-3.

14. *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 2-49.

LEGITIMACY OF SKANDAGUPTA'S SUCCESSION 149

completion of the repairs. Such a view, if accepted, can give a supposed war of succession on the death of Kumāragupta I the duration of anything from a few months to a year. If Kumāragupta died early in 136 G.E., Skandagupta had according to Dr. Sinha's assumption to fight perhaps for full twelve months or so, before his accession to the throne in 137 G.E. But that such an assumption is hardly tenable would be shown in the following lines.

Verse 35 of the Jūnāgaḍh inscription states that Chakrapālita began the repairs of the lake on the first day of the first *pakṣa* of the *graiṣma māsa* (most probably Vaiśākha) of G.E. 137 and completed it in two months, i.e., before the monsoon rains started again.¹⁵ The year 138 G.E. thus has nothing to do with the completion of the repairs; it is merely the year of the building of a temple of Chakrabhṛta (Viṣṇu) by Chakrapālita, probably on his own initiative.^{15a} To come to a wrong date of the completion of the repairs, in spite of the right time indicated in the epigraph itself, and then to bring on its basis the date of Skandagupta's date of accession to the early part of 137 G.E. is a mistake that could have been committed only as the result of a rather hurried reading of verse 35.

We have to note also the fact that there is nothing in the inscription to create the impression that the lake Sudarśana did not burst in Skandagupta's reign. The impression is rather the other way. The Gupta year 137 began on the first day of the bright half of Chaitra. One following Dr. B. P. Sinha's view can put Skandagupta's accession at the earliest on this day. The repairs of the lake were begun on the first day of the first *pakṣa* of Graiṣma and were finished within two months. Is it possible to put all the political events that followed the supposed date of Skandagupta's accession and preceded the repairs of the lake within the brief period of a fortnight or so left to us by Dr. Sinha's theory?

According to the inscription, which significantly enough begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu, the perpetual abode of Lakṣmī, extolling his recovery of the long-lost royal fortune of the *tridaśapati*

15. I am adopting D. B. Diskalkar's interpretation of *graiṣma*.

15a. See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, verses 40-47, pp. 307-8.

(Mahendra) from the demon Bali,^{15b} Skandagupta meted out punishment to haughty serpent-like rulers¹⁶ and on the death of his father subjugated the whole earth by his own power.¹⁷ His glory was sung even by Mlechchhas, with their power completely destroyed.¹⁸ Having decided that by virtue of his intellect (*buddhyā*) as well as hereditary right (*kramaṇa*) he was the fittest (*nipuṇa*)¹⁹ and having considered also cases that could lead to excellence or defects, Lakṣmī, leaving aside all the sons of Manujendra (ruler or rulers), had chosen him voluntarily as her lord.²⁰ He appointed Gopṭṛs (Protectors) for the various lands he had conquered (v. 7). But he had to think long before he could find a right person for Surāṣṭrā, a person who could control its people, even if all other servants ranged themselves (on the other side).²¹ Ultimately he found out Parnadatta and persuaded him somehow to accept the job. (vv. 8-13). Parnadatta's son, Chakrapālita, who was appointed to look after the city, made the

15b. It is easy to see here an allusion to the recovery of Mahendrāditya Kumāragupta's royal fortune from the hands of his enemies by the Śrī-parikṣipta-vakṣāh Skandagupta.

16. v.2. For its correct interpretation see our paper, "A verse from Skandagupta's Jūnāgaḍh Inscription", published in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, VI, pp. 303 ff.

17. verse 3.

18. verse 4.

19. "Buddhyā" and "kramaṇa", both of them put in the instrumental case, give reasons for the selection. A parallel and certainly better rendered idea, in which a similar use of words in the instrumental case can be seen, is to be found in the following verse describing Indumatī's *svayamvara*:—
kulena kāntya vayasā navena guṇaiścha taistairvinayapradhānāḥ |
tvaṃātmanastulyamamum vṛṇṣva ratnaṃ samāgachchhatu
kāñchanena ||

For the sense of "nīpuṇa" as "best fitted", "perfect" etc., see V. S. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

20. See footnote 9 for the verse.

21. "sarveṣu bhṛtyeṣvapi saṃhateṣu" has been translated by D. B. Diskalkar as "in the circle of friends". This is not correct. *Upadhā* similarly has been mis-translated as text. For the right interpretation of the verses describing Parnadatta's virtues as a Gopṭṛ it is necessary to consult the *amātya-sampat*, *upadhābhiḥ viśuddhi*, and *mantrādhikāra* sections of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*. That the *saṃhati* of servants was not considered good can be seen also from the line,

na saṃhātasya na bhinnavṛttayaḥ
priyāni vañchchhantyasubhiḥ saṃhīhitum,
 in the first canto of the *Kirātārjunīya*.

people happy, first by "conversation accompanied by smile and by presents of honours, by encouraging unrestricted mutual visits to each other's houses among his people and by holding domestic functions calculated to promote cordiality" (v. 23). After that (*atha*) when in due course the rainy season made its appearance, it rained incessantly and for long and the lake Sudarśana "suddenly burst on the 6th day, at night, of the month of *Prauṣṭhapada*, G.E. 136 (vv. 26-7). Out of devotion to his father and desiring the good of the city and the king, Chakrapālita began or perhaps completed the repairs of the lake on the first day of the first fortnight of *Graiṣma* (*Vaiśakha*), G.E. 137.²²

It is obvious from this summary of the inscription that Skandagupta's first task on ascending the throne was to defeat his enemies, some of them perhaps his own feudatories who tried to take advantage of the difficult situation created by the Puṣyamitra war. When this had been accomplished, he set about the work of consolidation. He appointed "Protectors" for the subjugated provinces, and the last one to have a *Goptr* was Surāṣṭrā, probably both on account of its distance from Magadha and its unruly elements. All this, besides the cultivation of friendly relations with the people described in the succeeding verses, could not have been accomplished within a fortnight or even two or three months. We have perforce therefore to put Skandagupta's accession in G.E. 136; and if we put the bursting of the lake in Skandagupta's reign, as indicated by the natural drift of the epigraph and the sense we should normally assign to the words, *atha krameṇāmbudakāla āgate*, the date of accession has to be pushed fairly backwards, to a month before *Prauṣṭhapada* or *Bhādrapada*, G.E. 136, i.e. towards the beginning of the year in which Kumārāgupta is known to have passed away.

The only bar to the acceptance of this conclusion can lie in the preconceived notion that Purugupta's reign intervened between that of Kumārāgupta I and Skandagupta. But such a view is contradicted by every line we pursue, numismatic, literary as well as epigraphic. To the numismatic evidence, we may add one more fact. We find a gradual increase in the weight of Gupta

22. Vv. 33.39. It looks like the date of the completion of the repairs. If this be so, there can be no possibility of Skandagupta's accession to the throne in G.E. 137. The repairs took two months.

gold coins. Well-preserved coins of Chandragupta I weigh between 120 and 121 grains. Chandragupta II issued gold coins of three weight standards, 121, 124 and 127 grains. 75% of Kumāragupta I's gold coins were issued to the standard of 127 grains. In Skandagupta's reign the two weight standards were 130 or 132 grains and 144 grains, the latter being identical with the *suvarṇa* standard of 80 *rattis*. So if we find Purugupta and his successors issuing coins only to the 144 grains standard, we have normally to put them after Skandagupta. One cannot regard anyone of them as a predecessor of the ruler whose coins were of the 132 grains standard. In case Purugupta issued no coins, as now believed by many, the above argument need not of course be used. We have evidence enough of other sorts to prove the legitimacy and immediacy of Skandagupta's succession.

An Incomplete Manuscript of Madhavasarasvatī's Prakriyasudha, A Commentary on Prakriyakaumudī

BY

M. S. BHAT, M.A., DIP. LIB.

A palm-leaf mss. in Malayalam Characters came to my notice. It has 143 leaves with 9 lines to a page, size being 18·8" × 1·9", and it appears to be at least one hundred years old.

It begins :—Svasti | Atha Vibhaktyarthā ucyante ||

It ends :—Padavākyapramāṇajño Mādhavākhyasarasvatī
vivṛṇoti Kaumudyāstaddhitaparakriyāṁ mudā. Iti Śrīmat-
paramahansa-parivrajakācāryavaryaśrī¹ tīviracite
Prakriyākaumādīvyākhyāyām Prakriyāsudhāyām Subantaḥ
samāptaḥ ||

The present mss. contains the commentary only from the Vibhaktis to the end of Pūrvārdha of Prakriyākaumudī.² The importance of the mss. lies exactly in the fact that it was neither noticed in any of the Catalogue of Manuscripts published so far nor in any work dealing with the history of Sanskrit grammatical treatises, and further our Pra. Su. adds to the list of commentaries on Prakriyākaumudī so far known.³

Mādhavasarasvatī seems to have been a voluminous writer, for besides writing Pra. Su. he had written a number of commentaries; Mayūkhamālā on Tattvacintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya, Mita-bhāṣiṇī on Saptapadārthī of Sivāditya, Mandānukāmpinī on Nyāya-kusumāñjalī of Udayana, Vāsiṣṭhapañcikā on Yogavāsiṣṭha, and two original works, Abhinavasaptapadārthī and Sarvadarśanakau-mudī. Out of the above works Vāsiṣṭhapañcikā (same as Pada-

1. Six akṣaras lost due to the damaged condition of the mss.

2. Prakriyākaumudī (B.S.S. LXXVIII), Part I, pp. 379-966.

3. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, *Saṃskṛta Vyākaraṇa Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 382-386.

candrikā ?) only has been noticed⁴ Mi. Bhā. and Sarv. Kau.⁵ have been published.

Regarding the personal history of our author the known facts as gathered from Sarv. Kau. can be summarised as follows. Mādhavasarasvatī refers to his native place (or better the location of his monastery) variously as Sōdāsī, Sōdā, Sōmadā⁶ situated on the Sahyādri mountain, and to the east of Gōkaṃṇa. He refers to his guru Vidyendravana in most respectful terms both in the introductory verses, and in the colophon to Sarv. Kau., and also in the colophon to Samāsaprakriyā in Pra. Su.⁷ He further refers to his native place as having been ruled by a Chief called variously as Arasendrabhūpa and Arasendramahīpāla,⁸ under whose patronage possibly Madhavasarasvatī wrote on the various systems of philosophy and grammar. Curiously enough in the list of six works mentioned at the end of Sarv. Kau., we do not find Pra. Su. mentioned. Possibly it was written long after Sarv. Kau.

Regarding the date of Mādhavasarasvatī the late Vāsudevaśāstri Abhyāṅkar came to the conclusion that the author lived in 1350 A.D. on the evidence of Mi. Bhā. on Sa. Pa.⁹ This is not correct.

1. A mss. of Mi. Bhā. gives the date of the copy as saṃvat 1715 varṣe vaiśākha sudi 13 hastārkkā¹⁰ and on the basis of this we can fix a *terminus ad quem* for Mādhavasarasvatī.

2. The date of Rāmacandra, the author of Pra. Kau. is generally assigned to the latter half of 14th century¹¹ and Viṭṭhala wrote a commentary Prasāda on it in 1450 A.D.¹² A glance at

4. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 319. At p. 449 Aufrecht states that Mādhavasarasvatī as belonging to Saurāṣṭra, which is not correct.

5. T. S. S. No. CXXXV, where the other works of Mādhavasarasvatī are mentioned. Mi. Bhā. is published in Viz. Skt. Series.

6. Sōdāsyapuryāmakarotkṛtīm saḥ, *ibid.*, p. 112; Sōdānagarī samasti satpuruṣā, *ibid.*, p. 144; Sōmadāpure, *ibid.*, p. 145.

7. Iti Śrīvidyendravanacaranabhṛṅgamādhavasarasvatīviracitāyām, etc.

8. Arasendrabhūpa-, *Sarv. Kau.*, p. 144; Arasendramahīpāla, *ibid.*, p. 145.

9. *Sarv. Kau.*, p. iv.

10. Cat. of Skt. Mss. in India Office Library, p. 669, No. 2088, where the verse "gaurāṣṭradeśe etc." quoted in colophon. See foot note 4 above.

11. *Prakriyākaumudī* (B.S.S. LXXVIII), Part I, Intro., p. xlv-xlv.

12. Gode, *Studies in Literary History*, Vol. II, p. 18.

Pra. Su. reveals that it was mostly based on Prasāda and in many cases quotes it *verbatim*.

3. Mādhavasarasvatī refers to Varadarāja,¹³ the commentator of Nayaviveka, and hence he must have lived at the same time as Varadarāja (*circa* A.D. 1500-70).¹⁴

4. We can identify the native place of Mādhavasarasvatī referred variously as Sōdāsī, Sōdā, Sōmadā with Sonda in Śirsi Taluk (Mysore).¹⁵ Sonda lies about 35 miles North-East of Gōkaṇṇa. This place satisfies all the details given by Mādhavasarasvatī. Further Sonda Chiefs seem to belong to a branch of Vijayanagar Rulers, and ruled from Sonda between 1560-1763 A.D. The first Chief of this line was Immadi Arasappa Nāyaka (1555-1598 A.D.).¹⁶ We can identify this Chief with Arasendrabhūpa mentioned by Mādhavasarasvatī. In the inscriptions copied from Sonda¹⁷ we find Arasappa Nāyaka mentioned in four epigraphs. In two epigraphs¹⁸ we find him granting land to Nirāsi Maṭha. The Nirāsi Maṭha seems to have been derived from (?) Nṛsiṃha Maṭha, after the principal deity of the Maṭha. The image of Nṛsiṃha was given by Ādiśaṅkarācārya to Viśvavandya, the originator of this line of Smārtasvāmijis. The Maṭha is at present known as Honalli Maṭha.¹⁹

It is all the more probable that both Vidyendravana and Mādhavasarasvatī belonged to this Maṭha which was patronised by Arasappa Nāyaka of Sonda (1555-1599)²⁰ with grants of land for the exclusive use of the monastery and its inmates. Hence Mādhavasarasvatī possibly lived and wrote his various works during *circa* 1500-80 A.D.

13. *Sarv. Kau.*, p. 90.

14. *Tattvabindu* (Auss. No. 3), intro., p. 92.

15. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 82.

16. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, Part II, p. 120.

17. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* for 1939-40, App. E. Nos. 72-73, 75 and 76.

18. *Ibid.* No. 72-3. In the above report it is stated that these are in characters of 18th cen. which is wrong and misleading. No. 72 mentions the cyclic year Vikāri, and hence can refer only to Śaka 1521 the last known date for Arasappa Nāyaka. The details, viz., Kārttika śu 4 Thursday may correspond to 1599 A.D. September 13.

19. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, Part II, pp. 345-346.

20. See foot note 18 above.

The Battlefield of Haldighatī and "Two Unnoticed Monuments at Khamnor"

BY

R. C. AGRAWALA, M.A.,

Director, Archaeology and Museums, Jaipur (Raj.).

The details of the Battle of Haldighatī (the Thermopyle of Mewar) are well-known to every student of Indian history. During their stubborn resistance, "the Rajputs and the Mughals came face to face at a wider plain of *Rakta-Tāla*,¹ also called *Khūna-kī-Talāi*, just on the bank of the river *Banāsa* with *Khamnora*² and village *Bhāgal* on both sides In this part of the struggle, *Rājā Rām Shāh* of Gwalior³ with his three sons and *Rām Dās Rāthor*, son of *Jaimal* died their heroic death". But the historians are absolutely silent about the construction of any memorial of these Tanwar allies of the *Rānās* of Udaipur. During my exploratory-tour of the region of Haldighatī, I visited a group of two *chhatrīs* (cenotaphs) which are situated quite close to each other in an open field on the outskirts of the village Khamnor. The pillar of the *chhatrī*, to the left hand side, bears an interesting inscription of V. S. 1681 (= 1624-5 A.D.) pertaining to the reign-period of *Mahārānā Karna Singh*⁴ of Udaipur. The language of this small inscription of 9 lines is *Mewārī* while the script is *Devanāgarī*. It specifically refers to the particular memorial as having

1. Popularly known as *Rakta-Talāi* or *Raina-Talāi*.

2. This is a small village between the *Bādashāhī Bāgh* and the river *Banāsa*. This place was visited by me on 9-4-56 and *Sh. Nathulal Vyas* of Udaipur was extremely helpful to me during this tour. The ancient name of this village was *Khāmanapura* as recorded in an inscription of V. S. 1307 from that place and edited by me in *The Adyar Library—Bulletin*, Adyar, XXI (1-2), pp. 80-2.

3. *Abul Fazal, Akbaranama*, (MS) F. 99 (b) and Persian Text, III, p. 153 as cited by *Dr. G. N. Sharma* in *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, 1954, Agra, pp. 100-1. Also consult *J. Tod's Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, 1920, Crooke's edition for the Battle of Khamnor or Khamnaur, 26 miles north of Udaipur.

4. Born in V. S. 1640 and died in V. S. 1684.

been constructed in honour of the son of Rām Shāh, the Tanwar Chief of Gwalior. On the other hand, the *chhatrī*, to the right hand side and just adjacent to the former one, preserves a square *Sati*-stone carved on all the four sides and fixed in the centre of the *chhatrī* which might have been erected in honour of Tanwar Rām Shāh. But nothing can be said with definiteness due to the paucity of any inscription there in it. The inscription of the former *chhatrī* has of course remained unnoticed so far. It states that Rānā Karna Singh of Mewar got the cenotaph constructed in V.S. 1681 (= 1624-25 A.D.) in honour of Śālivāhana, son of Rājā Rām Shāh—the ruler of Gwalior.⁵ The letters in the 7th and 8th lines are somewhat indistinct while the phrase *śilavāṭa* in the 7th line indicates that these lines refer to the names and details about the architects of this monument. The last line of course states that the work was done by the architects whose names are not very clear in the record. The legible portion of the text, inscribed crudely in the Devanāgarī Script, may be noted as:—

- Line 1 — *Samata*⁶ 1681 *barāṣe*⁷
 „ 2 — *Ranā*⁸ *Karanāsīṅgha Jī*⁹
 „ 3 — *ne karā*¹⁰ *chhatarī*¹¹
 „ 4 — *Galeraka*¹² *raja*¹³ *kī*
 „ 5 — *Rajaramasaḥ*¹⁴ *bēto*¹⁵
 „ 6 — *Salavāhana*¹⁶ *ja-rī*¹⁷
 „ 7 — *Śilavāṭa*¹⁸ *Madījata*¹⁹

5. Cf. G. H. Ojha's *History of Rajputana*, Hindī, Vol. II, 1932, p. 748.
 6. ie. *Samvat* = *Vikrama Samvat*.
 7. ie. *varṣe* = Year. There is no reference to the month, date, etc.
 8. ie. *Rānā*.
 9. ie. *Karna Singha*.
 10. Got built.
 11. ie. Cenotaph; *chhatarī* in Hindī.
 12. ie. "of Gwalior"; *Galera* = Gwalior.
 13. ie. *Rājā* ruler.
 14. ie. *Rājā Rāma Shāh*, father of *Śālivāhana*.
 15. ie. son, Hindī *betā*.
 16. ie. *Śālivāhana*. The three sons of Ram Shah of Gwalior were *Śālivāhana*, *Bhawānī Singha* and *Pratāpa Singha*; cf. Ojha, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 732-33, f.n. of p. 732.
 17. ie. Hindī *Jī kī* ie. 'of'.
 18. ie. Hindī *Śilāvāṭa* = architect.
 19. Some name perhaps. *Jata* in line 8 may be a corrupt form of Hindī *jāti* = caste.

- „ 8 — (*Jata Batālīma*) Ne
„ 9 — *kama-kīdho*.²⁰

Rāja Rām Shāh, son of Vikramāditya of Gwalior, was defeated by Iqbal Khan—the Commander-in-chief of the army of Mughal Akbar. As a result of his failure, Rām Shāh left his native land and accepted the overlordship of Rānā Udaya Singh²¹ of Udaipur. Not only that, he settled down in the territory of Mewar for it has been recorded in the *Amara Kāvya*—an unpublished manuscript now preserved in the Saraswatī Bhawan Library at Udaipur, that Rānā Udaya Singh granted the region of *Bārānda-sora*²² (Mewar) to Rām Shāh of Gwalior. The Hindī version of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Vol. I, *saṃvat* 1964, p. 334 and foot note) even records that the ancestors of this Rām Shāh were banished from the Gwalior State as early as the times of Baber and that they were looked after by the Mahārānās of Udaipur in subsequent periods. It has also been stated therein that the expenditure, incurred for the hospitality of these people from Gwalior, amounted to Rs. 800/- per day. Under these circumstances, it was quite natural that the exiled members of the Gwalior house (including Rām Shāh and his sons) supported the cause of the Rānās of Udaipur against the Mughal forces and gave a good account of themselves in the battle of Haldighatī with the result that not a single member of the Tanwar family could survive after that historic struggle. G. H. Ojha (*History of Rajputana*, Hindī, Vol. I, p. 235) refers to the survival of Śālīvāhana—the son of Rām Shāh. But the text of the inscription (of V. S. 1681) of the aforesaid *chhatrī* specifically refers to the construction of the memorial in honour of Śālīvāhana and the monument would not have been erected by a descendent of Rānā Pratāpa in case the former did not breath his last on the battlefield. This being the situation, the statement of Dr. Ojha does not seem to carry any tangible weight. Still more, the contemporary Muslim historian too (as cited above) refers to the demise of Śālīvāhana while the latter was engaged in hand to hand fight at that moment.

It is also interesting to note that the aforesaid *chhatrī* (of V.S. 1681) was constructed in honour of a subordinate prince. This is

20. ie. *kāma kīyā* in Hindī.

21. ie. Father of Rānā Pratāpa.

22. G. H. Ojha, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 732 and foot note thereof.

really an example of immense broad-mindedness of Rāṇā Karna-Singh who paid due homage and respect to a sincere and faithful associate of his ancestors. As a matter of fact, he alone, after Rāṇā Pratāpa and Amara Sinha I, was in a position to look to the works of this nature.

The illiterate architect of this *chhatrī* too deserves our thanks for having recorded the above event of great historical importance. The inscription and the location of the monument, under reference, confirm the fact that the *vast plain on the outskirts of village Khamnor marked the particular spot of the famous battlefield, of the Haldighaṭī*. As a matter of fact, these *chhatrīs* throw a flood of light on the history and architecture of the region during the contemporary period. It is also essential to make a search for more material having an important bearing on this particular issue.

Lokamanya Balgangadhar Tilak—An Appreciation

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,
*Professor and Head of the Department of History,
Lucknow University*

Fondly and reverentially called 'Lokamanya', Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the greatest Indian leader of the pre-Gandhian era, came to be known in his own day, first, as the uncrowned king of Maharashtra, his home-province, and later as the uncrowned king of India itself. This was a richly deserved tribute to his service and suffering and sacrifice in the cause of his country. Hostile critics regarded him as the most dangerous pioneer of disaffection and as the Father of Indian Unrest. In point of fact, however, he was a Prince among Patriots. And, none, whatsoever his opinions, could ever think of Indian nationalism without thinking of Tilak's role among the makers of the India to-day.

A typical Chitpavan Maratha Brahmin, Tilak, born on 23rd July, 1856, was a life-long fighter, and patriotism was the ruling passion of his life. He began his career after taking his degree in Law in 1879 as an educationist. The Poona New English School, the Deccan Educational Society and the Fergusson College—all owed their origin to his efforts. He hated everything foreign, and his mind rebelled at the sight of the Westernised type of education prevailing in his country. He sought, therefore, to introduce a new national type of education which would restore the ancient greatness of India and elevate her status to new heights.

But, the political advancement of India was his chief interest, and he devoted himself to the service of his country with a selfless devotion which was unique. India's subjection to Britain hurt his national pride, and he considered foreign rule to be an absolute evil. He believed that India's misery and backwardness were due to British rule, and so he made himself a relentless critic of the foreign connection. He became a journalist primarily to focus the attention of his countrymen on the various ills from which India

suffered on account of political subjection. His journalistic career was as illustrious as it was historic. It forms an important chapter in the annals of India's national movement. His two papers, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, represented a radical nationalist viewpoint, and soon became powerful weapons in his hands for all-round political education and nationalist propaganda.

Tilak was a brilliant and astute politician. He was well aware of the nature of the material with which he was concerned, and he made clever use of his knowledge. Even religion was pressed into service by him in the cause of his country's freedom. Hindu gods and heroes were made use of for encouraging a new spirit among the people, and Tilak was the first leader in India who initiated a really popular political movement in the guise of religious festivals. In 1893 he hit upon the original idea of introducing the Ganapati festival with a view to exploiting the religious feeling of his countrymen and to create in them a spirit of courage, patriotism, discipline and unity. Boys in schools and colleges were induced to participate in the celebrations so that they might imbibe a feeling of devotion to the motherland. The Ganapati festival became in course of time a real people's movement, and it inspired the Maratha youth with a new patriotic zeal. In an age when mass propaganda was yet unborn, this festival was turned into a potent instrument of political education.

Encouraged by the efficacy and popularity of the Ganapati celebrations, Tilak started the Shivaji festival in 1895 in honour of the great national hero of the Marathas. The motive in this case was more directly political. By publicising the greatness of Shivaji who had brought freedom to his country in the days of the Mughals, Tilak aimed at instilling in the mind of his people a new yearning for liberty and a resolute inclination for united national movement. This festival too proved an immediate success. It created an unthought of enthusiasm among the masses, and the Maratha youth was fired with the passion for service of the motherland in the same spirit which had actuated the great Shivaji.

On the occasion of these festivals, expert athletes and fencers demonstrated "lathi" play, "akharas" were started, meetings were held, patriotic and religious Kirtans were sung, "Kathas" and ballads were recited and political speeches were delivered. Although

violence was not generally preached, everything was done to incite the people against the British government. A typical poem which used to be recited ran as follows:—"Listen. We shall risk our lives on the battlefield in a national war: we shall shed upon the earth life-blood of the enemies who destroy our religion; we shall die after killing". Another poem was directly seditious. One of its stanzas was as follows:—"Alas, you are not ashamed to remain in servitude....die, but kill the English. This is called Hindustan, how is it that the English rule here".

Tilak was the first Congress leader to go to jail several times and suffer long terms of imprisonment. He was sentenced to four months of imprisonment in 1882 for having condemned in strong terms the treatment meted out to the Maharaja of Kolhapur. In 1897, he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for having incited the murder of two European officers, Mr. Rand and Lt. Ayerst, through his articles in the *Kesari* during the plague agitation in Bombay. In 1909 he was tried for having criticised the government's repressive policy against the Bengal revolutionaries, and was sent to jail at Mandalay for six years. During this trial, he conducted his own defence and spoke for full 21 hours 10 minutes. At the end he made the following stirring remark: "There are higher powers that rule the destinies of things; and it may be the will of Providence that the cause I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free".

It was mainly during his imprisonment at Mandalay that Tilak completed his monumental "Artic Home of the Vedas" and "Gita Rahasya"—works which testified to his deep scholarship and remarkable intellectual acumen. His researches into and study of the ancient Vedic civilisation and its literature in his "Orion" were so subtle and comprehensive that they had a world-wide recognition and won the admiration of the greatest Orientalists of his day, including MaxMuller, Jadobi and Bloomfield. On the basis of astronomical evidence, Tilak proved that the Aryan civilisation was older than the Egyptian, Chinese or the Chaldean civilisations, and that the age of the Rigveda might be fixed at about 4000 B.C. And, on the basis of geological evidence, he showed that the Aryans lived originally in North Polar regions about 8000 B.C. His researches could not obviously be universally accepted, but the value and originality of his conclusions were beyond dispute. His

interpretation of the Gita was an erudite philosophical feat, worthy of an intellectual giant. The emphasis he placed on action was in harmony with his own life work, and in his advocacy of "Karma" the reader is gradually led to light upon a succession of intellectual arguments which finally culminate in the establishment of a grand and original criticism of the Gita.

Though he could easily have obtained a prominent place in the field of Oriental reasearch, he chose to shine as a political leader, and spent himself completely in the furtherence of his country's cause to which he dedicated his life. In the Poona Municipal Board or in the Bombay Legislative Council, in the Congress Committees or in the extremist nationalist party, he brought to bear upon every matter he dealt with an iron will and a fearless honesty which nothing could weaken or break. As the founder, exponent and head of extremism in Indian politics, Tilak earned a success which was rare in those days. As he emerged on the political field, his people saw in him the very type and incarnation of the Maratha character, the Maratha qualities and the Maratha spirit embodied in a great individual. He was no ordinary demagogue. His speeches were made up of hard and straight thinking, and he talked of serious practical action always, careless of popular gush, sentimental applause and mere effervescence, and his words had the directness and force of a sincere and powerful mind. He was a true democrat who could effectively rouse the spirit of the mass and respond to their sentiment. He was never an academical politician or an idealist, and he was, first and last, a man of action, a captain of unwavering sincerity and a leader of indomitable resolution.

Tilak's contribution to the Indian National movement is memorable. The Congress movement before him was accidental in its mind, and moderate in its character and methods, limited to the English-educated few, and with no roots in the inner spirit of the nation. Tilak was the first leader to break away from the past, to revolutionise the present and to anticipate the future. He Indianised the national movement in a real sense and brought into it the mass of the people for the first time. As such, he was the forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi. He also infused Indian politics with religious and spiritual fervour which was going to be a sure foundation for a powerful and enduring political awakening in India.

At a time when the Congress was loyalist to its backbone, Tilak was the first leader to talk of Swaraj and Swadeshi in the nineties of the last century, even though the ideas could not catch on immediately. But, as real statesman he anticipated the future. He rebelled against the attitude of prayerfulness and importunity and the method of political mendicancy which characterised the Congress of his days. And, as the spokesman of radical views in Congress politics, he proved his convictions by declaring in a forceful manner, "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it". This slogan for the first time instilled a spirit of self-reliant political action and shattered the country's old faith in British sense of justice. But it was as the founder of the Home Rule movement in 1916 that Tilak finally changed the course of Indian national movement. As an astute leader, he viewed the War as a God-sent opportunity to win freedom for India, and he exploited the situation with skill and vigour. His Home Rule movement, it is necessary to add, served to inspire (after his death on August 1, 1920), the freedom movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

Tilak's name stands out in History as the foremost political fighter and nation-builder of his age—a name to be cherished lovingly so long as India is proud of its past and confident of its future.

The Origin of Maya in Sankara's Philosophy

BY

R. B. JOSHI

Among the interpreters of Vedantic philosophy there has been a great deal of difference of opinion with regard to the origin of the doctrine of Maya in Sankara's philosophy of Advaita Vedanta. On the whole there have been three¹ different theories accounting for the doctrine of Maya as found in Sankara. According to the first the doctrine of Maya is looked upon as a mere fabrication of the fertile genius of Sankara. According to the second the doctrine of Maya is to be traced entirely to the influence of the Buddhist thought on Sankara. According to the third the doctrine of Maya is to be found already full-fledged in the Upanishads, of which Sankara is merely an exponent. There is also a fourth theory proposed by Prof. R. D. Ranade,² according to whom the germs of the doctrine of Maya are to be found in the Upanishads and Sankara developed them into the full-fledged doctrine of Maya that is found in his Philosophy.

I have to differ from all these four views. I differ from the first view because it is impossible to look upon the doctrine of Maya as "a mere fabrication of the fertile genius of Sankara" as the doctrine of Maya is found in a period earlier than that of Sankara and its influence can be traced in Sankara. I differ from the second view because I am of opinion that the doctrine of Maya as found in Sankara is to be traced to the influence of the Buddhist thought on Sankara but not "entirely". I differ from the third view because I firmly hold that the doctrine of Maya is not found in the Upanishads. I differ also from the fourth view because according to my opinion the germs of the doctrine of Maya as found in Sankara are not to be found in the Upanishads but are to be found in the Buddhist thought. So the view that I propose

1. R. D. Ranade: *A Constructive Survey of the Upanishadic Philosophy*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1926, P. 223.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

to prove here is that the germs of the doctrine of Maya as found in Sankara are found in the Buddhist thought and Sankara developed them into his full-fledged doctrine of Maya, which is decidedly not identical with the doctrine of Maya in the Buddhist thought but still clearly shows the traces of its influence in it.

In order to prove my view that I have stated above my investigation has to take the line of proving (I) that the doctrine of Maya is not found in the pre-Buddhist thought, (II) that it is found for the first time in the Buddhist thought, and (III) that Sankara is influenced by the Buddhist thought.

I

To prove my first point, viz. that the doctrine of Maya is not found in the pre-Buddhist thought, I have to prove that the doctrine of Maya is not found in the Vedas, in the Upanishads, and in the Brahma-Sutras of Badrayana.

Let me take the Vedas first. It is said that the hymn of Dirghatamas in the Rigveda (I, 164, 46) contains the germs of the doctrine of Maya. The hymn says that the poets give many names to that which is only one, they call it Agni, Yama, Matarishvan,³ and thereby it is implied, says Deussen, "that plurality depends solely upon words and the unity alone is real".⁴ Deussen says again that when it is said that one was there, besides which there was no other,⁵ that there was the one, inserted into everlasting nave, in which all living beings are fixed,⁶ that the entire universe is the puruṣa alone, both that which was and that which endures for the future,⁷—in every one of these hymns, what afterwards became the doctrine of Maya was clearly implied.⁸

All the above passages cited by Deussen in support of his conclusion proves only that the unity in diversity and its importance in relation to the diversity is pointed out and that there is not here

3. *Ekam sat viprābahūdā vadanti. Tamāhuḥ agniryaṃ mātariśvā.*

4. P. Deussen: *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 229.

5. *Rigveda*, X, 129, 2.

6. *Ibid.*, X, 82, 6.

7. *Ibid.*, X, 90, 2.

8. P. Deussen, *Ibid.*

ORIGIN OF MAYA IN SANKARA'S PHILOSOPHY 181

any assertion about the illusory nature of the diversity,⁹ which is so clearly asserted by the doctrine of Maya in Sankara's Philosophy.

The Nasadiya hymn in the Rigveda (X. 129) is quoted by Gough as an instance wherein the doctrine of Maya can be traced.

9. Cf. "Could these simple hymns, the meaning of which can never be mistaken, have kept concealed underneath them the doctrine of Maya? What does the first hymn say? God is one, though he may be worshipped as Agni, or Yama or Matarishyan. One after another, all the elements had been deified and were looked upon as controlling the destinies of the world and man. Then came a time when the idea dawned upon the thinkers that God was really one, and that the elements which were being worshipped as gods were not really gods, because they derived all their powers from the same Being, who must be treated as the real God. These elements, as manifestations of the Supreme power, were all real, and still remain real, but the ignorance of men had led them to think that they were distinct powers. The supreme power, and the elements into which it is split up, were, and still are, real, only their relations stand adjusted in the light of new knowledge. One fails to understand where is the loophole, through which the doctrine of Maya can be dragged in. The second hymn is still more simple: there is one God, who has no other rival. Whenever the idea of one God-head has arisen in the minds of thinkers, such a statement has invariably followed. We know that the great prophet Mohammed, the founder of Mohammedan religion, proclaimed that there was one God and that he has no rival, and forbade his followers to worship any one other than Allah, who was one. Some enterprising writers may say that in the Sacred Book, Koran, where this is stated, is to be found a facsimile copy of the doctrine of Maya lying hidden! Take now the last two hymns, where unity in the midst of diversity is sought to be found out. Is there a philosopher of any note, from the most remote times up till now, who has not tried to express this idea of unity in the midst of diversity with which the world is full? Most philosophers have tried to comprehend the entire creation as a unity in their own way. Will they be charged with having up their sleeves the doctrine of Maya for that reason, or should not such utterances be construed in a natural manner, as an attempt to arrange the manifold of creation in a systematic manner and to understand them as parts of one whole? Only a man, who is writing in the 19th century and is surcharged with the doctrine of illusion or Maya, and who is anxious to establish that the Indian thinkers in the remote past were thinking exactly like him, would read into these simple words of the hymns the far-fetched ideas of modern times. It is a sad specimen of advocacy and it is to be wondered that in a serious discussion of the present nature any distinguished writer should think of advancing such amazing arguments in support of his contention". (S. C. Chakravarty: *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Calcutta University, Calcutta, pp. 169-170).

In the hymn it is said that it was not entity nor was it non-entity; and Sayana's interpretation of this hymn, says Gough, conclusively shows that the principle of Maya is here referred to.¹⁰

The meaning of this hymn is, firstly, quite obscure¹¹ and so there will be ample opportunity for one who wants to twist it in a way in which it will yield the meaning he desires to extract from this hymn.¹² Secondly, Sayana's interpretation of this hymn cannot be relied upon in understanding this hymn, because he is a later commentator who lived in the 14th century A.D., long after Sankara had travelled over the whole of India and made people familiar with his doctrine of Maya,¹³ and

10. A. E. Gough: *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, London, 1903, P. 240.

11. With regard to this hymn, Max Müller observes, "there are several passages in this hymn which in spite of much labour spent on them by eminent scholars, remain as obscure now as they were to me in 1859. The poet himself is evidently not quite clear in his own mind and he is constantly oscillating between a personal or impersonal or rather super-personal cause from which the universe emanated" (*Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, 1916, p. 49). Obviously here Max Müller does not suspect any presence of the doctrine of Maya in this hymn.

12. A. E. Gough remarks, "Sayana tells us that the Nasadiya sukta describes the state of things between two aeons, the state technically known as pralayavastha. An earlier world has been withdrawn into the world-fiction Maya, out of which it sprang, and the later world is not yet proceeding into being. In this state of the dissolution, says Sayana, the world-fiction is not a non-entity; it is not a piece of non-sense, a purely chimerical thing, like the horns of a hare, for the world cannot emanate out of any such sheer absurdity. On the other hand, it is not entity, it is not a reality like the one and the only self * * *. Real existence is denied not of the impersonal self, but of Maya. Such is the traditional interpretation of the first verse of the Nasadiyasukta. It is a natural interpretation, and if we, with our thoughts fashioned for us by purely irrelevant antecedents, try to find out another for ourselves, we are pretty sure to invent a fiction. The Nasadiyasukta seems then to be the earliest announcement of the external co-existence of a spiritual principle of reality and an unspiritual principle of unreality" (*Ibid.* p. 241).

13. "According to Burnell, Madhava and Sayana are only different names of the same person, a Telugu Brahmin, who in A.D. 1331 became head of the monastery at Srngery, died while holding that position in 1386, and wrote all the commentaries himself" (Kaegi: *The Rigveda*, p. 106). Also cf. "Sayana's name is familiar to every one as a commentator of the Vedas. It is also well known that he adopts the naturalistic interpretation of the gods of the hymns and that also he also interprets the hymns in the spirit of the later Brahmanic religion. When Sayana wrote his commentaries on the

ORIGIN OF MAYA IN SANKARA'S PHILOSOPHY 183

because Sayana is admittedly the spokesman of a particular school of thought.¹⁴ To a mind not preoccupied with any theory to prove, this hymn need not necessarily mean and, as I am more inclined to hold, does not mean that there was nothing or total absence of everything. What it means is simply that at the time there did not exist what was afterwards found manifest in the shape of this universe. It can also be taken to mean that the unmanifest was potentially existent and hence "not non-entity" and also was actually non-existent as manifest and hence "not entity" either.¹⁵

Vedas, the doctrine of Maya had been existing as a full-fledged theory, and had been extensively applied by a class of interpreters." (S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, pp. 172-173).

14. "Like every other commentator Sayana represents a particular school of thought. It is an admitted fact that when the Nasadiya hymn was composed, the theory started by Sankara, which Sayana applies, had not come into existence. Why should we take the help of the spokesman of a particular school in understanding a verse, when the meaning of it, in the light of the chain of ideas existing at the date when the hymn was composed, is obvious enough?" (S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, p. 173).

15. "Scattered amongst numerous passages, addressed to the devas or gods of nature, we find indications of the desire to find out the ultimate unity of essence of things. The infant Aryan mind had long remained immersed in the worship of elements of nature, but then came a time, when it was doubted if the right path had been trodden by worshipping them. Fast on the heels of such a doubt appeared the idea of 'Tad ekam', that is to say, 'there is one being only', out of which the manifold arose. After having established this great truth, the grown-up Aryan mind became impatient to find out what was at the beginning, before the one had split itself into the many. When the manifold or many had not commenced to run course, what could be the form of the one? Then burst out from the eager enquiring mind the thought which is embodied in the Nasadiya hymn. Existence as we know it was not to be found then, but the potentiality for everything that came into existence was there. The obvious meaning of the portion of the sentence,—“There was neither what is nor what is not”—is that at that time there did not exist what was afterwards found manifest in the shape of this universe, but it should not be thought, for that reason, that there was nothing or total absence of everything, for the One contained, in that stage, within itself, everything in a highly potential form. This is made quite clear by what follows. There was then no sky, no death, no immortality, no day and night, but the One breathed by itself without breath. The third verse makes it still more clear, where it is said that there was darkness in the beginning and that there was also the 'germ' of all that came into existence afterwards. The fourth verse entirely throws overboard Sayana and his admirers, where it is said that Love came the One in the beginning, which, if it means anything, means that the universe proceeded out of love. Where is the oppor-

Again Max Müller too did not suspect any such principle as Maya in this hymn.¹⁶ Even Deussen, one of the chief modern exponents of the doctrine of unreality and who used a portion of the second verse of this hymn in support of his conclusion that the germs of the doctrine of Maya are found in the Vedas, did not find the doctrine of Maya lying hidden in this first verse of this hymn.¹⁷

Now as regards the occurrence of the word 'Maya' in the Vedas, the word 'Maya' in one form or another is certainly met with several times¹⁸ in the Vedas. But at all these places in the Vedas, where the word Maya in one form or another is found, the word Maya is not used in the sense in which Sankara used it in his theory of Maya. The word Maya as used in the Vedas generally means 'a wondrous or supernatural power', 'an extra-ordinary skill', a magical power or skill; and 'power' and 'deception' are the two prominent shades generally found in the meaning of the word Maya as used in the Vedas.¹⁹

Such a meaning in its clear suggestion is in line more of the theistic Vedantins of the later times than that of the Advaita

tune gap through which the doctrine of Maya may find entrance? Gough has extracted an isolated expression from a portion of a verse out of several verses of which a hymn is composed, and has brought it forward as evidence of the existence of the theory of Maya, with the help of Sayana's interpretation". (S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, pp. 173-174).

16. Vide footnote above.

17. Cf. "Even Deussen, one of the chief modern exponents of the doctrine of unreality, did not find the doctrine of Maya lying hidden in the first verse of this hymn, though he used a portion of the second verse, that there was one besides which there was no other, in support of his contention, and we have explained it to mean that the ultimate reality is one, without a rival." (S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, p. 174).

18. H. Grassmann, in his masterly analytical concordance *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, has cited sixty-three instances, where the word Maya occurs, and thirty-nine other instances, where its derivatives are noted. The use of the word Maya in the Vedas has been further studied by Bergaigne in his volumes on the Vedic Religion (A. Bergaigne: *Religion Védique*, Paris, 1978-83, vol. iii, p. 80 ff.). A. Hillebrandt (*Maya*, Wiener Zeitschrift, Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1899, vol. xiii, pp. 316-20) has also made a study of Maya as employed by the Vedic poets. Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri (*The Doctrine of Maya*, Luzac and Co., London, 1911, pp. 6-14) has also enumerated the various passages in the Vedas where the word Maya in one form or another occurs.

19. Cf. Dr. Prabhu Dutta Shastri: *The Doctrine of Maya*, Luzac and Co., London, 1911, pp. 13-14 et 10.

Vedantin Sankara. Besides, it is also significant to note that even Scholars like Deussen, who attempted to spot in the Vedas the origin of the later doctrine of Maya found in the Philosophy of Sankara, did not make use of the passages from the Vedas, where the word Maya in one form or another explicitly occurs. It is an indication that even in the opinion of such scholars the word Maya as used in the Vedas does not suggest the meaning of Sankara. It is again to be noted that not only in the hymns of the Vedas but also in the Brahmanas or even in the Nighantū, one of the earliest collections of the Vedic synonyms, the Word Maya is not found used in the sense of Sankara.²⁰

It has, therefore, to be concluded here that Sankara's doctrine of Maya is not found in the Vedas.²¹

20. Cf. Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri, *ibid.*, pp. 14-16 et 5-6.

21. Cf. "Die Lehre, das die Welt Schein, dass sie Mâyâ sei, ist nach der Meinung ihrer Anhänger uralte und soll nach ihnen den ältesten philosophischen Stellen des Veda zugrunde liegen. Dieser Anschauung indischer Vedântis nähert sich auch die Ansicht Deussens, der in seiner Begeisterung für die Lehre Shankaras behauptet, die Mâyâ-Lehre sei schon in den ältesten Upanishaden vorhanden und erst später infolge der Überwucherung durch die empirische Erkenntnisweise in pantheistische, kosmogonische, theistische, atheistische, und deistische Lehren verschlammt worden. Eine objective Untersuchung wird dieser Meinung des grossen Indologen nicht beipflichtet können. Vielmehr weisen eine Reihe von Anzeichen darauf hin, dass die Mâyâ-Lehre in der ältesten Periode der indischen Philosophie noch keine Rolle gespielt hat. Eine unvoreingenommene Betrachtung der ältesten Upanishaden sowohl, wie der Brahma- Sûtren vermag in ihnen keine sichere Indizien für das Vorhandensein der Mâyâ-Lehre zu entdecken und auch in den alten Schriften gegnerischer Religionsgemeinden, wie der Buddhisten und Jainas, in denen doch so zahllose, später ganz verschollene Philosopheme erwähnt werden, wird von diesem System nie gesprochen, obwohl es doch zweifellos infolge seiner eigenartigen Weltanschauung in weit höherem Masse als viele andere die Aufmerksamkeit gegnerischer Metaphysiker hätte erregen müssen. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass in alter Zeit die herrschende Vedânta Auffassung keine illusionistische war. Erst nach und nach scheint eine Schule von Upanishad-Exegeten die Theorie aufgestellt zu haben, die ganze Welt sei nur ein Trug nur ein Zauberspiel Gottes. Die Lehre gewann in philosophischen Kreisen immer mehr an Boden und überragte schliesslich alle anderen Interpretationen des Vedânta an Bedeutung, seitdem sie durch hervorragende Geister in scharfsinniger Weise begründet worden war. Das älteste uns erhaltene Lehrbuch des Mâyâvâda sind die Lehrsprüche des Gaudapâda (wahrscheinlich Anfang des 8 Jahrhunderts n. Chr.), ————" (H. von Glasenapp: *Der Hinduismus*. p. 303 et ff). Also Cf. St. Schayer: *Mahayan Doctrines of Salvation* (E. T. by R. T. Knight), pp. 20-28.

Let us take the Upanishads now. Here we shall consider first the direct evidence quoted from the Upanishads in support of proving the presence of the doctrine of Maya in the Upanishads, and after that we shall turn to the consideration of the indirect evidence, which has often been drawn upon as the last defence when the direct evidence is found to be weak and fails to produce the conviction about the presence of the doctrine of Maya in the Upanishads.²²

There is a direct reference to the word 'Maya' only in the Svetasvatara, the Maitri, and the Prasna Upanishads. As regards the occurrence of the word Maya in the Svetasvatara²³ and the Maitri,²⁴ we have to remember that these two Upanishads are not counted among the old major authoritative Upanishads but are only minor Upanishads of much later date, the authority of which is highly questionable. These two Upanishads are of such a later date that most probably they are post-Buddhistic; and as regards the Maitri²⁵ there is no doubt that it shows the clear influence of Buddhism, which was adapted to the Advaita Absolutism. Hence

22. "One of the chief ways in which an attempt is generally made to trace the source of the doctrine of Maya in the Upanishads is to find in a Concordance references to a word like Maya, and to argue therefrom as to the presence or otherwise of that doctrine in the Upanishads. Such a procedure is an entirely ridiculous one, inasmuch as it finds the existence of a doctrine like that of Maya in words rather than in ideas. To find out whether the doctrine of Maya is present in Upanishads or not we must examine the ideology of the Upanishads, and see whether this affords us sufficient justifications for saying that the doctrine is to be met with there. We shall see in the sequel of this chapter that there are definite traces of that doctrine to be met with in the Upanishadic literature, * * * * *

(R. D. Ranade, *ibid*, p. 224).

23. *Ksaram pradhānamamṛtākṣaram haraḥ kṣarātmanāvīśate deva ekaḥ, Tasyābhidyānādyojanāt tattvabhāvāt bhūyaścānte viśvamāyā-nivṛtīḥ.* [I. 10]

Chandāmsi yajñāḥ kṛatavo vratāni bhūtam bhavyam yacca veda vadanti,

Asmān māyī sṛjate viśvametat tasmimścānyo māyayā samniruddhah. [IV. 9]

Māyām tu prakṛtim vidyāt māyīnam tu maheśvaram, Tasyāvayabhūtaistu vyāptam sarvamidam jagat. [IV. 10]

24. *Manmāyayā mohitacetaso mām ātmānamāpūṇmalabdhavantah, Param vidagdghodapūṇāyā bhramanti kākā iva sūrayo'pi.* [II. 16]

25. F. O. Schrader: *The Minor Upanishads*, Adyar Library, Madras, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 110-125.

these two Upanishads are not significant for us from the standpoint of the present investigation.²⁶ As regards the Svetasvatara, St. Schayer says that the celebrated verse of the Svetasvatara Upanishad (IV, 10), which proclaims that as Maya the prakriti is to be recognized and that as Mayin the Isvara is to be recognized, has incorrectly been considered the most ancient witness of the classic-Vedantic Illusionism.²⁷ Even Deussen, who is the most ardent supporter of the doctrine of Maya and who is very anxious to establish that the main doctrines of the Upanishads are that the world is false and that the Brahman is unknowable, is not prepared to rely on the passages from the Svetasvatropanishad for support. And also besides the word Maya used in these two Upanishads is not always in the same exact and exclusive sense of illusion.²⁸ Again it is to be noted that Sankara did not write commentaries on these two Upanishads. If Sankara has taken his doctrine of Maya from the Upanishads, these Upanishads then must be very important Upanishads for him. If this be the case, why then he did not write commentaries on these Upanishads when he wrote commentaries on the other ten Upanishads, which are recognized by tradition as the most important, ancient and authoritative ones? If Sankara had taken his Maya theory from these two Upanishads, one can reasonably expect that Sankara would have frequently referred to these two Upanishads, at least at places where the Maya theory is developed, in his commentary on the Brahma-Sutra. But this is not the case. Hence it is unbelievable that Sankara has taken his Maya theory from these two Upanishads.

Now as regards the Prasna, it is to be noted that this Upanishad differs from the two Upanishads considered above only in the point that it is counted by tradition among the major authoritative ten Upanishads and that Sankara wrote a commentary on it. But this point does not much affect the above criticisms, which are all applicable to this Upanishad too. Besides, it has also to be

26. The word Maya is noted to have occurred in the following Upanishads too, viz.: Nrisimhapurvatāpani 3.1; 5.1; Nrisimhauttaratāpani 9; 1; 5; Culikā 3; Krishna 5; 6; 7; 12; 13; 11; Ramapūrvatāpani 17; 61; 89; 29; 73; Kaivalya 12; Gopīcandana 4; Kundika; and also Sarvopanishatsāra 1 et 4. But these too are all later Upanishads and hence not significant for us from the standpoint of our present investigation.

27. *Mahayana Doctrines of Salvation* (E. T. by R. T. Knight), p. 28.

28. Cf. St. Schayer, *ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

noted that among the ten authoritative Upanishads this is comparatively a less important Upanishad of a later date. In this Upanishad the word Maya occurs only once and that place is the sixteenth verse of the first chapter.²⁹ But the word as used here suggests clearly the Vedic sense noted previously more than the sense of Sankara. It is to be noted that even scholars like Deussen have not made use of this verse in support of their view that Sankara's doctrine of Maya is found in the Upanishads. It is also to be noted that Sankara does not refer to this Upanishad in developing his doctrine of Maya in his commentary on the Brahma-Sutra.

We have seen so far that the direct evidence usually cited from the Upanishads in support of the view that Sankara's doctrine of Maya is found in the Upanishads is unconvincing.

Let us now turn to the indirect evidence. When the direct evidence is found to be unconvincing, the indirect evidence then is cited to prove that the origin of Sankara's doctrine of Maya can be traced to the Upanishads. It has been maintained that the doctrine of Maya may not be found in the Upanishads "in words" but it is definitely found there "in ideas".³⁰ All the indirect evidence is cited in support of this point. So let us now turn to the consideration of the indirect evidence.

The famous prayer in the Brihadaranyakopanishad has been cited as an indirect evidence. It has been pointed out that "the famous prayer in the Brihadaranyaka, in which a devotee is praying to God to carry him from Not-Being to Being, from Darkness to Light, from Death to Immortality, merely voices the sentiment of the spiritual aspirant who wishes to rid himself of the power of Evil over him", and it has been maintained that the trace of the doctrine of "Maya" is to be distinctly found here, because "unreality is here compared to Not-Being, to Darkness, or to Death".³¹

But it has to be remembered here that such sentiment is quite common in the prayers of various religions in the world. For instance, such a sentiment can definitely be found in the

29. *Teṣāmasau virajo brahmaloko na yeṣu jīmhmaṇṭam na māyā ceti*

30. R. D. Ranade, *ibid.*, p. 224.

31. Ranade, *ibid.*, pp. 225-226.

prayers of Christianity and of Islam. Has it then led Christianity and Islam to develop a doctrine of Maya, out of it? Why should it then lead Sankara alone to develop a doctrine of Maya out of it? Of course, such a sentiment expressed in such words is capable of being twisted in a way in which it will be capable of bearing a Mayavadi interpretation if one wants to put such an interpretation thereon learning Mayavada from some other source; but it has no capacity to suggest solely out of itself the doctrine of Maya to any one unless he has already known the doctrine from somewhere else and wants to read the same doctrine herein.³²

"The Isopanishad", it has been pointed out again, "tells us that truth is veiled in this universe by a vessel of gold, and it invokes the grace of God to lift up the golden vessel and allow the truth to be seen. The veil that covers the truth is here described as golden, as being so rich, gaudy, and dazzling that takes away the mind of the observer from the inner contents, and rivets it upon itself. Let us not be dazzled by the appearance of gold, says the Upanishad, everything that glitters is not gold. Let us penetrate deeper and see the reality that lies esconced in it. We have thus, first, the conception of a veil which prevents truth from being seen at first glance".³³ "Then, again", the same writer continues, "we have another image in the Kathopanishad of how people living in ignorance, and thinking themselves wise, move about wandering, like blind men following the blind, in search of reality which they would have easily seen had they lodged themselves in knowledge instead of ignorance. We have here the conception of blindfoldness, and we are told that we deliberately shut our eyes to the truth before us."³⁴ "Then, thirdly, ignorance is", the same writer adds, "compared in the Mundakopanishad to a knot which a man has to untie before he gets possession of the Self in the recess of his own heart",³⁵ "Fourthly", the same writer again goes on, "the Chandogyopanishad tells us how knowledge is power, and ignorance impotence. We, who are moving in this world without having attained to the knowledge of Atman, are exhibiting at every stage the power of the impotence that lies

32. S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

33. Ranade, *ibid.*, p. 225.

34. Ranade, *ibid.*, p. 225.

35. *ibid.*

in us. Not unless we have attained to the knowledge of Atman, can we be said to have attained power".³⁶ "The Kathopanishad declares", the same writer says again, "that the Sages never find reality and certainty in the unrealities and uncertainties of this world. Maya is here described as an "adhruva"—an unreality, or an uncertainty".³⁷ "The Chandogya again tells us", the same writer points out again, "that a cover of untruth hides the ultimate truth from us, just as the surface of the earth hides from us the golden treasure that is hidden inside it. We, who unconsciously move to the region of truth day after day, do yet labour under the power of Untruth, for we do not know the Atman. This Atman is verily inside our own hearts. It is only he, who reaches Him every day, that is able to transcend the phenomenal world. Maya is here compared to an Untruth, an "anrita".³⁸

All the passages in the Upanishads cited by the writer above have simple common sense meaning.³⁹ Of course, they are all capable of being twisted in a way in which a foundation for the doctrine of Maya can be extracted out of them. And it is thus only on twisting their simpler meanings the writer quoted above has been able to make those passages cited by him above to mean what he wants them to mean in order to prove his view that the traces of the doctrine of Maya are found in the Upanishads. All the words, phrases, and ideas used in all these passages cited above are a matter of common experience. Their use is quite common in everyday life. We do say in everyday life that in order to find out the truth of a matter we have to go deep in the matter, that we should not be deluded by a superficial observation, that we should tear the veil and go beneath the surface and should not be deluded by the surface however glittering it may be, that truth does not lie on the surface but it is to be found hidden underneath. It is also a matter of common experience that there are in the world many conceited fellows, who, without understanding themselves what truth is, pretend to teach it to others, and such cases it is quite common to deride saying the blind leading the blind. It is also quite common in everyday life

36. *ibid.*

37. *ibid.*, p. 226.

38. *ibid.*

39. S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, pp. 185-188.

to regard the task of removing ignorance as a very difficult job. Just to suggest this difficulty the common man very often does figuratively call ignorance as the knot of ignorance and the process of removing ignorance as untying the knot. And again it is a quite familiar thing with the common man that knowledge is power and ignorance is weakness. Uncertainties and Unrealities of this world is a commonplace idea quite familiar to the common man; and a cover of untruth hiding the ultimate truth is also an equally commonplace sentiment. Such an idea and such a sentiment is daily expressed by innumerable people even in countries where nothing of Maya is ever known, even professing faiths and philosophies that do not tolerate anything of Maya. All these ideas thus are only matters of common experience with simple meanings that is quite clear to the common man. In themselves and solely out of themselves they have no capacity to suggest the doctrine of Maya to anybody unless he has known it already through some other source. The common man without having any knowledge of the doctrine of Maya, very easily understands the meanings of these ideas. Why then of all people it is only to Sankara these ideas should contain a hint of the doctrine of Maya and should be unclear without the assumption of Maya? Is it because deeper truths are revealed to the geniuses only and not to ordinary men? In that case how are we to understand the wisdom of this genius who is wasting his energies on extracting the subtlest meanings of these commonplace ideas just for a hint to discover a truth that is already well-known to him through some other source? What is more reasonable to believe is that Sankara is not discovering the doctrine of Maya all anew in these ideas in the Upanishads but is re-discovering or better still re-reading his doctrine of Maya learnt from some other source in these ideas of the Upanishads. These ideas, therefore, have no capacity in and out of themselves to suggest a doctrine of Maya, though, of course, these commonplace ideas, vague as they are being part of the everyday language of the common man that is rarely so scientifically precise as to be incapable of bearing more than one interpretation, are quite capable of being twisted and squeezed and can be made to bear a Mayavadi interpretation, if one wants to do that. And it is thus only on squeezing these ordinary facts of common experience that the writer quoted above has been able to provide Sankara in these Upanishadic passages with a hint relating to his doctrine of Maya.

It has been said again by the same writer⁴⁰ quoted above and also by Deussen⁴¹ that the famous passage in the Brihadaranyakopanishad "as if there was a duality" implies that there is no duality and this semblance, an as—it—were, an appearance, is to be identified with Maya. The passage cited when interpreted in its proper context means nothing more than bringing out clearly the distinction between "the stage of oneness" and "the stage of duality" and pointing out the non-finality, non-ultimacy, impermanence of "the stage of duality" as compared with the finality, ultimacy, permanence of "the stage of oneness". By "as it were" in the passage, therefore, Jaynavalkya never intended to convey the sense of illusion but only of impermanence as he was only engaged in making a distinction between what is permanent and what is impermanent and in impressing upon his wife that "the stage of duality" is not the ultimate stage but "the stage of oneness", "that the ultimate reality was not dual, that the stage of duality was a passing stage, the stage of ultimate reality being the stage of oneness"⁴² Is impermanence or non-ultimacy or non-finality the same as illusion?⁴³ "Finally", it has been stated again, "in that celebrated conversation between Svetaketu and Aruni, which we have also had the occasion to consider, we are told that everything besides Atman is merely a word, a mode, and a name".⁴⁴ Here also nothing more is meant than pointing out the essential unity of the many pervaded by the one out of which the many have come different only in name or description. "So the essence of all things, that have proceeded from the self or Brahman,

40. Ranade, *ibid.*, p. 227.

41. *Philosophy of The Upanishads*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 232.

42. S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, p. 177.

43. cf. *ibid.* Also vide Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri, *ibid.*, pp. 47-84. Dr. Shastri has referred to a number of passages from the Upanishads in tracing the origin of the concept of Māyā in the Upanishads. But he also has followed the same argument viz. to show that the passage concerned maintains that the Brahman is the ultimate reality and this means that the world is unreal in the sense of Sankara's Mayavada, i.e. the world is illusion. But it is wrong to suppose that the insistence on the ultimate reality of the Brahman means the condemnation of the world to the status of a mere illusion. The insistence on the ultimate reality of the Brahman means only the non-ultimacy of the world; and this does not necessarily mean that the world is an illusion in the sense of Sankara's Mayavada though this is capable of bearing such an interpretation if one wants to do so.

44. Ranade, *ibid.*, p. 227.

although they go by different names and description, is one and the same, that is to say, Brahman. There is absolutely no room here for the installing of a being like Maya and making it display its power".⁴⁵ Here only the connection of the One with the manifold is sought to be explained with reference to the nature of the manifold as ultimately one and actually different. Is this explanation of the nature of the manifold as ultimately one and actually different the same thing as the explanation of the nature of manifold as illusion?

"Mayavada or vivartavada", says another writer,⁴⁶ "is implicit in the teachings of the Upanishads. Of the Upanishadic seers, we see in Yajnavalkya a doughty champion of the transphenomenal (*niṣprapaṅca*) view". In the insistence on the transphenomenality of the ultimate reality by Yajnavalkya this writer finds the implicit presence of Sankara's doctrine of Maya.⁴⁷ But Yajnavalkya's insistence on the transphenomenality of the ultimate reality means no more than the non-finality or the non-ultimacy of the phenomenal world, which does not necessarily mean that the phenomenal world is an illusion in the sense of the Maya doctrine. It should not be forgotten here that there are several systems of philosophy and religions, like e.g. Christianity, which, having nothing of the Maya doctrine in them and sometimes even being opposed to the Maya doctrine, do not look upon the phenomenal world as final or ultimate.

The teachings of Yajnavalkya are of fundamental significance for the Advaita Philosophy. But the spirit of Yajnavalkya's idealism nowhere shows any trace of Sankara's doctrine of Maya. In the unity, the ultimacy, the transcendentality, the unknowability of the Atman, which are the main aspects⁴⁸ of Yajnavalkya's idealistic philosophy of the Atman, we do not find any trace of the presence of Sankara's doctrine of Maya.

45. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, p. 189.

46. Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan: A Study in Early Advaita, Madras University, Madras, p. 202.

47. *ibid.*, p. 202 et ff.

48. cf. "The spirit of Yajnavalkya's idealism in brief may conveniently be viewed in three aspects: The Atman is the only reality, the Atman is the subject of knowledge in us, hence the Atman is itself unknowable" (Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri, *ibid.*, p. 57).

It is true that in the Upanishads there are some words, phrases, and ideas, which are capable of bearing a Mayavadi interpretation when one wants to put such an interpretation on them. But by themselves they do not suggest the meaning of Sankara's Mayavada. Hence all attempts to find the doctrine of Maya in the Upanishads to be lying implicit or in the germinal form and to maintain that Sankara made it only explicit or developed it in all its ramifications solely out of his genius and completely uninfluenced by Buddhism, are forced and unnatural.⁴⁹ It is deliberately shutting one's eyes to the significance of the history of Indian thought intervening between the Upanishads and Sankara.

It has, therefore, to be concluded here that Sankara's doctrine of Maya is not found in the Upanishads.⁵⁰

Let us now take the Brahma-Sutras of Badarayana. If the entire contents of the Brahma-Sutra of Badarayana is examined, the mention of the word Maya will be found only at one place.⁵¹ There is also in the Brahma-Sutras one more place, which is of much interest from the standpoint of the present investigation; and that place⁵² is where the relation of the Brahman to the world is explained with reference to two similes viz., (1) the simile of the relation of the snake to its coil and (2) the simile of the relation of the light to its luminosity. Both these points have been

49. cf. Paul David Devanandan: *The concept of Maya*, Lutterworth Press, London, 1950, p. 58. M. Hiriyanna: *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, p. 63. R. D. Ranade, *ibid.*, p. 228, "We do find in the Upanishads all the material that may have easily led Sankara to elaborate a theory of Māyā out of it".

50. cf. "The opinion expressed by some scholars that the burden of the Upanishadic teaching is the illusive character of the world is manifestly wrong" (Sir R. G. Bhandarkar: *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Cults*, p. 2 n.). "Is there anything in the early Upanishads to show that the authors believed in the objective world being an illusion? Nothing at all" (Hopkins, J.A.O.S., xxii, p. 385). H. Von Glasenapp, *ibid.*, St. Schayer, *ibid.*, pp. 20-28. G. Thibaut, S.B.E., XXXIV, pp. cxvi ff. A. E. Gough, (quoted by Devanandan, *ibid.*, p. 61): "The interpretation that Sankara puts upon the Brahman—Atman concept of the Upanishad and the theory of the world as an illusion that he propounds on the basis of the Brahman being the sole reality—is, however, not altogether a "graft" on the the Upanishadic teachings, nor is it exactly a "growth".

51. *Māyāmātram tu kārtsnena anabhivyaktasvarūpatvāt*. [III.ii.3].

52. III.ii.27-30.

commented upon by the various Acharyas, who wrote commentaries on the Brahma-Sutras, in the light of their own particular theories; and Sankara in his commentary on the Brahma-Sutra has put a Mayavadi interpretation on these points while commenting upon these two places in the Brahma-Sutra. Now the point to be investigated here is that whether Badarayana, the author of the Brahma-Sutra, used the word Maya in the sense, which Sankara wants the word to mean, and whether Badarayana has used the two similes with that Mayavadi interpretation in view, which Sankara wants them to bear.

In order to settle this it is obvious that it is necessary to determine the views of Badarayana, the author of the Brahma-Sutra, apart from the commentaries of the various Acharyas including Sankara. But this is by no means an easy task. Badarayana's work "Brahma-Sutra" consists of a number of sutras. The Sutras are only short sentences or parts of sentences. They are something like mnemonic lines. They are something like memoria technica. They are meant for the use of the teacher, who is well-versed in the philosophy adumbrated in those Sutras for teaching his disciples; and hence the explanations of the teacher well-versed in the doctrines adumbrated in the Sutras are pre-supposed for the intelligibility of the Sutras as the Sutras are constructed with such a clear pre-supposition. Apart from such an aid they are unintelligible. And such an aid is obviously denied to a modern student of the Sutras as he is so separated by such a long period of time from the tradition of the teachers in the line of Badarayana. Apart from such an aid there are left only two alternatives to understand the Sutras viz., either (i) to try to understand the Sutras by themselves or (ii) to try to understand them with the aid of the available commentaries on them by the various Acharyas.

With regard to the first alternative the prospects of the success of such an attempt are evidently not very encouraging.

In the collection of the Sutras there is no system, there is no arrangement, there is no connection between one Sutra and another. All the system in the collection and arrangement of the Sutras grouped under various Adhikaranas (topics) found in the Brahma-Sutra text as incorporated in the commentaries of the various Acharyas is the contribution of the Acharyas.

It is not to be found in the original text of the "Brahma-Sutra". Besides this initial difficulty there is another one and that is a very formidable one. And that difficulty is with regard to the wording of the text of the Brahma-Sutra. The words constituting the Sutras are all cryptic, are mostly unintelligible in themselves, and do not always have the same meaning when they occur in different Sutras in the same text. The Sutras thus become entirely unintelligible by themselves; and, therefore, nothing can be known about the views of Badarayana by a study of the bare text of the Brahma-Sutra itself. In addition to these two very discouraging difficulties there is also a third one. And that is with regard to the genuineness of the text itself of the Brahma-Sutra that has come down to us in the name of Badarayana. It is suspected that the text of the Brahma-Sutra attributed to Badarayana has not come down to us retaining its original form intact and that there are interpolations in the text.⁵³ This difficulty too in its own way ruins the hope of arriving at the ascertainment of the exact position of Badarayana from the study of the bare text of the Brahma-Sutra itself. Finally it should also be remembered that in the same text of the Brahma-Sutra the various Acharyas have been able to read their so many not only divergent but also contradictory views. This fact too is not less significant. It clearly shows how vague is the text by itself.⁵⁴

Because of the various difficulties noted above it is clear that it is by no means an easy task to find out the original views of Badarayana from a study of the bare text of Brahma-Sutra. An attempt, however, has been made to find out the original views of Badarayana by a different way of approach. It has been held

53. e.g. vide the pp. 146-153 of the English Translation by Śrīśa Chandra Vidyārṇava of the Vedānta Sūtras with the commentary of Baladeva, (Published as Vol. V of the "Sacred Books of The Hindus" Series edited by Major B. D. Basu, Allahabad), where it has been shown that the Sutras I.3.26-37 are not of Badarayana and they have been clumsily interpolated by some bigoted priest for they break the continuity of the subject.

54. cf. "Les Brahma (on Vedānta)—sūtras,...., fabuleusement attribués à Bâdarâyana,..... C'est un texte fort obscur. Combattant à la fois l'acosmisme du Mahâyāna et le réalisme direct du Vaiśeṣhika, ils enseignent le monisme spiritualiste, mais restent si imprécis qu'on ne sait pas si, pour eux, l'Absolu (brahman) est immanent ou transcendent" (Rané Grousset: Les philosophies Indiennes, Tome II, p. 152).

that it is possible to arrive at the determination of the original views of Badarayana by a comparative study of the various commentaries by the various Acharyas on the Brahma-Sutra. The result of some notable efforts in this direction has been in favour of the view that Badarayana in his original views might have been nearer to a commentator certainly other than Sankara.⁵⁵

In the light of the above considerations let us now turn to the consideration of the two places in the Brahma-Sutra, which are significant for the present investigation. The two places as already noted above are viz., the place where there is the mention of the word Maya and the place where the relation of the Brahman to the world is explained by means of two similes, viz., the simile of the relation of a snake to its coil and the simile of the relation of a light to its luminosity. Now Sankara has put a Mayavadi interpretation on this word Maya and on these two similes. The point now is whether Badarayana used the word Maya and the two similes in the sense which Sankara wants the word and the two similes to bear. Firstly, it should be noted that there is no certainty that Sankara's interpretation only represents the original view of Badarayana if we take Badarayana's text barely and by itself. Secondly, it should be noted that the chances are that a commentator other than Sankara represents the original view of Badarayana if we take the comparative study of the various commentaries on the Brahma-Sutra seriously. And thirdly, it should be noted that the word and the two similes are capable of bearing both the Mayavadi interpretation of Sankara as well as the non-Mayavadi interpretation of the other commentators, because the word and the two similes in and by themselves have nothing in

55. Cf. the conclusion of such a comparative study by V. S. Ghaté in his book "Le Vedanta", cf. P. N. Srinivasachari: *The Philosophy of Bhedâbheda*, Adyar Library, Madras, 1950, p. 184. Also cf. "Il semble toutefois que, malgré son désir de rester fidèle aux tendances à la fois monistique et idéalistes des Upanishada, l'auteur des Brahma-sûtra se soit défié de l'idéalisme absolu tel que l'enseignaient les Bouddhistes yogâcâra qu'il devait combattre. C'est du moins l'impression de Stcherbatsky (la Théorie de la Connaissance et la Logique chez les Bouddhistes tardifs, p. 133, 161), de Thibaut, de H. Jacobi et de Ghaté. Pour Ghaté, les interprètes les plus fidèles de Brahma-sûtra sont, non point Cankara et ses disciples, mais Ramânuja et Nimbârka. En tout cas la théorie çankarienne de la Mâyâ, ou illusion universelle, déborde de beaucoup le cadre des Brahma-sûtra" (René Grousset, *ibid.*, p. 152 footnote).

them that definitely suggests the one or the other meaning exclusively but are capable of bearing both the meanings equally. Besides, it should also be noted again that the word Maya in the Brahma-Sutra, if at all it clearly refers to anything, refers only to the unmanifest nature (anabhivyaktasvarūpa) of the reality and therein no reference is found to the idea of Adhyasa,⁵⁶ which is the essential feature of Sankara's doctrine of Maya. Because of these considerations I am persuaded to believe that the word Maya and the two similes viz., the simile of a snake to its coil and the simile of a light to its luminosity occurring in the text of the Brahma-Sutra of Badarayana do not in and by themselves necessarily suggest the Mayavadi interpretation of Sankara but are certainly capable of bearing a Mayavadi interpretation, which Sankara wants to put upon them.

Besides, it should not also be forgotten finally that the Sutra period in the history of India was a period of defence of orthodoxy against the attacks of Buddhism and Janism.⁵⁷ The Brahma-Sutra is a work, which belongs to this period. Buddhism was already well established at this time. The Brahma-Sutra is a post-Buddhistic work. It is, therefore, very significant to note that even the Brahma-Sutra, which was meant to defend and strengthen orthodoxy, does not contain any trace of the doctrine of Maya in the sense of Sankara.

It has, therefore, to be concluded here that Sankara's doctrine of Maya is not found in the Brahma-Sutras.

56. Cf. "The author of the Vedanta Sutras does not mention or even hint at "Adhyasa"—the fundamental and foundational doctrine of absolutism. He does not refer explicitly or implicitly to the doctrine of "Vivartavada" without which Absolutism is on a par with Hamlet minus the Prince of Denmark. He does not anywhere affirm the doctrine of identity between the finite and the Infinite. Nor does he make any reference to two Brahman, one Saguna and the other Nirguna. Nor does he worry himself or his readers with the doctrine of degrees of reality" (Dr. R. Nagaraja Sharma: *Reign of Realism in Indian Philosophy*, The National Press, Mount Road, Madras, 1937, p. 670). "Brahman appears as the universe. This is essential to Monism. Does the author of the Sutras anywhere use the term "Vivarta" Does he make mention of the degrees of reality? Does he speak of the oneness of the finite and the Infinite? Does he anywhere speak of the doctrine of "Adhyasa"? Does he anywhere state that there are two Brahman, the lower and the higher? The Saguna and the Nirguna"? (*ibid.*, p. 660).

57. Cf. René Grousset, *ibid.*, p. 152.

We have seen so far that the doctrine of Maya is not found in the Vedas, in the Upanishads, and in the Brahma-Sutras of Badarayana; and hence it has to be held that the doctrine of Maya is not found in the pre-Buddhist orthodox thought.

Not much and definitely is known about the period that follows immediately after the period of the Upanishads. The period intervening between the time of the Upanishads and the time of the rise of Buddhism with its predecessor Jainism is rather a dark chapter in the history of the Indian thought. But one thing is known with more or less certainty that it was a period of a great intellectual fermentation, when several individual philosophers, holding individually diverse views and without grouping themselves into any school, were with their own groups of disciples wandering all over the country. During such a period the roots of orthodoxy are bound to be loosened under the attacks of those individualist non-orthodox free-thinkers. Against such a background there was the rise from among the non-orthodox fold of free-thinkers of Jainism and Buddhism, which marked the close of this rather dark period and developed in course of time into two mighty movements of thought, which became the dreaded rivals of the orthodoxy in the later history of the Indian thought.

However, from whatever little is known about this dark period intervening between the time of the Upanishads and the time of the rise of Buddhism one thing is sure that the doctrine of Maya was associated with the teachings of none of the philosophers witnessed by this period except Buddha. The Doctrine of Maya was a prominent and characteristic feature of the teachings of Buddha and the Buddhist thinkers were distinguished in the later periods as the Mayavadins by the tradition.

Our investigation has proved so far that (I) the doctrine of Maya is not found in the pre-Buddhist thought and that (II) it is found for the first time in the Buddhist thought.

(To be continued)

The Untenability of the Postulated Śaka of 550 B.C. *

BY

T. S. KUPPANNA SASTRI, M.A., L.T.,
Asst. Professor (Retd.), Presidency College, Madras,
and

K. V. SARMA, M.A., B.Sc.,
Dept. of Sanskrit, Madras University

I. Introduction

It has been shown in the preceding study (*JIH XXXVI*. 343-67) that the Śaka Era used or alluded to by astronomers like Varāhamihira (VM), Brahmagupta, Bhāṭṭotpala, Śrīpati, Bhāskaras I and II, etc. is the era starting from 78 A.D., later known as the *Śālivāhana Śaka*, and not the era of 550 B.C. postulated by the late T. S. Narayana Sastri (TSN) or Prof. V. Thiruvengkatacharya (VT) and called by them the Cyrus Era or the Andhra Era respectively. Incidentally we have shown to be untenable their statements that Āryabhaṭa belonged to 2742 B.C., VM to 123 B.C., Brahmagupta to 26 A.D., Bhāṭṭotpala to 339 A.D. and Bhāskara II to 522 A.D., and thereby we have proved that VM belongs to 505 A.D. and Bhāṭṭotpala to 966 A.D. and indicated that the real date of Āryabhaṭa is 499 A.D. and of Brahmagupta 654 A.D.¹

In the same way it can be shown that wherever other astronomers or writers like Kalhaṇa and Albiruni mention a Śaka Era, it is this Śaka of 78 A.D. they mean. The tradition of almanac-makers also supports this, for they all give in their almanacs

*This is in continuation of our earlier contribution on the subject: 'The Śaka Era of Varāhamihira—Śālivāhana Śaka', *JIH XXXVI* (1958) 343-67.

1. In the same way we can easily see that the date of Bhāskara II's work, the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, is 1150 A.D., from his statement:

rasa-guṇa-pūrṇa-mahī (1036) *sama Śaka-nṛpa-samaye 'bhavan*
mamotpattiḥ /

rasa-guṇa (36) *varṣeṇa mayā Siddhānta Śiromaṇi racitaḥ* //

only this Śaka Era and not the alleged other one. In inscriptions and documents also, in short in every case where a date in Śaka Era is given, it is this Śaka alone, though this is disputed by TSN and (till recently) by Sri Kota Venkatachela (KV) in the case of the Aihole Inscription (to which we shall revert later).

II. *Br̥hat Samhitā*. XIII. 3 Considered

We shall now take up for discussion *Br̥hat Samhitā* (*Br. Sam.*) XIII. 3 of VM, referred to by us earlier (*ante* pp. 345-46) which TSN and others consider as their stronghold, and which we left over for detailed consideration later:

āsan maghāsu munayaḥ śāsati pṛthvīm yudhiṣṭhira nṛpatau |
śad-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutaḥ Śakakālas tasya rājñāś ca ||

This stanza occurs in the context of the *Saptarṣi-cāra* or the Motion of the Seven Sages, (i.e. the group of stars Ursa Major or the Great Bear), among the twentyseven asterisms, given for use in astrological prediction. To find the position of the group at any time, three things are necessary: (i) its position at a given time; (ii) the time elapsed from the given time to the time for which the position is required, and (iii) its rate of motion. The above stanza gives (i) and (ii), viz. that at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira's rule the Sages were at the asterismal segment *Maghā*, and the time elapsed from this time to any year in the Śaka Era is the number of the year in the Śaka Era plus 2526. (Requirement (iii) is given in the next stanza, XIII. 4, as one asterismal segment for 100 years). Now TSN and KV argue thus: (a) This stanza is a quotation from Vṛddha Garga (VG), and so VG knows a Śaka Era which he mentions here. It is accepted by all that VG lived long prior to 78 A.D., the starting point of the Śālivāhana Śaka. So this Śaka must be an earlier Śaka, viz. that of 550 B.C. postulated by them. (b) The first half of this stanza says that the Sages were in *Maghā* in Yudhiṣṭhira's time. The Purāṇas and VG etc. say that at the junction of Dvāpara and Kali yugas, the Sages were at *Maghā* and Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling. 25 years after the advent of Kali the Sages moved to the next asterism from *Maghā* and in that year Yudhiṣṭhira left this world for heaven. The second half of the stanza states that the *Śakakāla* mentioned therein started 2526 years after *Yudhiṣṭhirakāla*. If we take *Yudhiṣṭhirakāla* to have started from the time he went to heaven,

i.e. after 25 Kali equivalent to 3076 B.C., this Śaka must have started 2526 years after this, i.e. from 550 B.C., and is evidently quite different from the Śaka starting from 78 A.D.

It is in the light of this conclusion, and in support of it, that TSN etc. say (as we have discussed already) that the *Śakakāla* mentioned by VM in other places in his works, and also by other astronomers like Brahmagupta, is this Śaka of 550 B.C. But we have proved conclusively in the previous study that in those places it is the Śaka of 78 A.D. that is referred to.² Therefore the conclusion here arrived at by TSN etc. must stand on its own legs. We shall proceed to examine this now. Even at the outset we can say that it is extremely unlikely that VM means here alone a Śaka different from what he means by the same word elsewhere in his works; and therefore he must mean the Śaka of 78 A.D. here also. All the same we shall examine their arguments.

(a) *The Alleged Quotation of Vṛddha Garga*

Their reasoning (a) is based on the assumption that the stanza is a quotation from VG, which it is not. The actual words of VG are quoted by the commentator Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on this stanza: cf. *tathā ca Vṛddha-Gargaḥ*: “*Kali-Dvāpara-yoḥ sandhau sthitās te pitṛdaivatam*” (At the junction of Kali and Dvāpara, they—the Sages—were at Maghā). It is to be noted that this would be redundant if the stanza in question also were VG’s, both giving the same idea, viz. the situation of the Sages. It may also be noted that this is in a different metre. What VM means by his statement in the introductory stanza, *kathayiṣye Vṛddha-Garga-matāt* (*Br. Sam.* XIII. 2) is only that he is giving the astrological predictions due to the motion of the Sages as based on the work of VG, as indicated by the word *matāt* (opinion) used here. Also in all the other *cāras* given in the other chapters of *Br. Sam.*, like *Ādityacāra*, *Candracāra*, *Rāhucāra* etc., what VM means by *cāra* is the prediction based upon the motion and not

2. There is one other place where VM mentions the *Śakakāla*, viz. *dvyūnam Śakendrakālam* etc. (*Pañcasiddhāntikā*, XII.1.), which we have not taken for discussion. This mention is in connection with the rough *Paitāmaha Siddhānta*, and as no useful purpose will be served by discussing it, and as it is not taken into consideration by TSN etc. also, we have left it out.

the actual motion, and so must it be here also, (the actual motions being given in a *Gaṇita* work like the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*). If in the case of the Sages the motion also is given, it is because it is simple, has not been given elsewhere, and is necessary for the main purpose, viz. the predictions according to the motion. Thus it is the prediction that VM says he gives according to VG. So this stanza which serves to find the position of the Sages need not necessarily be, and as we have shown, is not, VG's.³ This being the case, it cannot be argued that Garga who came long prior to 78 A.D. knows a *Śakakāla* and therefore this *Śakakāla* must be the earlier postulated one of 550 B.C.

(b) *The Time of Yudhiṣṭhira*

We now pass on to consider (b) the second and more important reasoning of TSN etc., viz. that VM in this verse refers to Yudhiṣṭhira who lived at the beginning of Kali and rose to heaven 25 years after Kali set in (i.e. in 3076 B.C.) and so the Śaka Era beginning 2526 years after that must be the postulated Śaka of 550 B.C. But we answer, there is nothing in this verse to show that in VM's opinion Yudhiṣṭhira lived at the beginning of Kali. On the other hand it can be shown that VM might have

3. This is the reason why this stanza has not been taken as VG's by other scholars also. For e.g. Colebrooke writes: "The commentator, Bhaṭṭotpala, supports the text of his author (viz. VM) by quotations from VG and Kāśyapa; 'At the junction of the Kali and Dvāpara ages', says Garga, 'the virtuous Sages stood' at Maghā" (*Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1873, vol. III, p. 313). Cunningham writes: "His (VM's) words are, 'The Seven Seers etc.'. But unluckily for VM, his commentator Bhaṭṭa Utpala has given us the very words of Garga, who simply says, 'At the junction of the Kali and Dvāpara ages the virtuous Sages stood at the asterism over which the Pitṛs preside, that is, Maghā'. On comparing this quotation with Varāha's statement (in the stanza in question) we see at once that he (VM) has suppressed Garga's mention of the Kaliyuga" (*Book of Indian Eras*, Calcutta, 1883, pp. 9-10). This shows that Cunningham considers that VM is not quoting the stanza, but that it is VM's own. P. V. Kane says: "In the preceding verse VM says that he will declare the motion of the seven sages by deriving it from the doctrine of VG. The first mistake of the writer (It is KV that he refers to here) is to hold that verse XIII.3 came originally from Garga *Samhitā*. Really it is VM's own verse. Utpala quotes the verse of VG, on this point, which is in a different metre, though the meaning is the same as the first half of XIII.3." (*JAHR* XXI (1950-52) 41).

meant a time about 650 years after Kali or even that he *did mean* this later period for the time of Yudhiṣṭhira, and therefore the Śaka Era following 2526 years after, cannot be the postulated Śaka of 550 B.C., but can only be the well-known Śaka of 78 A.D. It is a fact well-known to scholars (inclusive of TSN etc.) that the junction of Dvāpara and Kali (3102 B.C.) is not the only period with which Yudhiṣṭhira is associated. This is according to one school; but there is at least one other school (e.g. that of the Jain and Buddhist writers) who take it that Yudhiṣṭhira lived about 500 years later. They use a *Yudhiṣṭhira Era* which began in 468 Kali (corresponding to 2634 B.C.).⁴ Even of the first school mentioned, not all associate the same event of Yudhiṣṭhira's life with the beginning of Kali, 3102 B.C. There are four sub-schools here (Fleet says three, but mentions all four, *JRAS* (1911) 676-78, 'The Kaliyuga Era of B.C. 3102'). One sub-school believes that the first coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira at Indraprastha was the beginning of Kali and the commencement of the *Yudhiṣṭhira Era*.⁵ Another makes the Bhārata war and the beginning of Kali synchronous.⁶ A third says that Kali began at the death of

4. Vide i. *Jinaviṣaya*, "ṛṣir vāras tathā pūrṇam martyākṣau (2077) vāmamelanāt", "nandāḥ pūrṇam bhūṣca netre manujānām (2109) ca vāmataḥ" quoted by TSN in his *Age of Sankara*, (Madras, 1916 ff.), Pt. I, ch. iii, pp. 139 and 141, and also his adding 468 to get the years in the Kali Era. ii. Kota Bhaviāḥ Chowdary's statement: "According to Jain authorities Yudhiṣṭhira was crowned in 2634 B.C. only. From Purāṇic Kaliyuga (of 3102 B.C.) 468 years passed upto Yudhiṣṭhira". (*JAHS* XXII (1952-54) 53. Cf. also Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 7, where he speaks of Abul Fazl giving in his *Ain-i-Akbari* three views on the subject, of which one is that the reign of Kaiśa, (uncle of Lord Kṛṣṇa and so contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira) was "above 4000 years before the fortieth of Akbar", (i.e. 1595 A.D.), that is between 2400 and 2500 B.C.' This would give Yudhiṣṭhira a date about 2407 B.C. or the 7th cent. in Kali.

5. The inscription in the temple of Hanumān at Jaisalmer, Rajaputana, gives a date in this era. The speech of Hanumān in the *Mahābhārata*, *Vana-parva*, ch. 151, verse 39 (Kumbhakonam edn.) containing the words, *etat kalīyugam nāma acirād yat pravartate*, and Kṛṣṇa's excuse for the unfair fight with the words *prāptam Kalīyugam viddhi* (*ib. Śalyaparvan*, ch. 61, verse 27) support this. Abul Fazl expresses another view that the Mahābhārata War was fought 4801 years before the 40th year of Akbar's rule and 105 years before the end of the Dvāpara age. (see *ib.*).

6. Eg. the Aihole Inscription. See discussion *infra* for details. This view is mentioned also by Abul Fazl, which is 4696 years before the 40th year of Akbar's rule. (see *ib.*).

Kṛṣṇa and his ascent to heaven.⁷ The fourth sub-school says that Yudhiṣṭhira's abdication and starting on the *Mahāprasthāna* was at the beginning of Kali.⁸ The reason why there are so many views must be explained by the fact that the traditional idea of the ages like *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* with their specific characteristics, was earlier than the integration of the beginning of the traditional Kali with that of the astronomical Kali answering to 3102 B.C., computed later by astronomers like Āryabhaṭa so as to form a convenient point of reference for the Mean Planets. Thus the *Kali Era*, said to begin with 3102 B.C., is an extrapolated era, and in examining any date mentioned in this Kali Era, this fact should be borne in mind.

Now in this multiplicity of schools on this point, which is a fact accepted by all, resulting from the integration of the traditional Kali with the astronomical Kali, there is the possibility of VM's statement representing one other school or at least a variant of the Jain school, differing as it does, from it only by about a century. Kalhaṇa, the Kashmirian chronicler of the 12th cent. A.D. is one of those that subscribe to this school; for not only does he quote in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* this verse of VM, but also expresses his own concurrence with it in so many words:

Bhāratam Dvāparānte 'bhūd vārtayeti vimohitāḥ |
kecid evaṃ mṛṣā teṣāṃ kālasaṅkhyāṃ pracakṛire || I. 49 ||

* * * * *

śatesu ṣatsu sārddhesu tryadhikeṣu ca bhūtale |
Kaler gateṣu varṣāṇāṃ abhūvan Kuru-Pāṇḍavāḥ || I. 51 ||

* * * * *

ṣat-dvika-pāñca-dvi-yutaḥ Śakakālas tasya rājñāś ca | I. 56b ||

"Some people have been misled by the statement that the Bhārata (War) was at the end of Dvāpara, and have given a wrong chrono-

7. The *Purāṇas* express this view; cf.

yasmīn Kṛṣṇo divaṃ yātaḥ tasmīnn eva tadāhani /
pratipannaḥ Kaliyugaḥ tasya saṅkhyāṃ nibodhata //
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, ch. 74, verse 241 (Venk. Press edn.) *Vāyu* has

the same reading. *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya* and the *Bhāgavata* have almost the same reading.

8. The words in the *Āryabhaṭīya*, *Gurudivasāc ca bhāratāt pūrvam* (*Gītikā*, 5), which is explained by Parameśvara as 'the day of the *Mahāprasthāna*', support this.

logy to the kings (the Pāṇḍavas, Gonanda etc.). . . . The Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas came when 653 years had passed in Kali The time in the Śaka Era plus 2526 is the time of his rule, i.e. the time in the epoch beginning from his (Yudhiṣṭhira's) rule". It may be noted that 653 plus 2526 (the numbers here given) equal 3179, the well-known converter of Śaka into Kali and *vice versa*. Not only is Kalhaṇa a believer in this school, but he is also certain that VM belongs to this school, as seen by his statement 'Samhitā-kāraiḥ' (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I. 55) and his quotation of VM following immediately (I. 56). Cunningham also thinks the same as seen from his statement, "As VM places the Great War 653 years after the beginning of the Kali Age . . ." (*ib.* p. 11). Again, Prof. P. C. Sengupta, who in his *Ancient Indian Chronology* (Univ. of Calcutta, 1947) in seeking to determine the date of the Bhārata War astronomically (see chs. I-III) favours this school, and comes to the conclusion that: "The date of the Bharata Battle is thus astronomically established as the year 2449 B.C. (Kali 653), which is supported by the Vriddha Garga tradition recorded by Varaha Mihira." (see p. 19). Now it must be noted that the mere possibility of VM following this school is sufficient for our purpose, as we have stated above.

Nor can the objection be raised that VG and the Purāṇas associate the Sages with *Maghā* at the beginning of Kali, and that in this verse too, as the Sages are declared to be at *Maghā* in Yudhiṣṭhira's reign, the time here should be taken as the beginning of Kali, and so the time given for Yudhiṣṭhira's rule must be the beginning of Kali, and not 653 Kali. For, the beginning of Kali is not associated with *Maghā* alone. The *Matsya Purāṇa* says (ch. 271, st. 41) that according to the Śrutarṣis the Sages were at *Kṛttikā* at the beginning of Kali, and TSN and KV are aware of it (TSN quotes it and explains it, see *The Age of Sankara*, Madras, 1916ff.) App., pp. 166-67; so also KV, *Plot in Indian Chronology*, 34-36). They themselves say that in VM's opinion also the sages were at *Kṛttikā* at the beginning of Kali (TSN, *ib.*, p. 171; KV, *ib.*, p. 36, and 'Indian Eras', *JAHRS* XX. 77).⁹ According to Āryabhaṭa II and Parāśara too (for

9. In fact nowhere does VM say that the Sages were at *Kṛttikā* at the beginning of Kali. This must be an inference of Cunningham when he gives (cf. Table on p. 17 of his *Book of Indian Eras*) 3177 B.C. for the

details, see below), the Sages were at *Kṛttikā* at the beginning of Kali. They were at *Śravaṇa* according to Śākalya and Munīśvara, and at *Rohiṇī* according to Lalla (for details, see below). So the objection raised above does not stand. Now according to Āryabhaṭa II and Parāśara, who give *Kṛttikā*, it is easily seen that the Sages will be in *Maghā* in the 7th cent. Kali, for *Maghā* is the seventh asterism from *Kṛttikā* and the motion is about one century per asterism. Thus there can be no objection to the Sages being in *Maghā* in the 7th cent. Kali. It is only if the motion of the Sages is taken to be retrograde (as TSN and certain others think) according to Āryabhaṭa II, Parāśara and VM, that the Sages cannot be in *Maghā* in the 7th cent. Kali, but would be far away from it. But it is not retrograde according to Āryabhaṭa II, Parāśara and VM, as also according to other astronomers who give rules for the motion, which we shall show.

III (a). *The Motion of Sages—Direct, not Retrograde*

This requires a knowledge of the motion of the Seven Sages¹⁰ which we shall give in some detail because there is a lot of misconception among scholars (including TSN, KV and VT) about this, which in turn vitiates the results of their researches. It was believed by the authors of the ancient *Jyotiṣa Samhitās*,

beginning of *Kṛttikā* according to VM, inference from the fact that according to him the Sages passed to *Maghā* in the 7th cent. after Kali (cf. same Table). TSN and KV seem to have simply taken Cunningham's statement as true without question. They only object to Cunningham's treating the motion as direct, while according to them it is retrograde. But they fail to see that if the motion is retrograde, the Sages should be at *Anurādhā* (and not at *Kṛttikā*) at the beginning of Kali if they are to come to *Maghā* seven centuries later. Thus Cunningham's inference would be wrong and their acceptance of it would also be wrong.

10. The following are the names of the Sages, with their Right Ascension and Declination for c. 1900 A.D.: (i) *Kratu* (Alpha Ursa Major) $10^h 58^m$, $+62^\circ 17'$; (ii) *Pulaha* (Beta Ursa Major) $10^h 56^m$, $+56^\circ 55'$; (iii) *Pulastya* (Gamma Ursa Major) $11^h 49^m$, $+54^\circ 15'$; (iv) *Atri* (Delta Ursa Major) $12^h 10^m$, $+57^\circ$; (v) *Aṅgiras* (Epsilon Ursa Major) $12^h 50^m$, $+56^\circ 30'$; (vi) *Vasiṣṭha* (Zeta Ursa Major) $12^h 50^m$, $+56^\circ$; (vii) *Marīci* (Eta Ursa Major) $13^h 44^m$, $+49^\circ 49'$. For comparison we shall give the asterisms belonging to the corresponding ecliptic segment: *Maghā* (Alpha Lenois) $10^h 3^m$, $+12^\circ 27'$; *Pūr. Phal.* (Delta Lenois) $11^h 9^m$, $+21^\circ 4'$; *Ut. Phal.* (Beta Lenois) $11^h 44^m$, $+15^\circ 8'$; *Hasta* (Beta Corvi) $12^h 29^m$, $-22^\circ 51'$; *Citrā* (Alpha Virgo) $13^h 20^m$, $-10^\circ 38'$; *Svātī* (Alpha Bootes) $14^h 11^m$, $+19^\circ 42'$.

like VG, that the Sages had a motion of their own among the other stars, just like the planets, the rate of motion being given as 100 or nearly 100 years per asterism ($13^{\circ} 20'$). It may be said even at the outset that there is no such motion as claimed to exist by the authors of these *Samhitās* and followed up by the *Purāṇas* and some of the later astronomers; that the Sages are always to be associated only with the *Phalgunīs*, *Hasta* and *Citrā* asterisms (see fn. 10); and that the theory of their motion is wrong, howsoever it might have originated.¹¹ That is why many standard

11. A number of explanations can be given as to how this wrong theory of motion could have originated, but as this is beside the point, we stop with saying this much. Some people believe in the reality of this motion and try to explain it accordingly, using the theory of the Precession of the Equinoxes. For e.g. (i) VT says that because the Celestial Pole moves in a small circle once round the Pole of the Ecliptic in about 27,000 years, the point of inter-section of the Ecliptic with the line joining it and the mid-point of the first two stars constituting the Sages also moves. As the Sages are said to be at this point of intersection, they are also considered to move (see his *Popular Astronomy*, Madras, 1958, pp. 138-40). But this simulated motion can be only a small fraction of the value of the motion according to the *Samhitās* which is as great as $13^{\circ} 20'$ per century. Also while the *Samhitās* say that the motion is uniform and traverses the ecliptic completely, this simulated motion will not be uniform, and will be oscillatory and restricted to a small segment of the ecliptic. Thus it will be forward and backward, the former during the past 7,000 years and more, against the opinion of VT (cf. ib. p. 139) who says that the motion is retrograde like that of the First Point of Aries.

(ii) Prof. R. Krishnamurti (according to VT, ib 139-40) holds the view that the extent of the Sages in longitude is about a tenth of the ecliptic. This extent is divided into 27 equal parts, each part 'symbolically' forming a *Nakṣatra*. The traversing of these 27 symbolic *Nakṣatras* will take 2700 years. If it is taken that the other 9 segments also are so divided, it will take $10 \times 2700 = 27,000$ years for traversing the whole ecliptic. The authority for this symbolic division is the following in the *Rgveda*:

śatam te rājan bhiṣajas sahasram urvī gabhīrā sumatiṣṭe astu/
bādhasva dūre nirṛtim parācāiḥ kṛtam cidenāḥ pramumugdhyasmat//
amā ya ṛkṣā nihitāsa uccā naktam dadṛṣe kuhacid diveyuh/
adabdhāni varuṇasya vratāni vicākaśaccandramā naktam eti//

Rgveda I.24.9-10

But what have these *ṛks* in prayer of Varuṇa to do with the alleged symbolic division? What flight of imagination can create the idea of the symbolic division of the ecliptic from the two words *śatam* and *sahasram* in one sentence, and the word *ṛkṣā* in quite a different sentence? And then Prof. Krishnamurti seems to suggest that the motion of the Sages is only

astronomers and astronomical works like Āryabhaṭa I, Brahmagupta, Śrīpati, Bhāskaras I and II, the *Sūryasiddhānta*, etc., do not deal with the subject at all, as being outside the pale of real astronomy. That is also why Kamalākara is constrained to say in his *Siddhānta Tattvaviveka* (Banaras, 1880-85), *Bhagrahayutyadhikāra* :

*Śākalyasamjñā-muninā kathitās sabāṇāḥ
saptarṣitārakabhavā dhruvakās calās ca/25a/*

* * * *

*yairgolatattvam vivṛtam hi taiś ca
sūryādibhir naiva viśeṣa eṣaḥ/
proktas svaśāstre 'sti gatir munīnām
ato na yuktā divi golarītyā//30//*

* * * *

*adyāpi kair api narair gatir āryavaryaiḥ
drṣṭā na yātra kathitā kila Samhitāsu/32a/*

* * * *

*prāyo 'tha te ca munayaḥ kila devatāmśā
dṛggocarā nahi nrṇām iha satphalāptyai/36a/*

"Sage Śākalya has given the motion of the Sages with their positions in his time. . . . Sūrya and others who explain the nature of the celestial sphere in their works do not give it and therefore the theory cannot be sustained astronomically. . . . Even today this motion mentioned in the *Samhitās* is not observed by knowing astronomers. . . . Therefore the seven real Sages who are the *presiding deities* (of these stars) are to be considered to be moving, unobserved by men, for the prediction of the fruits thereof".

But the motion has been accepted as a fact by the common people and the authors of the *Purāṇas*, and an era called *Laukika Era* (by the people belonging to the Kashmir region) and the *Sap-*

another name for the phenomenon of Precession, artificialised for the purpose of chronology.

(iii) Dr. D. S. Trivedi (*JIH XIX* (1940) 9-12) confuses the motion of the Sages with Precession itself and says that the ancient ṛṣis, far older than the *Samhitākāras* had discovered a cycle of 27,000 years for the motion (the same as for Precession), but by the time of the *Samhitākāras* one cypher was lost, and the period was mistaken as 2700 years! He does not mention how Precession simulates the motion of the Sages.

tarṣi Era (by the *Purāṇas*), has been founded upon this theory.¹² As already mentioned there are also astronomers like VM, Āryabhaṭa II (cf. his *Āryasiddhānta* or *Mahāsiddhānta*, *Madhyamādhya*, 11), Parāśara (cf. *Āryasiddhānta*, *Parāśaramatādhya*, 9), Lalla (quoted by Munīśvara in his commentary on the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*), Śākalya (quoted by Munīśvara, *ib.* and by Kamalākara in his *Siddhānta Tattvaviveka*, *Bhagrahayutyadhikāra*, 25 and under), and Munīśvara (see his *Siddhānta Sārvabhauma*) who have accepted the motion as real on the authority of the ancients and given rules for the motion, which necessarily must agree with their own observation, or else they would be meaningless even for them.¹³ This means that whatever be the rule, if applied to the time of the author, the position of the Sages must be got as between *Maghā* and *Svātī*.¹⁴ In giving the rules the authors all

12. We do not know when these eras were founded. The *Purāṇas* say that 25 years after Kali set in the Sages who had been at *Maghā* for a 100 years left it for the next asterism. The dates of the dynasties of kings are given in terms of the situation of the Sages in the different asterisms. The *Laukika Era* is the same as the *Saptarṣi Era* with the number of the year in each century being generally used and the centuries or the reference to the asterisms omitted. This is used in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* to give the dates of dynasties and kings, as also the date of the work.

13. vide Colebrooke, *ib.*, p. 316—17: "...a probable inference may be thence drawn as to the period when these authors lived, provided one position be conceded; namely, that the rules, stated by them, gave a result not grossly wrong at the respective periods when they wrote. Indeed it can scarcely be supposed that authors, who, like the celebrated astronomers in question, were not mere compilers and transcribers, should have exhibited rules of computation, which did not approach to the truth, at the very period when they were proposed."

14. Because the Sages are always to be seen within this limit. Though strictly speaking the position of the first two stars are to be taken into consideration, still in practice the situation of the whole group must have been vaguely taken as the position. The Sages are said to be at the asterism where the declination circle passing through the mid-point of the two front stars (*Pulaha* and *Kratu*) that rise first, cut the ecliptic. This would give a position beyond *Maghā* and near *Pūrva Phalgunī*, at present. (But in ancient times *Maghā* might well have been the position on account of the Celestial Pole having been a little more to the East of its present position.) But it seems that later on it came to be considered that the asterism against which the Sages are seen generally is the position. Thus we can get *Pūrva Phalgunī*, *Uttara Phalgunī*, *Hasta* or *Citrā*. The rule may also be interpreted as the segment which is seen to rise together with the two front stars. If this interpretation is accepted, we can get on account of *cara* (oblique ascension) any asterism from *Kṛttikā* to *Maghā* as the position for observers in North India according to their latitude.

J. 12

consider the motion as *direct* and *never as retrograde* as fancied by some scholars like TSN, KV, VT, etc. for which fancy there is no support anywhere.¹⁵ Let us take the rules one by one and examine them for the facts mentioned.

VM's rule is as follows: (*Br. Sam.* XIII. 3-4). The number of years gone from the time of Yudhiṣṭhira is to be found by adding 2526 to the Śaka years gone at the time for which the position of the Sages is wanted. This is to be divided by 100, which gives the number of asterismal segments gone, and these are to be counted from *Maghā* to get the position. In the context there is no mention of any retrograde motion, nor is it mentioned that the number got is to be counted backwards as in the case of the *Pātas* like *Rāhu*. In the absence of any such specific indication we do what is normally done, i.e., count the segments forward, as in the case of all other *grahas* like the Sun etc. Working for VM's time, i.e. 427 Śaka, we get the middle of *Uttara Phalgunī* as the position of the Sages, which is well within the limit for agreement with observation. If we count backwards taking the motion as retrograde, we get the middle of *Puṣya*, which is far outside the limit, and this also shows that the rule implies only forward motion, as we have already determined.

Āryabhaṭa II gives the rule in the form of cycles per Kalpa, even as the Siddhāntas do for the planets. He says there are 15,999,98 cycles in the Kalpa and the cycles commence 30,24,000 years from the beginning of the Kalpa. Here too there is no indication of retrograde motion. Calculating from the above data we

15. The idea of the retrograde motion must have originated very late, the reason being that it can at that period serve to reconcile faith in the theory of the motion with observation. (Giving various positions like *Maghā*, *Kṛttikā*, *Rohiṇī*, *Śravaṇa*, to the Sages at the beginning of Kali, giving different rates of motion, and being satisfied with rough positions, are evidently only different means of effecting this reconciliation.) The Pandits of Banaras who informed Col. Wilford in c. 1804, believed in the retrograde motion. The *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta*, (Bhāga III, ch. iii), as quoted by TSN, KV and VT, undoubtedly believes that the motion is retrograde, by stating that 25 years after Kali set in, the Sages left *Maghā* for *Āśleṣā* (See *Age of Sankara*, Pt. I, App. 139ff; *JAHS* XX 69ff; *JAHS* XXII 169-70). But as can be seen from the dynasties it deals with, it is a recent work, and cannot command authority like the *Purāṇas*, for the author of this work is only like one of us trying to reconstruct ancient history from Purāṇic evidence.

find that at the beginning of the present Kali the Sages are at 2·38 segments (counting from *Aśvinī*), i.e. they have passed *Bharaṇī* and been in *Kṛttikā* for 38 years. It is easily seen that at 662 Kali the Sages will cross to *Maghā* according to this Siddhānta. Compare this with VM's rule that would give the crossing to *Maghā* in the 7th century Kali (exactly speaking 653 Kali; for going back 2526 years from zero Śaka equal to 3179 Kali, we arrive at this date).¹⁶

We now pass on to Parāśara. His rule is the same as that of Āryabhaṭa II, with the difference that in Parāśara's case the cycles begin at the commencement of the Kalpa itself. This would give for the commencement of Kali the position 2·34 *Nakṣatras*, counting, of course, from *Aśvinī*, i.e. after crossing *Bharaṇī*, the Sages have been in *Kṛttikā* for 34 years, and at 666 Kali the Sages pass on to *Maghā*.¹⁷ See how close this is to 662 and 653, the dates according to Āryabhaṭa II and VM, derived above.¹⁸

Now for Lalla's rule: As said before, the rule is quoted by Munīśvara in his commentary on the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*. It is this: Deduct 14 from the Kali years gone and divide the remainder by 100. Asterisms are got, which are to be counted from *Rohiṇī*.¹⁹ Here too it is to be noted that no backward counting is enjoined, and the rule must normally mean forward counting as in all rules where nothing is said. It is to be noted that according to this rule,

16. For c. 700 A.D. the position of the Sages would be *Citrā*, which being within the limit of observation, we can conclude that the date of Āryabhaṭa II is c. 700 A.D. Though a date within three centuries earlier is possible, it is not likely; a date as late as can be within the possible period has to be fixed for Āryabhaṭa II on other grounds.

17. For details see *Mahāsiddhānta*, Ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Banaras, 1910, Contents in English, pp. 1-4. See also Cunningham, *ib.*, p. 8.

18. Obviously, the probable date of Parāśara would also be c. 700 A.D. or within some three centuries earlier. This would give sufficient time for Āryabhaṭa II to refer to Parāśara's views in his work.

19. Lalla uses the word *virīñci* (a synonym for *Brahmā* or *Prajāpati*). All but Munīśvara take this as *Rohiṇī*, and this would give the Sages a position agreeing with observation in Lalla's time, c. 650 A.D. But Munīśvara, in order to make it agree with his own observation, takes it as *Abhijit* (whose deity is *Vidhi*, another synonym for *Brahmā*), which is almost the same as *Śravaṇa*. Naturally *Munīśvara* is unaware that for Lalla's observation it is *Rohiṇī* that would give the agreement. He seeks support for his interpretation from *Śākalya Saṃhitā*, *Praśna II*, ch. ii, the statement, "Kratu was at Viṣṇu's star at the beginning of Kali."

the Sages pass to *Rohiṇī* from *Kṛttikā* 14 years after Kali set in, i.e., they have been in *Kṛttikā* for 86 years before the beginning of Kali, (agreeing with VM within half a segment). Taking the date of Lalla to be 650 A.D.,²⁰ the Sages would be at *Citrā* in his time, according to this rule, which observation is quite possible, we see.

According to *Śākalya Samhitā*, "Kratu, one of the Sages enters *Śravaṇa* at the commencement of Kali and the Sages have *direct motion* every year at the rate of 8' (which rate is equivalent to one asterism per century);" cf.

*yugāḍau viṣṇutārāyāḥ kratur bhāḍye vyavasthitaḥ /
pratyabdam "prāggatis" teṣām aṣṭau liptā Munīśvara //*

(Quoted in Kamalākara's Com. on his own *Siddh. Tat. Viv.*, *Bhagrahayutyadhikāra*, under stanza 25).

So the rule would be to multiply the Kali years by 8 and divide by 800, to get the asterisms. These are to be counted forward from *Śravaṇa*. It may be noted that here *eastward motion*, i.e. *direct motion*, is *specifically stated*. Kamalākara, too explaining the motion as really that of the presiding sages, says in the same context that the *motion is eastward i.e. direct*; cf. *sā prāggatir munivarair bhagatā munīnām* (ib. 36). According to this rule, after 1100 A.D. the Sages would move to *Maghā*, and we can place this work at the earliest in c. 1100 A.D.

Lastly for the rule of Munīśvara given in his *Siddhānta Sārva-bhauma*. Deduct 600 from the Kali years. Double the remainder and divide by 15. The position of the Sages in degrees is got. This divided by 30 gives the position in the *Rāśis*. This rule again clearly takes the motion as direct. According to Munīśvara the Sages cross to *Aśvinī* at 600 years Kali (which is equivalent to the statement of Śākalya, for according to Śākalya's rule too the Sages enter *Aśvinī* at 600 Kali). At the time of Munīśvara, according to his own rule, the Sages would have crossed from *Citrā* to *Svātī* which is just outside the limit, and which position

20. It has been shown in the Introduction to the *Mahābhāskariyam* (Ed. T. S. Kuppanna Sastri, Madras, 1957), p. xviii, that Lalla is later than Brahmagupta, having commented upon his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* and so he could not have been a disciple of Āryabhaṭa I, and so, much earlier than 650 A.D.

Muniśvara should have accepted as agreeing with observation because the difference was not much. (It would have satisfied him better if some astronomer had said or if he could obtain by quibbling that the Sages were at *Śraviṣṭhā* or *Śatabhiṣak* at the commencement of Kali. No such thing was available, and the best he could have was Śākalya, and he had to be satisfied with that).

Thus all authorities either state or imply only direct motion, and there is no authority for retrograde motion. That is why scholars like Cunningham (as already mentioned), "Śrīyut Śrīś Chandra Vidyānava, Dr. Jayaswal and many others" (in the words of Dr. Triveda, *JIH* XIX, 11) have considered the motion direct. There may be some like "the most famous astrologers of Benares who informed Col. Wilford", (cf. Triveda, *ib.* p. 10), and the author of the *Kaliyugarājavarṭtānta* who believe the motion to be retrograde. But in the light of what we have said, they must be wrong (see Fn. 15).

III (b) *The Purāṇas on the Motion of the Sages*

We cannot get any indications regarding the direction of the motion of the sages from the Purāṇas themselves, as they are vitiated by emendations and interpolations, made to affect the very point which we are trying to decide. Still, some scholars resort to them for support, and it is not surprising that they fail to establish anything. Dr. Triveda is one such;²¹ he not only does not prove his point, but proves the contrary of what he desires to prove, as also the lack of clearness in his mind. For e.g.: He says: (i) "But in fact their (the Sages') motion is retrograde as is clear from the word *Precession*, *pre* = *pūrva* or east, and *cession* from Fr. *cedare* = go" (*ib.*, p. 11). (ii) "Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa also says in his *Siddhānta Tattvaviveka*, '*pratyabdam prāggatis teṣām*'; that is, in every year their motion is from West to East". (*ib.*, p. 11). (iii) "C. A. Young in his *A Text Book of General Astronomy* published in 1904 says on page 141, 'The Equinox moves westward on the ecliptic, as if it advanced to meet the Sun on each annual return'. So it is certain that *their* motion is contrary to that of the Sun, and it is retrograde". (*ib.*, p. 11).

21. cf. his article, 'The Intervening Age between Parikshit and Nanda', *JIH* XIX (1940) 1-16.

Let us examine his statements here. (i) If Precession is retrograde, why should the motion of the Sages be retrograde also? Are they the same phenomenon? If he means that the motion is derivable from Precession, he has not shown it, and cannot show it, because it is not so (see Fn. 11 (i) above). Even if some connection be established between the two, in the period we are considering the simulated motion would be directed only opposite to Precession (see Fn. 11 (i) above). He is not aware that the derivation he gives for the word 'Precession' would mean *direct motion* even for Precession, and not *retrograde motion*, for 'going east' means '*direct motion*'. (ii) Dr. Triveda's quotation from Kamlākara is plainly against himself, for '*from west to east*' is '*direct motion*', and not otherwise as Dr. Triveda thinks. (iii) Young rightly says that the Equinox moves westward, i.e. it has retrograde motion. But what has that to do with the Sages? Triveda does not perceive that from here it can be understood that it is westward motion that is retrograde, and not eastward motion, as he thinks.

Under the delusion that he has proved the motion of the Sages to be retrograde, Dr. Triveda proceeds to apply this to the following statement in the Purāṇas in order to establish his thesis that the interval between Parīkṣit and Nanda is 1500 years (given by one reading) and not 1015 or 1050 years (given in certain other readings) (cf. Triveda, *ib.*, pp. 1-3, 12-15). We shall briefly examine this in order to expose the mistakes in his reasoning, for if he establishes his point by using his theory of retrograde motion, that might be taken by some as a point in favour of the theory of retrograde motion itself, even after all that has been said by us to establish that the motion is direct.

The Puranic statement is as follows: ^{21a}

OR *Mahāpadmābhīṣekāt tu yāvaj janma Parīkṣitaḥ /
yāvat Parīkṣito janma yāvan Nandābhīṣecanam /
evam varṣasahasram tu jñeyam pañcāśaduttaram (1050) //*

the last foot has the variants: *śatam pañca daśottaram* (i.e. 1510) or *pañcadaśottaram* (i.e. 1015) or *pañcaśatottaram* (i.e. 1500) (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. xxiv. 104; *Bhāgavata*, XII.ii. 26; etc.). Triveda's thesis

21a. See the text and the variants recorded by Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, O.U.P., 1913, p. 58.

is to establish the interval to be 1500 or 1510 (according to two readings given) using the Saptarṣi Era given in the following Puranic statement:²²

OR *prayāsyanti yadā caite pūrvāśādhām maharṣayaḥ* /²²
yadā maghābhyo yāsyanti pūrvāśādhām maharṣayaḥ /
tadā Nandāt prabhṛtyeṣa Kalir vṛddhim gamiṣyati //

(*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV.xxiv.112; *Bhāgavata*, XII.ii.32; etc.).

It is said here that when the Sages pass from *Maghā* (their position at the beginning of Kali when Parīkṣit was ruling) to *Pūrvāśādhā* at the time of Nanda, the Kali will worsen. From *Maghā* to *Pūrvāśādhā* the Sages pass 10 asterisms in their course, taking the motion to be direct, (as we have established), i.e. about 1000 years from Parīkṣit to Nanda, and this is supported by two readings. But Triveda suggests 1500 years for this interval, supported by the other two readings. Counting backwards from *Maghā* to *Pūrvāśādhā* (in accordance with his theory of retrograde motion) he should get 17 asterisms, not counting either *Maghā* or *Pūrvāśādhā*, and at least 16, not counting both. Thus he should get at least 1600 years as the interval. But this will not suit his theory, and so he omits to count *Śravaṇa*, and gets the 15 asterisms he wants to give him the required interval of 1500 years! (see *ib.*, p. 12, lines 10-11). This is proof that the author of the Purāṇas, who employed the Saptarṣi Era for purposes of chronology, has taken the motion only to be direct and used the Era; and not retrograde, for if taken as such, at least 1600 years will be got as the interval, which is not supported by any reading of the text.²³

22. See Pargiter, *ib.*, p. 62. In the place of this line mentioning *Pūrvāśādhā*, the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* gives: *śravaṇe te bhaviṣyanti kālē nandasya bhūpateḥ*. This is not supported by any Purāṇic source and hence not fit to be taken as authority.

23. On page 13 of his article Triveda gives a tabular statement of the chronology. There he counts *Śravaṇa*, but to compensate for the extra 100 years that would occur, gives the period 3233 to 3133 B.C. for *Maghā* and 3133 to 3076 B.C. for *Āśleṣā* (thus giving only 57 years for *Āśleṣā* instead of 100) against the Purāṇas that give 3176 to 3076 B.C. to *Maghā*, 3076 to 2976 B.C. for the next star, and so on. Triveda's scheme is supported by no Purāṇa.

Incidentally we may mention another mistake he employs to achieve his purpose. He wishes to give 1724 A.D. to 1824 A.D. for *Svātī* (see p. 15), so that his table might agree with the statement of Wilford's Pandits of Banaras who have told that the Sages were at *Svātī* in 1804 A.D. So

One thing clearly emerges from this discussion, viz. the motion of the Sages as given by the astronomers and the Purāṇas is direct and not retrograde. So VM can be right in saying that the Sages were in *Maghā* in the 7th cent. Kali, and in this he is supported by Āryabhaṭa II, and Parāśara, as well as the Śrutarṣis. Therefore Yudhiṣṭhira's reign associated with the Sages at *Maghā* can well be in the 7th cent. Kali, also supported as it is by a whole school of chronologists. As the Śaka Era mentioned is to come 2526 years after this period, it is the Śaka of 78 A.D. that must have been meant by VM in the śloka, *Br. Sam.* XIII.3, and not the one postulated by TSN etc., concurring with what we have established already in the previous study from an astronomical point of view.

IV. The Aihole Inscription

Now we shall take up the Aihole Inscription and show that the Śaka used in it is only that of 78 A.D. and not the other one alleged by TSN and echoed by certain other scholars. Discussing the age of VM in his *Age of Sankara*, Pt. I-D, pp. 224ff., TSN takes up the Aihole Inscription for consideration,²⁴ and tries to show that the Śaka Era mentioned therein is his own Śaka of 550 B.C. from the synchronism found in it between the Śaka Era and the Bhārata War. The portion of the inscription relevant to our discussion is the following:

*triṃśatsu trisahasreṣu bhāratād āhavāditāḥ /
saptābdaśatayukteṣu śa (?ga) teṣvabdeṣu pañcasu /
pañcāśatsu Kalau kālē ṣaṭsu pañcaśatāsu ca /
samāsu samatītāsu Śakānām api bhūbhujām //*

In trying to interpret this passage, Dr. Fleet at first (IA V (1876) 67-73) made the mistake of thinking that the time of the inscription is given in three eras, viz. the Bhārata War, the Kali and the Śaka. Perhaps he was led into this mistake by the word

he includes *Abhijit* among the Nakṣatras counted and gives for it the century 1024 to 1124 A.D. (see p. 14), apparently unaware of the fact that this trick would make the cycle last 2800 years instead of the usual 2700 years, and that he himself has not counted it in the previous cycle (see p. 13). If this kind of shift is resorted to one can prove anything.

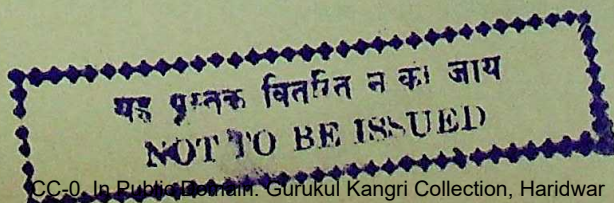
24. We have not had access to this section of TSN's work. Our authority is the long quotation in KV's *Plot in Indian Chronology*, ch. X. 185-90.

‘śata’ occurring thrice (saptābdaśatayukteṣu, śateṣvabdeṣu, and pancasatāṣu) and the statement in the Pulikaś that the Kali epoch is different from the Bhārata War. But subsequently, in IA VIII (1879) 240-41, Dr. Fleet acknowledged his mistake and gave the correct reading by emending śateṣu into gateṣu (for in the Kanarese-Telugu script in which the inscription is engraved on rock, ga with a horizontal stroke across would become śa and the engraver might have been misled into adding the stroke here by the large number of śa letters occurring in the context; or it might have been caused by weathering) and interpreting the passage as 3735 years from the Kali epoch, after the Bhārata War, and 556 years after the Śaka kings, i.e. 556 years in (Śālivāhana) Śaka Era.²⁵ This interpretation is accepted by all scholars (see for instance, Keilhorn, *Ep. Ind.* VI (1900-01) 1-12) except TSN and KV.²⁶ But the emendation of śateṣu into gateṣu is accepted by TSN. He also accepts the fact that only two dates are given, of which one is the Śaka Era. This necessitates the two expressions ‘after the Bhārata War’ and ‘from the Kali epoch’ to be taken together, as giving one date. If the Kali epoch is meant as important and the Bhārata War is mentioned here simply to describe it, without any more trouble we get the interpretation, ‘3735 years from the Kali epoch’, which beautifully synchronises with the Śālivāhana Śaka year 556 given, (about this number there is no dispute), for if we deduct from 3735 the well-known converter 3179 we get 556, which itself proves that this must be the Śālivāhana Śaka of 78 A.D. If on the other hand the Bhārata War is taken as important, and also that the War was

25. This Era is variously given as śakānām nṛpānām (or bhūbhujām) kāla, śakanṛpati (or bhūpa) kāla, śakendrakāla, in the earlier centuries, and as Śālivāhana Śaka later. The origin also is attributed to various causes: e.g. as named after the good rule of the Śaka kings (Govindasvāmin’s *Bhāṣya* on *Mahābhāskarīya*), the destruction of the Śakas by Vikrama (Bhaṭṭotpala commenting on *Br. Sam.* VIII. 20), after Śālivāhana who established his rule (later commentators and tradition).

26. After siding with TSN in *The Plot in Indian Chronology*, ch. X, and speaking with some variation in *JAHS* XXI (1950-52) 52-53, K. V. has changed over to the correct interpretation in his note, ‘The Aihole Inscription of Pulikesin’ (*JAHS* XXII (1952-54) 210-12, wrongly numbered 206-08) without a word of regret for having talked lightly and questioned the bonafides of the very persons to whose opinion he has now been converted. On p. 212, he still seems to be unaware of the fact that Dr. Fleet has corrected himself long ago.

J. 13



fought 36 years earlier (TSN makes it 38 to suit his calculations) according to one sub-school²⁷ taken advantage of by TSN, then there is trouble, for the War took place in 3140 B.C. according to TSN. 3735 years from this date there is no Śaka epoch to synchronise with. But TSN sorely wants it to synchronise with the Śaka of 550 B.C. postulated by him. He clutches at an error committed in a collection of old records published for literary study, the *Prācīnalekhamālā*, (N.S. Press, Bombay, *Kāvya-mālā Series* 16) thinking that it will help him. In the *Prācīnalekhamālā*, *saptābdaśata* is printed as *sahābdaśata*. Whether this is a misprint or an intended emendation, we do not know. But this we can say, that the letter is certainly *pta* and not *ha*, as anyone can verify from the photo-print of the inscription reproduced in *IA V* (1876) op. p. 69, *ib. VIII* (1879) op. p. 241, *Ep. Ind. VI* (1900-01) op. p. 7, etc.) and comparing the letters. Not only this; the word *saha* will be a repetition, because there is the word *yukta* giving the same meaning; also *saha* requires an instrumental to govern, which is not available in the verse. In spite of all this TSN takes this *saha* instead of *sapta* and gets the number 3135, (of course, as we have pointed out, with the word *saha* serving no purpose in the interpretation) and begins to effect the synchronisation thus, (see p. 189, *Plot in Indian Chronology*): The Aihole Inscription is 3135 years from the War, viz. 3140 B.C. So the date of the inscription is 5 B.C. And then the inscription is 556 years from the Śaka epoch (of TSN) viz. 550 B.C. 556 years from 550 B.C. is 6 B.C. (so says TSN, for he wants it, and wish is father to thought). 6 B.C. is only one year off 5 B.C. (obtained above), which can be easily accounted for, and the synchronism established; which shows that the Śaka mentioned in the inscription is his Śaka of 550 B.C.! But TSN and KV who quotes him seem to be unaware of the blunder in the calculation, viz. that 556 years from 550 B.C., is not 6 B.C., but 7 A.D.; and this date is 11 years off 5 B.C., and no amount of jugglery can spirit this period of 11 years off, and the synchronism is far from being established. What is more, having failed to prove the 550 B.C. Śaka, but thinking that it has been proved, TSN indulges in a tirade against Orientalists and their ways (see

27. See fn. 7 *supra*. Note that there is still another sub-school that takes the war synchronous with the Kali epoch. Obviously according to this school also, the interpretation is what we have already mentioned as the correct one.

p. 190, *ibid*), unconscious all the while that it all applies to the writer himself: "Alas! it is a great pity that these Orientalists should at first conceive a theory of their own, and then actively set themselves to work out the same by hook or by crook, by changing every authority to suit their own favourite hypotheses, and by hoisting up the fabricated text as the only true version, while they perfectly know all the while in their own heart of hearts that they have been able to achieve their objects only by fabricating evidence and meddling with the original authorities. The Orientalists simply beg the question, and beat about the bush in discussing such matters (*here* explanation of the word Śaka), blowing hot and cold at the same time, misjudging themselves, and misleading others, and thereby keeping back the Truth as far away as possible from the ken of ordinary public".

V. The Evidence of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*

Even though we have stated that the evidence of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* does not merit any consideration (*JIH XXXVI.363*) still because it is made much of by TSN, KV and VT (see for e.g., KV: *JAHRS XXI* (1950-52) 28-32, *Chronology of Nepal History*, Vijayawada, 1953, pp. 14-19: VT: *JIH XXVIII* (1950) 107-08), we shall consider that too. Their contention is that the author of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* is the famous Kālidāsa himself as claimed by the work, that he with VM and several other great scholars lived at Vikramāditya's court,²⁸ that he wrote the work in Kali 3068 (34 B.C.),²⁹ and that therefore VM cannot belong to 427 in the Śaka of 78 A.D. (corresponding to 505 A.D.), but only in the postulated Cyrus (or Andhra) Śaka of 550 B.C. (corresponding to 123 B.C.), and that thus the Cyrus (or Andhra) Śaka is proved. But the work could not have been written before 78 A.D. (though it says it was written in 34 B.C.), for in that work Śālivāhana is mentioned as a *śaka-kāra* (founder of an era), and that he founded the Śaka Era 135 years after Vikrama founded his own Śaka 3044 years after Kali (*i.e.* 57 B.C.).³⁰ How could Kālidāsa, the alleged

28. Cf. the verse *Dhanvantari-kṣapaṇaka* etc., *Jyotir. XXII. 10*.

29. Cf. *varṣe sindhuradarśanāmbaraṅgaṇair* (3068) *yāte Kales sammite/māse Mādhasamjñike ca vihito granthakriyopakramah// XXII.21*.

30. Cf. *Jyotir. X. 110-11*, giving the several Eras of the Kali Age: (i) *Yudhiṣṭhira* Era for the first 3044 years, (ii) *Vikrama* Era for the next 135 years, (iii) *Śaka* Era for the next 18000 years, (iv) *Vijayābhinandana* Era

author of the work, be the contemporary (however junior it might be) of VM (said to have lived in 123 B.C.) and at the same time know the starting of the Śālivāhana Śaka in 78 A.D.?

The late date of the *Jyotirvidābharāṇa* can be established also by other internal evidence in that work. Thus in giving the rule for the calculation of *Ayanāmśa*, it is stated that 445 is to be deducted from the years in the Śaka Era and the remainder divided by 60. Cf.

Śākaḥ śarāmbhodhiyugo-(445)-nito hrto
mānam khatarkair (60) ayanāmśakās syuḥ / (1.18a)

This means that in 445 Śaka the *ayanāmśa* is zero. This can be only the Śālivāhana Śaka, for Indian astronomical works give zero *ayanāmśa* for c. 421 Śāli. Śaka (Kali 3600), (some give 444). It cannot be argued that the author means the postulated Cyrus Era here, because firstly among the six śakas given by him he does not mention this śaka at all, and secondly nobody gives zero *ayanāmśa* for this time (445 Cyrus Era would be 105 B.C.), not even VT, who, as we have seen, implies—3°20' *ayanāmśa* for 123 B.C. (though he takes it as starting point for calculation) (*JIH* XXVIII.106 and our discussion on it, *JIH* XXXVI.354-57). Thus having seen that it is the Śālivāhana Śaka that the author uses, we can say that he is later than 445 of this Śaka (523 A.D.), for this rule can be applied only later than 445 Śaka, no instruction being given as to what to do if the time taken is before 445 Śaka.

Again the rule given in the *Jyotirvidābharāṇa* for finding the year in the 60-year cycle of Jupiter corroborates this.³¹ If it is applied to the current year, 1881 Śaka (1959-60), we get the year *Virodhakṛt*, which we also get if we work it out according to the methods in the *Siddhāntas*. If the year reckoned in the

for the next 10,000 years, (v) *Nāgārjuna Era* for the next 400,000 years, and *Bali Era* for the following 821 years.

31. Cf. the rule: *nagair nakhais sannihato*

dvidhā śakaḥ sakhatrīśakro 'kṣayamāṅgabhājitaḥ /
gatāptatallabdhaśako 'bhraṣaḍhrto-
'vaśeṣake syuḥ prabhavādivatsarāḥ// (I.16)

It means: Do the operation, $\{(7x+20x/60+1430) \div 625+x\} \div 60$, where x is the Śaka year gone. Get the remainder. Count years from *Prabhava* equal to this remainder and the *prabhavādi*-year is got.

Cyrus Era or in the Vikrama Era is used in the rule, there is disagreement.³² So it is the Śālivāhana Śaka that is required to be used in this rule and not the Cyrus Śaka nor the Vikrama Śaka which reigned in his time (for he says he is a contemporary of Vikrama). Thus again the conclusion that the author is later than the starting of the Śālivāhana Śaka follows.

In answer to these objections KV seems to have argued that Kālidāsa could actually have lived earlier than the Śālivāhana Śaka epoch and have mentioned that epoch as a future historical event on the basis of the Śāstras³³ (evidently meaning the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* etc.). But then how did the Śāstras know? Does KV want us to believe that they actually predicted future events? Clearly the Śāstras themselves should have been written after the Śālivāhana Śaka epoch, and the *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa* should be later still. And then the jumbling together of people of various ages already alluded to! We are asked to take this bundle of lies as sober history!

In the same manner other romances, (there is no dearth of them) based on popular stories should be dismissed wherever they contradict what may be judged as solid evidence, for we do not know who their authors were, nor what equipment they had for giving historical facts.

VI. Conclusion

Thus in all places where the word Śaka is used for the name of an era, it is the Śaka of 78 A.D. (what latterly came to be called Śālivāhana Śaka) that is meant. Further there is no evidence to show that an era was started in 550 or 551 B.C. in Persia or in India as postulated by TSN and accepted by KV, which he calls the Cyrus Era, or as postulated by VT, which he calls the Andhra Era. It may be that Cyrus founded the Persian Empire in 550 B.C., but what evidence is there to show that he started an era then? No such era was in use in Persia itself, not to speak of India. Many great events happen in the reigns

32. This kind of work we have already done, when dealing with Prof. Gulshan Rai (*JIH XXXVI*. 365-66).

33. Vide his letter to Kottah Bhavaiah Chowdary referred to in *JAHS XXII*.55.

of great kings. But they are not necessarily the starting points of eras. (VT does not even mention a great event in 550-51 B.C. for the starting of his Andhra Era). Now these people have taken all this trouble in order to prove the antiquity of the Indian dynasties and in so doing to reconcile texts of varied historical worth. Let them by all means attempt it, for it is only too true that unconscious prejudice has had some hand in the writing of the history of our land. But what we wish to show here is that their stand on the interpretation of the term Śaka Era, with all its ramifications, is wrong, and will not help them, as also the various other ideas of theirs which we have shown to be wrong. Also we wish to point out that attributing base motives and questioning the *bonafides* of people (the writings of TSN and KV are replete with these) will not only not help, but may also be "paid back with interest", as Dr. Kane says.

NOTE

Correction to the previous study: JIH XXXVI. p. 361, line 9: Read 'Side-rial' for 'Tropical' at both places in the line.

Reviews

PLANNING IN INDIA. By Dr. G. P. Khare. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, Delhi, Bombay...1958. pp. 148. Rs.3.75.

Of late there has been a spate of literature on economic planning in India. Much of these writings contain the usual statement of details relating to the two Five Year Plans and the usual criticisms thereof. In the present volume, however, an attempt at scientific analysis is made which imparts an element of freshness to the contents. Making use of tentative capital output ratios, Dr. Khare examines whether in view of the obvious limitation of capital resources in India, the order of priorities assigned to the different investment programmes in the First Five Year Plan was correct or not. His finding is that it was not correct. Similarly, an attempt is made to ascertain the effect of planned investment alone on agricultural and industrial output by isolating that factor from others, such as weather conditions. Here, the conclusion arrived at is that improvement in agricultural production in the first Five Year plan period was by and large due to planned investment, but on the other hand, progress in the industrial sector was not up to the mark. The author's ingenuity in applying modern advanced techniques of analysis to the interpretation of data available in an underdeveloped country like India is commendable. But the premises being what they are, it is doubtful whether any great reliance can be placed on the findings. The reader is likely to be left with the impression that there is a strained effort to wring out half truths from inadequate data. The factual information relating to the two Plans is, however, quite detailed and is presented in an attractive manner. The book is a good introduction to the study of Economic Planning in India and will be found useful by the student as well as the general reader.

D. BRIGHT SINGH.

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT OF UNDER-DEVELOPED ECONOMIES by Dr. A. N. Agarwala. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, Bombay, Delhi (1958); pp. 124; Rs. 3.00.

In the Preface to this little volume Prof. Agarwala rightly points out that it is the responsibility of the economists of the

under-developed countries to examine and analyse the special problems of their countries and to suggest ways and means of lifting them up from their state of under-development. However, what he has achieved in the brief compass of about 125 pages does not come up to this ideal. The author touches upon some of the controversial problems of the day but has left out a number of serious issues which call for close study. He holds the view that the development of cottage industries as a means to provide larger employment and at the same time help economic growth is not economically feasible. There can be some theoretical support to his contention that it is through increased productivity which can be achieved by adopting technically advanced methods of production that the ground can be prepared for accelerated economic development; but as a practical policy the plea for labour intensive methods of production, especially in the present Indian context, has to be viewed with greater sympathy. As for deficit financing for economic development, Dr. Agarwala gives the usual warning note and recommends a cautious approach. Chapter IV contains some interesting information about the Life Insurance behaviours in under-developed countries. The author finds a close relationship between life insurance activity and the standard of economic development and he illustrates this with the help of figures relating to national income and the value of Life Insurance premia collected in advanced and under-developed countries. What he calls Life Insurance capacity (i.e. the proportion of Life Insurance premia to national income) varies from 3.4% in the case of U.S.A. to 0.4% in India. The last three of the seven chapters of this book are devoted to a comparative study of the economic progress of India and China in recent years. India shows a relatively poor record. In the field of social insurance particularly, China has made remarkable advance and is today in this respect nearly on a level with highly developed countries.

Dr. Agarwala's book is not a comprehensive study of the subject of economic under-development, but it helps the reader to view some of the important problems of under-developed countries from refreshingly new angles.

D. BRIGHT SINGH.

PROBLEMS AND PROCESSES OF ECONOMIC PLANNING IN UNDER-DEVELOPED ECONOMIES by H. C. Gupta. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, Bombay, Delhi, 1958; pp. 228; Rs. 5/-.

The nine chapters of this book fall into three divisions. The first four chapters deal with the evolution of the idea of planning and the problems involved in it in developed and under-developed countries. Chapters V to VII contain a fairly detailed account of planning in India and an estimate of the achievements of economic planning in the country. In the last two chapters the author gives his own views of what the nature and type of planning should be in a country like ours.

In tracing the evolution of the concept of planning, Mr. Gupta stresses the point that the capitalistic system is unsuited to an under-developed country. He outlines the special obstacles to growth in such countries and points out the need for a new approach in the matter of planning their economic development. The author's account of the First and Second Five Year Plans of India is based on a close study of facts and is highly critical. His criticism centres around four main points—that there is no solid base for formulating and executing an economic plan, that the food problem has not yet been solved, that economic stability has not yet been attained and that there are serious inconsistencies and confusion in our planning. On the constructive side, Mr. Gupta pleads for a pluralistic approach but lays emphasis on the important role that the States has to play. His argument for reorganization of agriculture through land reforms and co-operative farming so as to ensure increased production of food deserves attention. Towards the close of the book the author briefly examines the controversial issue of co-operative farming. He seems to agree that the essential conditions for the success of co-operative farming are lacking in the country, but hastens to add that for this reason alone the scheme should not be given up. Mr. Gupta however evades the question whether co-operation has any meaning if it is not a spontaneous growth from below, but is imposed from above.

Much of the information contained in this book must be quite familiar to students of Indian economic problems, but the prosaic narration of well known facts is relieved to some extent by the author's critical insight into some of the basic issues arising

out of planning in our country and the exposure of certain mistakes in formulation as well as execution which seem to him to be avoidable.

D. BRIGHT SINGH.

AN INTRODUCTION TO FOOD ECONOMICS, by Gorakh Nath Sinha. (Bihar University Publication — Kitab Mahal, Allahabad; 1956; pp. 169, price Rs. 3/-).

To what extent the title to this book is borne out by the contents is difficult to say. In thirteen chapters in all, the author has dealt with a diverse range of topics, not all of which could claim a place in a general book on "Food Economics".

The book opens with an introduction to the growing importance of food economics and then goes on to the development of statistics relating to agriculture in India. (An appendix to the sixth chapter reproduces an article by a different author throwing serious doubts on the reliability of Indian agricultural statistics). In chapter II the author shifts his ground and tells us a lot about the technique of sample survey and the interview as a tool in social research. Next comes a chapter on the origin and method of a food survey conducted (by the author) in Bihar in 1946. It is this survey and its findings that dominate a good part of the book, although the bibliography given does not make a mention of it. The author admits on page 4 that "the basis of the present book is the Food Survey Report of 1946 which recorded the results of the Sample Food Survey operations. The details of these are given in the relevant chapters showing the methodological experiences". If the Bihar Food Survey Report referred to is a published document, there is no need to write a book on it, presenting all the details of its method and its findings; and if it is not, one should not have waited for ten years to write a book on it.

Chapters IX, X and XI dealing respectively with "The range and causes of fluctuations in production," "The consequences of the cycle of fluctuations in agricultural productivity" and "Conservation, storage and marketing of food resources" would be of interest to any student of food economics. Perhaps one could add the next chapter on "Control and administration of food resources" to

the same category. The concluding chapter on "Food production policy" presents a historical resume of Indian agricultural policy commencing from 1928 and ending up with the end of the First Five Year Plan.

A few glaring printing mistakes strike the eye. For instance in the contents list one finds an item "All India Comprehensive Versus Special Survey"; but when one turns to the relevant page the discussion is about an "All-in or Comprehensive survey versus special purpose survey." The Appendix to Chapter VI is printed as "Chapter VI."

No doubt the book presents some useful data and the discussion in some of the later chapters is interesting. But the claim of the the publishers on the folding jacket that the book is "a new, original and authoritative work" and "a first-rate equipment of undoubted value to libraries and the readers" is too tall.

T. P. SUBRAMONIAN.

SUDRAS IN ANCIENT INDIA (A survey of the position of the Lower Orders down to Circa A. D. 500) by Ram Sharan Sharma, M.A. (Patna), Ph.D. (London), Head of the Department of History, Patna University. Pp. 303. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna.

The outcome of a thesis approved for the Ph.D. Degree at the University of London, this book provides a systematic account of the position of the lower orders of the Hindu society from the Vedic times till about the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Though the early social history of India has been treated in several historical works, the history of Śūdras has not till now formed the subject of a critical study. The only monograph on Śūdras so far published is that of Dr. Ambedkar. But Dr. Ambedkar's work, interesting as it is, suffers from two limitations. Firstly, the political background dominates his approach to the subject, as a consequence of which, there is too often an unwarranted tendency to read the present into the past. Secondly, Dr. Ambedkar has confined his attention exclusively to the origin of the Śūdras.

Dr. Ram Sharan Sharma's work provides a connected account of the periodic developments in the position of the Śūdras down to

circa A.D. 500. This study has been based for the major part on literary sources, the dating of which is by no means easy. The generally accepted chronology has been taken as the basis, but wherever different dates have been adopted by the author of this book, the reasons for his view are indicated. Nevertheless, it is idle to ignore the fact that the chronological assessments of the early literary works are at best mere approximations. Moreover, the law books, treatises and commentaries which constitute the most fruitful literary source, were all written by the enemies of Śūdras. In spite of these inherent difficulties it is a creditable thing on the part of Dr. Sharma to have furnished an objective and systematic treatment of the subject. Though the title of the book does not exclude the historical consideration of the position of the Śūdras in South India, where the conditions were different in certain respects, the author has not chosen to include the South Indian picture within the purview of his work.

To start with, Dr. Sharma examines the view of earlier writers that the Śūdras were all non-Āryans, subdued by the Āryan invaders, and shows how the Śūdras consisted of both Āryan and non-Āryan people who were vanquished in the early struggle. Drawing a further distinction between *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* mentioned in Vēdic literature, he suggests that the *Dāsas* were an advance guard of mixed Indo-Āryan peoples who came to India at the time when the Kassites appeared in Babylonia, while the *Dasyus* were largely pre-Āryan inhabitants of India, subdued by the Āryan invaders. It is more than likely that *Dāsas* and *Śūdras* were respectively named after Indo-Āryan tribes of these names and that in course of time they came to include large groups of the pre-Āryan and degraded Āryan population.

It is doubtful whether the caste system originated in the Rig Vedic period itself because the Purushasukta hymn, believed to indicate the origin of caste, is apparently a later interpolation. At any rate, in the later Vēdic period we have clear evidence of the existence of the caste system, and generally speaking, during this age of the later Vēdas (c. 1000-600 B.C.) the position of the Śūdras was rather ambiguous. On the one hand, there are references in the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas which show that the Śūdras constituted the labouring class; already during this period there appeared a clear tendency to exclude the Śūdra from participating in the communal life. On the other hand, the Śūdras and their occupa-

tions were not yet looked down upon with contempt; nor were the Śūdras saddled with restrictions regarding food and marriage. Religiously, the Śūdras were permitted to take part in certain rites and yet excluded from several specific rituals as well as the Vedic sacrifice in general.

The period which witnessed the imposition of numerous disabilities on the Śūdras and untouchables was the age of the Grihya-sutras and Dharmasūtras, roughly belonging to 600-300 B.C. These law books laid down the view that the duty of the Śūdra was to serve the three higher varṇas. Āpastambha states that the Śūdras, who live by washing the feet of the higher people, are exempt from taxes, while Gautama provides that the Śūdra servants should use the shoes, umbrellas, garments and mats which are thrown away by the people of the higher varṇas.

Although the early Grihyasūtras nowhere clearly refer to the exclusion of the Śūdra from the rite of initiation, Āpastambha states that he cannot be admitted to the Upanayana and the study of the Vēda. The presence of a Śūdra and particularly that of a Chaṇḍāla is considered a sufficient ground for stopping the recitation of the Vēda. Gautama goes to the extreme by stating that if a Śūdra recites the Vedic texts his tongue should be cut out and that if he remembers them his body should be split in twain.

During the Mauryan age, (Kauṭilya's contemporaneity with Chandragupta Maurya is assumed) Kauṭilya practically adopts the Sūtra injunctions on the lower castes and follows the principles of varṇa legislation in the administration of law and justice. But unlike the Dharmasūtras, Kauṭilya does not make any explicit statement excluding the Śūdras from high posts either in the administration or in the army.

By far the most stringent regulations on the lower classes appeared in the age of Manu who lived sometime between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. Partly as a reaction to the pro-Buddhist policy of Aśoka and partly because of the advent of foreigners, Manu desperately tries to preserve Brāhmanical society, not only by ordaining rigorous measures against the Śūdras, but also by inventing suitable genealogies for the incorporation of foreign elements into varṇa society.

Manu lays down a number of laws which affect the economic position of the Śūdras adversely. Thus he introduces rates of

interest differing according to varṇa. He also lays down that a Śūdra should not be permitted to accumulate wealth. Again, according to Manu, one of the qualifications of the person with whom money should be deposited is that he should be an Ārya. Manu lays down that the Brāhmaṇa can confidently seize the goods of his Śūdra slave, for he is not allowed to own any property. Manu further provides that if a Śūdra mentions the names and castes of the twice-born (dvijati) with contumely, an iron nail ten fingers long should be thrust red-hot into his mouth. Manu is the first to enunciate the principle that slavery is the eternal destiny of a Śūdra. He holds that the Śūdra is created by God for the service of a Brāhmaṇa. Thus the Śūdra receives the worst degradation at the hands of Manu.

An important feature to be noticed in Manu's code is that while in the earlier periods the main distinction lay between the Śūdras and the three upper varṇas his work shows a far stronger tendency towards the approximation of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras in matters of legal provisions, food and marriage. The development was probably due to the fact that large numbers of Vaiśyas were being thrown into the ranks of the Śūdras.

But in spite of the theoretical injunctions in the post-Mauryan period the position of the Śūdras improved on account of the formation of new guilds of artisans and the rise of new crafts. On the whole during this period (200 B.C. to A.D. 200), it may be concluded that the old society which treated him as a helot saddled with numerous disabilities, had begun to decline and was being partly replaced by a new society which gave him a better position.

For the succeeding period (c. A.D. 200-500) Smritis of Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Brhaspati and Kātyāyāna constitute the main sources. A characteristic feature of the Smriti writings of this period is their Vaishnavite leanings. This is noticeable particularly in the Viṣṇu smṛiti, the Brhaspati smṛiti, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa. Probably the worship of Kṛṣṇa and the influence of Vaishnavism account for the more liberal views that are so largely represented in the Mahabhārata. It must be observed that the Vaishnavite tendencies liberalised the Brāhmanical attitude towards the Śūdras who were granted narrow but definite rights in the sphere of religion.

During this period also we come across the familiar maxim that the duty of the Śūdra is to serve the three other varṇas. Just as in Manu it is stated in the Smritis, too, that he should particularly serve the Brāhmaṇas. The period shows a number of other signs which indicate the increasing freedom of the Śūdras from the obligation to serve as slaves.

As artisans and traders the Śūdras played an important part in promoting trade and industry which seem to have made great strides during this period. Probably the Gupta age also witnessed the rise of Śūdra peasants who sustained the agrarian economy of the country.

However, in certain respects varṇa distinctions became rigorous. Various discriminations in ordeals which are not found in Manu are laid down by the law givers of this period. Yājñavalkya, for instance, states that the ordeals of fire, water or poison should be administered to the Śūdra and that of the balance to the Brāhmaṇas.

On the whole, during the Gupta period the position of the Śūdras improved. The rigours of the varṇa legislation were softened and probably some of the harsh measures against the Śūdras were annulled. The religious rights of the Śūdras were considerably enlarged. The right of hearing the Epics and Purāṇas and sometimes even the Vēda was conceded to the Śūdra.

Unfortunately the book has several typographical errors besides those indicated in the long list of Errata. The treatment of the position of Śūdras in South India could have received the attention that it merits. Barring these, the book is a highly commendable contribution.

K. K. PILLAY

LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR JADUNATH SARKAR (Vol. I)
& ESSAYS PRESENTED TO SIR JADUNATH SARKAR
(Vol. II)

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen of Indian historians, had been engaged for well over half a century in resuscitating India's past with a singleness of purpose that evokes our admiration. India in the time of the Mughals formed his special field of research, and he has produced a series of monumental works pertaining to his

favourite branch of historical investigation. At the same time he had taught two generations of students, and guided and trained a large number of scholars in historical research. Little wonder, his students, friends and other admirers of Sir Jadunath Sarkar have all co-operated in the production of these two commemorative volumes.

The first volume contains, amongst others, a sketch of the life and work of Sir Jadunath and an estimate of him as a historian by Dr. K. R. Quanango, Sarkar's oldest pupil. Dr. K. R. Quanango had immense facilities for moving intimately with the savant and is, therefore, eminently fitted to write with full knowledge. While the biographical sketch touches on the principal events of his life and his outstanding qualities, the estimate as a historian brings to the fore the excellence of his teacher as a writer of history. Dr. Quanango, however, is not a purblind hero-worshipper. While praising Sarkar's passion for truth and skill in expounding ideas, Dr. Quanango dismisses as unsuitable the comparison of his teacher with Macaulay or Gibbon.

Professor Sarkar's contribution to the establishment and working of the Indian Historical Records Commission is brought out in an article by Mr. Ahluwalia. Sir Jadunath was not only one of the founder-members of the Commission, but during his long association with it, he enriched the Commission by his many-sided contributions to its activities. Mr. Shanti Swarup Talwar writes on Professor Sarkar as a seer and shows how on questions like the 'Socialistic Pattern of the State', 'adoption of Hindi as a medium of instruction in Higher Education' etc., his views, expressed long before they became questions of practical politics, have a prophetic ring about them.

Half a dozen reminiscences by some of his pupils and friends appearing in the first volume give us glimpses into the character and outlook of the savant. It is clear that 'in the ardent cultivation of historical research he has been leading the life of a recluse, scorning delights and living laborious days and unaffected alike by the favours and frowns of fortune'.

A valuable bibliography of Sir Jadunath's works, research papers and articles is provided. The last part of the 1st volume is devoted to the publication of the correspondence which passed between Sarkar and his senior colleague, G. S. Sardesai, another

veteran in the field of historical studies. This correspondence was continued for over half a century and covered historical topics in which both the scholars were interested. There is no doubt that this lively correspondence between two seasoned historians on a wide variety of topics will be read with great profit by younger workers in the field of historical research. This section, combined with Sardesai's essay on 'Jadunath Sarkar as I knew him' serve to reveal the high ideals which actuated both these eminent historians.

The second volume contains 38 essays contributed by historians and researchers who have combined to pay their homage to the great savant. The essays cover a wide range of topics and are of distinct merit. The editors have tried to keep before them the high and exacting standards of scholarship which Sir Jadunath himself has been maintaining all along. A notable feature of the collections is that the editors have chosen to provide a brief summary of each article at the outset acquainting the reader with its contents and tenor.

K. K. PILLAY.

THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS, by Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., D. Litt. (p. 266) published by Orient Longmans, Price Rs. 12/-.

Dr. S. N. Sen is one of the well known authorities on Maratha and British Indian Histories. He has a high reputation for forming and expressing fearlessly impartial historical judgements. These essential qualifications of a true historian were seen at their best in one of his recent publications: 'Eighteen Fifty seven', where acutely controversial issues are handled with remarkable detachment and objectivity.

This book on the 'Military system of the Marathas' is a reprint, 'with slight corrections', of the author's monograph, published in 1928. Though written more than three decades ago, it still remains the standard work on the military and naval institutions of the Maratha state from the rise of Shivaji's kingdom to the fall of the Peshwas' empire. The author has had to wade through the Marathi sources as well as the contemporary English, Portuguese, French and Dutch records and piece together the widely

J. 15

scattered scraps of information found in the manuscript records available in London, Paris, Lisbon, Evora and Goa. But these old records and manuscripts are without any index, and some of them are not in a good state of preservation. Therefore, it is possible, as the author himself states, that some papers bearing on the subject might have escaped his notice. It is thus one of those fields which permit of further investigation. To say this is by no means to underrate the pioneer effort undertaken by the author of this book.

In his historical survey of the military and naval systems of the Marathas, he indicates judiciously their strong and weak points. The organisation established by Shivaji was eminently suited to the times and the environment. Ably organised by the masterful leader, Shivaji, the military equipment of the various elements—the infantry, cavalry, artillery and the forts—yielded the best results. Shivaji's appointment of three officers endowed with the same status and conjoint authority over each fort was calculated to maintain fidelity no less than efficiency. The system of appointing three officers in charge of a fort was neither new nor unknown in South India, for it had been advocated by Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur. But Shivaji went one step further. He laid down that the three officials (Havaladar, Sabnis and the Khar-khamis) were to belong to different castes. Obviously this was intended to avert possible collusion on the part of the officials against the master himself.

Under Shivaji the light cavalry and fleet footmen of the Maratha army became increasingly strong and effective. But, among his successors, particularly under the Maratha confederacy controlled by self-seeking war leaders, these elements of military equipment tended to become weak. The gradual rise of the centrifugal tendencies and their effects on the military system are carefully analysed by the author. The ultimate causes for the failure of the Marathas to reap the fruits of their early victories and build a stable empire are assessed. Apart from the selfishness and intrigues of the confederate leaders, the decline of discipline in the rank and file paved the way for the ultimate collapse.

Though attempts were made by the Marathas, beginning from the time of Mahadaji Sindhia, to adopt European methods of

military and naval organisation, they failed to implement them in an adequate measure. The artillery which was never a strong element of the Maratha equipment was not attempted to be kept up-to-date. The neglect of the cavalry was still more unfortunate.

The navy was perhaps the weakest element of the Marathas. Shivaji was no doubt the father of Maratha navy; but, even he could not make the Maratha fleet "ride the sea with as much confidence as the Maratha horse scoured the land". In the art of navigation as well as in its artillery equipment, the Maratha navy was deficient. But it can hardly be expected that in twenty years Shivaji could create a navy and bring it to perfection. He had made a good beginning; it was for his successors to build upon the foundations he had laid. But the progress made under Shivaji's successors was hardly satisfactory. Constant intellectual effort was needed to maintain military and naval efficiency. But the Maratha soldier and sailor were temperamentally conservative. They clung steadfastly to the ways of their forefathers, and in consequence, sank into hopeless decrepitude.

In addition to personal jealousy among the confederates, the revival of feudal tendencies as well as the decline in discipline and devotion of the soldiers paved the way for the ruin of the Maratha military system. The author points out that the most potent cause for the final collapse lay in the absence of a truly competent leader at the most critical period of its history. An able statesman who could employ its great resources to the best use was wanting. Moreover, the indiscriminate recruitment of men of all nationalities in the army reacted most unfavourably on the warlike traditions of the Marathas. The patriotic fervour and the whole-hearted devotion of the Maratha armies of old had unfortunately disappeared.

Dr. Sen has admirably marshalled the facts, and like a true historian, has assessed the merits and defects of the system judiciously. He does not gloss over difficulties, much less suppress them. His bibliography, arranged under suitable heads, is useful. A welcome feature is the provision of a glossary of technical terms. The book is well produced.

K. K. PILLAY.

INDEX OF PAPERS submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference Session XIII to XVII (1945-54), by K. Venkateswara Sarma, pp. 297. The All-India Oriental Conference, Poona-4, 1959. Price Rs. 10 (Rs. 5 for Members).

An Index of Papers submitted to the first twelve sessions of the All India Orinetal Conference was published in 1945. This is the second volume and covers sessions XIII to XVII of the Conference and follows the same methods as the first. About 1500 papers are indexed here both according to the authors and according to the titles. In the title index the same paper is mentioned under different headings, to make reference easy. One praiseworthy feature of this index is the attempt to trace the publication of the papers to the various journals and volumes; when the title is not clear the contents are briefly indicated. Repetition of such information could have been avoided by numbering the papers and using these numbers for cross references.

DR. K. K. RAJA.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT MAHESWAR AND NAVDATOLI 1952-53 by Hasmukh Dhirajlal Sankalia, Bendapudi Subbarao and Shantaram Balachandra Deo (The Deccan College Research Institute and the Maharaja Sayajirao University Publication No. 1), pp. xxvi + 257, Poona 1958—Baroda. Price Rs. 35/-

This sumptuous volume is the result of the co-operative effort of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona and the Maharaja Sayajirao University, Baroda and is based on the archaeological excavations conducted by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, Dr. B. Subba Rao and S. B. Deo. Archaeological excavations are mainly intended to find out evidence for the solution of problems connected with the ancient history and culture of a country and the aim of this joint venture by them was to "test the truth of the antiquity of Mahishmati and its relation to the problem of colonisation of the Narmada Valley by the Aryan, or better Puranic tribes".

Maheswar on the northern bank of the River Narmada believed by many scholars to be the same as ancient Mahishmati and

Navadatoli at present an insignificant place just opposite on the southern bank of the river were the two places chosen for excavation. The excavations at the two places have brought to light a broad sequence of cultures right from the early stone age upto the 18th century A.D. The antiquities show that stratigraphically there were seven periods in their history, namely Early and Middle Stone Ages, Proto-historic period, three early historic periods and the Muslim-Maratha period. The proto-historic period which followed Period II probably after a long gap may be dated between 1500 and 1000 B.C. as suggested by the Carbon-14 dating. It was probably this period that saw the foundation of Maheswar and Navadatoli characterised by the evolution of the chalcolithic culture. The three early historic periods take the history of these two places to about 500 A.D. Excavations at Maheshwar have not yielded data for the Paramara, post-Harsha and early Muslim periods. The top layers have however Islamic glazed pottery and mediaeval and Maratha antiquities.

One of the most important elements of the Proto-historic culture revealed in Maheswar and Navadatoli is what the authors call the Blade Industry "which is very significant on account of the ample material afforded for studying the typological and technological aspects, enabling us to differentiate it from others as well as the opportunity to reconstruct all the stages of manufacture of the tools from the nodule down to the finished product". (p. 41). After a detailed examination of the distribution of this blade industry the authors think that "this new technique of mass production of blades started among the 'incipient agricultural communities' of Braidwood, somewhere in the Neolithic period in the 'Fertile crescent' and it continued to flourish right into the bronze age. It seems to have spread in either direction towards Europe and India". (p. 65).

The excavations have yielded a number of coins. Coins before the period of the chalcolithic layers at the two places have not been found, and this fixes their earliest limit. It is of interest to note that in Maheshwar are found all the types of coins of the Malwa region, thus showing that the city was important in the proto-historic and early historic periods. Among the coins found are punch-marked ones both in silver and copper, Tribal coins like those of Taxila and Ujjain and some later ones.

Pottery which is the A. B. C. of Archaeology constitutes the largest collection in any excavation. Naturally much attention has been paid in the book to a description of the pottery from the two places. Stratigraphically and stylistically the pottery of the third period consists of six wares. Except for certain instances the pottery was wheel-made, slipped and fired, though within each group there are found differences with regard to clay, firing, general finish etc. The painted designs on them were also of different kinds. The fourth period saw the emergence of the NBP, though the most abundant collection of that period was the course red variety. The fifth, sixth and seventh periods are marked by an enormous increase in the ceramic ware of different sizes and shapes. The red polished ware of the sixth period was probably one of the most important luxury wares of the period, and has been found in various places. Among the antiquities collected at the two places are more than 350 beads, and a large variety of terracotta objects like fragments of votive tanks, discs, whorls, toys, figurines, wheels, stoppers, moulds, crucibles, skin rubbers etc. A solitary male figurine found is remarkable for the depiction of the muscular body of a gymnast.

Though there is no evidence of iron in Period III in the Chalcolithic levels, it occurs extensively in period IV beginning with the NBP and the black-and-red ware. The authors are inclined to think that the origin and introduction of iron into North India may be assigned to about the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. and express the opinion that "the view of Col. Gordon that the use of iron was not known in Northern India before 250 B.C. will have to be discarded" (p. 211). The two sites have also yielded a variety of objects of bone ivory, steatite and shell.

The last section of the volume is devoted to an examination of the contacts and co-relations of the people of the chalcolithic culture of Maheshwar. This culture is found to have had some features of the same culture in Malwa and the Deccan. The authors throw out the suggestion that "these late chalcolithic cultures have been derived, as a result of very gradual diffusion of the influences and peoples of Iran and other Western Asiatic regions". (p. 249). They are not however quite sure of the extent and manner of the influence and so add that "we must have more stratigraphic evidence from Pakisan, Baluchistan, the Iranian border land and Iran itself to ascertain the stages by which, *if at all*

the Western influences filtered down eastwards in India." (p. 251). It is difficult to say who the people of his culture were. The authors feel that the new culture could have been introduced by the Aryans or the puranic tribes called the Haihayas about 1000 B.C., but however add "these are pure and simple speculations. To understand these and other vital questions we must have more tangible data besides pottery, particularly abundant skeltal material and some form of writing, if it was there. With this end in view, horizontal excavations are necessary." (p. 252). One is very happy to learn that such horizontal excavations are being planned at Navdatoli and Nevasa, for it is the spade of the archaeologist that must help us in the study of such knotty problems that elude investigation.

The volume is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the sequence of cultures in the Narmada region in the early period of its history, and bears testimony to what planned archaeological exploration and excavation can do for the revealing of India's past.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ISLAMIC INDIA (1605-1748) by Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Lucknow University. (Published by the Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow.)

It is now realised that the history of the people constitutes a very important aspect of the study of the past. While political history provides the basic framework, social history has a distinct place of its own. This is true specially of the Islamic period of Indian history, in respect of which, as the author of the book under review rightly says, "studies have been top heavy, where Sultans and Padshahs, with their terror-striking entourages figure almost exclusive of the common people". But it is not made clear why Dr. Yasin has chosen the middle period of Islamic India for treatment at first, though he assures us that later he intends working his subject 'backward and forward'. Of course, the period 1605 to 1748 A.D., constitutes a glorious epoch, for which, the sources of information, too, are abundant. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether these alone are valid reasons for the rather arbitrary selection of the period of investigation. A systematic treatment of the

social history from the establishment of the Muslim power in India down to the fall of the Moghul Empire would have been more appropriate than the plan adopted by the author.

Even in respect of the limited period chosen it is difficult to agree with the author that conditions in the South were the same as in the North and that consequently no separate treatment of the South is necessary (p. viii). While 'Delhi was in truth the Rome of Medieval India diffusing the rays of authority and culture, of taste and refinement over this sub-continent', the local variations were by no means inconsiderable, unworthy of an independent investigation. In the Deccan the proportion of the Muslims to the Hindu population was markedly different from what it was in the North; the rivalry between the Foreign and Deccani Muslims was very acute and the interaction of the Muslim and Hindu was more noticeable here than in the North. A comprehensive study of Islamic India would presumably demand a full consideration of the South as well.

The book opens with an analysis of the component elements of the Muslim community in India of the period. In the first place, there were the foreigners consisting largely of the Arabs, Afghans, Turks, Persians and Mongols. Then there were the Hindustani Muslims, consisting on the one hand of foreigners who had become fused with the natives of the soil, and Hindu converts on the other. Thus the Muslims in India formed a composite and heterogeneous group and the author rightly shows that during this age there existed nothing like a Muslim 'nation'. Moreover, the foreign Muslims, who generally styled themselves as 'Mughals' were exclusively proud of their racial purity, and they looked down upon the rest.

The Muslims in India as a class formed an urban community, engaged in administrative or military service, industry or trade. They led generally a life of luxury and extravagance. In the matter of diet and dress the Muslims were notoriously fastidious in taste. An account of the festivities and ceremonies, etiquette and manners is provided. It is notable that some Indian customs and manners like Jauhar and child marriage were adopted by the Muslims. Language, Music and astrology were some of the fields in which the interaction of the Hindu and Muslim cultures was conspicuous. The lower orders of Muslim society joined the religious sects even formulated by Hindu saints, like Vairagis.

Details concerning the morals of the age are furnished. Intemperance was the besetting sin of the Muslim community. Not only kings, princes and nobles but also women of high position are known to have taken to drink. Beside palm-wine (*Todi*), opium and *bhang* were also consumed in large quantities. The intoxicants were taken not only for the sake of pleasure but as part of the regular diet and were regarded more important than food and drink.

The Medieval Muslim community was given to excessive sexual intelligence. The frequent ceremonies and festivals, visit to tombs and shrines all afforded opportunities for moral lapses (pp. 106-8) Prostitution was a well-developed art, and no social entertainment went without the presence of dancing girls. Akbar constructed a separate quarter for the residence of public women in cities. Aurangazib made an attempt to expel the tribe of harlots from Delhi or getting them married. How far he succeeded in the laudable effort it is not known.

The vice of gambling was prevalent among Muslims and Hindus alike. The lower rung of Mullas and the large number of fakirs resorted to degenerate ways of making money. Despite these blots of social life, the generality of the Muslim community remained firmly anchored to their great heritage of Islamic culture. The broad features of Islamic injunctions were faithfully adhered to. The fast of Ramzan was observed strictly. Works of charity were provided by the rich. Many built sarais, dug tanks and wells and arranged for the supply of drinking water on the thoroughfares. There was a great craze for going on *Haj*. The committing of the Quaran to memory was deemed a sacred achievement. Careful attention was paid to daily prayers. The remarkable feature of Muslim life was that it was equally divided between war, banquet and worship.

During the period under survey the Muslim women in Hindustan lost the proud position of the free Arab women of old and occupied a distinctly subordinate position, having been subjected to the will of their polygamous master. Nevertheless, woman was treated as the honour of the family and no sacrifice was thought too great to maintain it. The system of Purdah was strictly observed. The Muslim jealousy of their wives was proverbial, and even near relations were not allowed to have a look on the fair dam-

sels of the family. Polygamy was common. 'The Muslim community of Hindustan suffered more from the evils of polygamy and female seclusion in medieval times than in the present age' (p. 126). Widow re-marriage was prevalent. Though child-marriage is not enjoined in Islam, it appears that the Muslim community of India had fallen in line with the Hindu in this respect.

In respect of religion many imposters appeared claiming to be the expected Mahdi or the comforter at the time of spiritual crises. An elaborate account is given of Mujaddid Alfisani who initiated a religio-political movement in order to arrest the moral and religious degeneration of the Muslims. This so-called Reform Movement in Islam adversely affected the political destiny of the Indian Muslims. There appeared a reaction against the liberal policy of Akbar and it was instrumental in promoting a policy of persecution of non-Muslims especially under Aurangazeb.

But in spite of these occasional deviations of policy, the even tenor of Indianization of the Muslim community continued. Ancient Indian learning was patronized by the Mughal court, and Hindi literature flourished under Muslim patronage and was enriched by Muslim contributions. It is remarkable that whereas the Hindus learnt more of Persian, Muslims seemed to be more anxious to sanskritize Hindi poetry. It is on the whole refreshing to find that a spirit of accommodation in the cultural life of India continued and that Muslims had less prejudice to import silently colourful Hindu customs in birth and marriage festivities and to partake of the mirth and joy of Hindu festivals like the *Holi* and *Hindola*.

An excellent Bibliography is provided. The author seems to have hugged the references to his bosom, with the result that the foot-notes have become too heavy, many of which could have been appropriately incorporated into the text. There are many misprints. Despite these shortcomings the author has in our view succeeded in making an objective and scientific study of the life of the Muslim community of India during the chosen period with commendable success. Not infrequently historiography is vitiated by religious, communal and linguistic bias. The author of this book deserves our warm congratulations in not allowing himself to be deflected from the true path of History.

K. K. PILLAY.

KASHMIR UNDER THE SULTANS, by Mohibbul Hassan (Reader in History, Aligarh Muslim University). Published by Iran Society, 159-B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta.

Kashmir has been in the public eye for some time past, and works bearing on Kashmir are, therefore, of a special interest. Though the ancient and early medieval histories of Kashmir have become subjects of intensive study, the period from the foundation of the Sultanate in the 14th century till its conquest by Akbar had not received the attention it deserves. The book under review seeks to fill up the void admirably. Opening the study with a discussion of the sources of information and the manner in which the geographical features of Kashmir—its position, extent, topography, its passes, its lovely lakes and springs—have influenced the history of the land, the author narrates the events which led to the foundation of the Sultanate by Shah Mir who assumed sovereignty under the title of Shamsud-Din.

The most outstanding of the Sultans was Zainul Abuddin (1420-70) who, besides conferring on the country the blessings of peace and good government for half a century, introduced many arts and crafts and promoted learning, music and painting. He is justly famous for the liberal treatment accorded to his non-Muslim subjects. It is unquestionable that under Zainul Abuddin the Shah Mir dynasty reached the zenith of its power and glory. But after his death, under his weak successors, it started on its downward course, characterised by dynastic troubles and rebellions until it met its final overthrow at the hands of the chaks.

The Chaks had migrated to Kashmir from Dardistan even before the reign of Shamsuddin I. But it was sultan Shamsuddin I who appointed them to high offices, civil and military. About 1552 A.D. Daulat Chak, the leader of the Chaks intervened in the civil war which raged in the land and was able to expel the ruling sovereign Nazuk Shah and place his own nominee Muhammad Shah on the throne. Daulat Chak's rise to power marks the beginning of the Chak ascendancy which lasted for thirty years. The prestige of the Chaks increased on account of their marriage alliances with the principal land-owning families and the ruling dynasty of Kashmir. In the course of a few years the Chaks defeated all their rivals and made themselves supreme in the

country. The Chaks at first ruled with wisdom and firmness, but the fourth ruler, Yusuf Shah passed his time in ease and luxury and neglected public affairs. His son and successor Yaquib was self-willed and intolerant; and his misrule provided the opportunity for Akbar to annex Kashmir to his empire. With the Mughal conquest the isolation of Kashmir ended, and henceforth she came within the orbit of Indian politics.

The author of the book provides a fairly elaborate account of the administrative system, social and economic conditions and the cultural activities of the age. Though among the sources there is a remarkable paucity of details in respect of social and cultural activities, the available material has been carefully utilised. The Appendices discuss the origin and history of the Nurbakshiya sect, the currency and coinage, weights and measures of the period, and finally the chronology and genealogy of the Sultans of Kashmir. A full Bibliography and an analytical Index are other useful features of the book.

K. K. PILLAY.

TRIBAL DEMOGRAPHY IN INDIA: By C. B. Mamoria with a Foreword by Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, Kitab Mahal, Publishers, Allahabad, pp. xvi + 151. Price Rs. 5/-.

India is an ethnological museum, and the tribes in it constitute a substantial percentage of the population of the country. But not much information is available about this so-far neglected section of the Indian population, their classification, their social and civil conditions and their role in the national economy of the country. Mr. C. B. Mamoria the author attempts in this monograph under review an objective study of the problem of the Tribes in India.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The author considers at the outset the different racial types and elements in the Indian population on the basis of the studies that have been made on the subject so far, and concludes that the present population of India is an admixture of almost all races of the modern world with some variations, due to climate and environmental influences. The origin of India's scheduled tribes has been traced to such races as the proto-Australoids the Mongolians and the Negritos. The chief home of these tribes is found in the barren and sparsely

populated tracts of hills and jungles in Central India, Assam and South India.

In recent years the aboriginal population has been on the decrease largely due to reasons like their absorption into Hinduism in the North East, the spread of Christianity among some Tribes, acculturation and other causes. Their contacts with the civilized people have undermined their social solidarity, invaded their security and introduced discomforts, diseases and vices among them (p. 47). Among the occupations of these tribes the more important ones are agriculture, hunting, fishing and gathering, handicrafts, mining, plantations, forestry etc. They are at times forced to perform compulsory labour for local authorities, land-lords, contractors and others (pp. 63-64). The living standard of the aboriginal population is very low. In many parts they are living in conditions of economic destitution largely due to the primitive conditions in which they are obliged to earn their living and the lack of educational opportunities. Practically nearly the whole of the tribal people are illiterate. The housing condition of these people are generally very bad. Their dwellings are in most cases damp, insufficiently ventilated, overcrowded and devoid of most rudimentary sanitary facilities.

In comparison with other communities except the Christians, Jains and Parsis the tribals have a higher number of females per thousand than males. Though menstruation among girls takes place early, their marriage is usually celebrated late. Pre-marital chastity is not very common among them. But this is not peculiar to the Indian tribes alone.

The author concludes his account of the Indian tribes by offering certain practical solutions for their development. He suggests that the tribes should be integrated with the other peoples of the country in such a way that while they would retain their individuality, they would be brought to a higher level on a par with the civilized people of the country. To achieve this object he says "the different tribal cultures will have to be studied thoroughly and scientifically too. Otherwise the attempted measures for the advancement of the tribes will go to waste as it will be unrelated to its cultural context". Mr. Mamoria attempts in this book such a study. There is no doubt that it will be found useful to those interested in tribal demography in India.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE JAJMANI SYSTEM:

By Thomas O. Beidelman (Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies series No. VIII) published for the Association by J. J. Augustin Incorporated Publisher, Locust Valley, New York, 1959, pp. 86.

This monograph by Thomas O. Beidelman is a revised publication of the paper submitted by him in June 1957 as partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology at the University of Illinois. It is a re-examination of the Indian *Jajmani* system, a socio-economic organisation that has been obtaining in many villages in India in which the two participant parties are the *Jajman* who receives certain services and the *Kamin* who is obliged to render such services to the former.

The system has been usually considered to be somewhat of an egalitarian character chiefly based on religious and traditional grounds. The economic aspects of the organisation as also its close relation to the Hindu caste system have not received the emphasis they deserve. Defining the *Jajmani* system as a feudalistic system of prescribed, hereditary obligations of payment and of occupational and ceremonial duties between two or more specific families of different castes in the same locality (p. 6), the author shows that land tenure was a determining factor within the *Jajmani* system. The role of the *Jajman* is also determined by his numerical and political superiority, though on that account the importance of his caste cannot be under-estimated. The author thinks that it is an exploitative system in which the employing castes exercise control over the *Kamins* in various ways. Tension and conflict are inevitable in such a system, but the *Jajmans* usually succeed in such conflicts. The *Jajmani* system which works only at a local level is slowly breaking down in recent times on account of various factors, such as pressure of population, Zamindari land reforms, setting of new values in Indian rural life etc. But an intensive study of this kind is to be welcomed for it is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of one of the most complicated aspects of rural life in India.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Adyar Library—Bulletin of the*, Vol. XXIII, Parts 1-2, May 1959, Madras.
 1. *Two Daksinamurti Images of Adyar*, by N. Yagneswara Sastri.
- II. *Asiatic Society of Pakistan—Journal of the*, Vol. III, 1958, Dacca.
 1. *Commercial Relation between Muslim Spain and Christian Countries in the 9th and 10th Centuries*, by Dr. S. M. Imamuddin.
 2. *Aspects of Muslim Administration in Bengal down to A.D. 1538*, by Abdul Karim.
 3. *An Analysis of the Material Content of the Sculpture of Sanchi*, by Abu Imam.
- III. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Annals of the*, Vol. XXXVIII, Parts 3-4, 1957, Poona.
 1. *Administrative System in Early Kasmira*, by Sunil Chandra Ray.
 2. *Power in Ancient India: 1. Chronology and Economics*, by Ronald M. Smith.
 3. *Samudragupta's Expedition against Persia (356-362 A.D.)* by S. V. Sohoni.
- IV. *Indian Review*, Vol. 60, August 1959, No. 8, Madras.
 1. *Indian Freedom Movement and the Cult of Violence*, by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji.
- V. *Indian Review*, Vol. 60, October 1959, No. 10, Madras.
 1. *Pathology of Kingship*, by Prof. T. K. Venkataraman.
- VI. *Indo-Asian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 4, April 1959, New Delhi-1.
 1. *India and Spiritual Life*, by Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

VII. *Orient Review*, Vol. V, No. 6, June 1959, Calcutta.

1. *The Art and Architecture of Visnupur*, by Pratapaditya Pal.
2. *Ancient Ties between Russia and India*, by Lev Uspensky.

VIII. *Orient Review*, Vol. V, No. 7, July 1959, Calcutta.

1. *The Art and Architecture of Visnupur*, by Pratapaditya Pal.
2. *Rajput Apathy Towards the Hindu Empire*, by M. V. Kibe.

IX. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, June 1959, Baroda.

1. *Ancient Indian Architecture—Kalkavidhana or the Preparation of Tenacious Pastes*, by D. Subba Rao.

X. *Pakistan Historical Society—Journal of the*, Vol. VII, Part 1, January 1959, Karachi.

1. *Barani's History of the Tughluqs, Ghiyath-al-Din Tughluq*, by Dr. S. Moinul Haq.
2. *Alamgir's Attitude Towards Non-Muslim Institutions*, by Jnan Chandra.

XI. *Pakistan Historical Society—Journal of the*, Vol. VII, Part 3, July 1959, Karachi.

1. *Barani's History of the Tughluqs (III) Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq*, by Dr. S. Moinul Haq.
2. *Responsibility of the Ulama for the Execution of Dara Shikoh*, by Iftikhar Ahmad Ghauri.

XII. *University of Bombay—Journal of the*, Vol. XXVII, Part 4, January 1959, Bombay.

1. *Maratha-Nizam Relations—A Persian Source, The Tuzuke Asafia of Tajalli Shah*, by P. Setu Madhava Rao of Tajalli Shah.
2. *Contemporary Attack on Indian Democracy*, by S. P. Aiyar.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*,
Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*,
Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
15. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review*, Madras.
18. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review*.
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.

Printed by G. Srinivasachari, B.A., at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street,
Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A., PH.D.,

(Sometime Research Fellow, University of Madras, and for many years a Senior Member of the History Department of the Union Christian College, Alwaye).

A fully documented historical treatise of particular interest. Now when the long dreamed of Kerala State has just been formed, the book furnishes an exhaustive account of the foundation period of the Dutch Power in Malabar, with descriptions of contemporary social and political conditions based mainly on Dutch sources, and serves as a useful prelude to the study of Dutch documents on Malabar, preserved at the Madras Record Office. Dr. Jadunath Sarkar has observed as follows about this work:

"This survey, though limited to a small area in time and geographical extent, has nevertheless been done with such scholarly care and accuracy that it must rank as a standard work of reference in its own corner of South Indian History..... The value of Mr. Poonen's work lies in its going beyond the usual conquests and battles and gives us the commerce, polity, administration, people's conditions, etc.

"It reflects credit on the University of Kerala, to have selected the useful book as one of its first publications."

Price Rs. 8.50.

Copies available at :

**Messrs. University Co-operative Stores,
Trivandrum-1, Kerala State.**

JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXVII, Part III

December, 1959

Serial No. 111

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MONEGAR CHOULTRY—by M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D. ..	253	INDIAN EPIGRAPHICAL LITERATURE—by D. B. Diskalkar ..	319
MALLAR PLATES OF PRAVARARAJA—YEAR 3—by Balchandra Jain, M.A. ..	261	PRINCE JETA'S GROVE IN ANCIENT INDIA—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S. (London) ..	341
KALYANA, THE CHALUKYAN CAPITAL—by B. R. Gopal, M.A. ..	267	WAS THE CONGRESS A CHILD OF RUSSO-PHOBIA?—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	367
VAISALI PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF SRI CHANDESVARA DATED LA SAM. 239—by Shri V. Mishra, M.A. ..	273	KOTAH SUCCESSION AFFAIRS, 1820-1838—by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, M.A., D.Phil. ..	375
DUTCH VICTORIES IN MALABAR 1661-62—CAPTURE OF CRANGANORE—by T. I. Poonen, M.A., Ph.D. ..	277	SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF FEUDALISM IN ANCIENT INDIA (DOWN TO THE 14TH CENTURY A.D.) (<i>Based mainly on the epigraphic sources</i>)—by Prof. Radhakrishna Choudhary ..	385
ORIGIN OF MAYA IN SANKARA'S PHILOSOPHY—by R. B. Joshi ..	289	KANDHARAPURA—by D. C. Sircar ..	407
THE BATTLE OF JIRAN (NOVEMBER 1534 A.D.)—by Arya Ramchandra G. Tiwari, Ph.D. ..	313	OBITUARY ..	411
REVIEWS:—(1) Ceylon in the XVIIth Century: "An Historical Relation of Ceylon" by Robert Knox; (2) Revista De Historia De America (Nro. 43—1957, Nro. 44—1957, Nro. 45—1958, Nro. 46—1958); (3) The Personality of India—by Benapudi Subbarao, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.; (4) Early Chauhan Dynasties—by Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt.; (5) Stone Age Industries of the Bombay and Satara Districts—by S. C. Malik, B.Sc. (Hons.), M.Sc.; (6) The History of the Gahadavala Dynasty—by Roma Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.; (7) On Bihar (Studies in History and Culture)—Edited by Radhakrishna Chaudhary; (8) The Early Rulers of Khajuraho—by Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil. ..	413		
Select Contents of Periodicals ..	431		
Our Exchanges ..	433		



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Journal of Indian History

CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

1. DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., HON., D.LITT., *Emeritus Professor, University of Lucknow.*
2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandal, Poona.*
3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., *College of Indology, Hindu University, Benares.*
4. PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB, B.A. (OXON), *Professor of History, University of Aligarh.*
5. PROFESSOR D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., *University of Poona.*
6. DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON).
7. A. N. TAMPPI, B.A. (OXON), *BARRISTER-AT-LAW, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.*
8. SURANAD, P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., *Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.*
9. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., *formerly Principal, University College, Trivandrum.*
10. DR. YOUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS), *Osmania University.*
11. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., *University of Lucknow.*
12. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON), *Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay.*

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription: Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-65 Naye Paise and 16s. abroad.

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15 or £1 Half page cover : Rs. 8 or 12s.
Full page inside : Rs. 10 or 14s. Half page inside : Rs. 6 or 8s.

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to :—

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Editor,
Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

JOURNAL *of* INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
*Professor of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum.*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (OXON.)
*Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.*

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,
*formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.*

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (OXON.)
*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

JOURNAL
OF
ARYA SAMAJ HISTORY

CONTENTS

MONEGAR CHOULTRY—by M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 253
MALLAR PLATES OF PRAVARARAJA—YEAR 3—by Balehandra Jain, M.A.	.. 261
KALYANA, THE CHALUKYAN CAPITAL—by B. R. Gopal, M.A.	.. 267
VAISALI PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF SRI CHANDESVARA, DATED LA SAM. 239—by Shri V. Mishra, M.A.	.. 273
DUTCH VICTORIES IN MALABAR 1661-62—CAPTURE OF CRANGANORE—by T. I. Poonen, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 277
ORIGIN OF MAYA IN SANKARA'S PHILOSOPHY—by R. B. Joshi	.. 289
THE BATTLE OF JIRAN (NOVEMBER 1534 A.D.)—by Arya Ramchandara G. Tiwari, Ph.D.	.. 313
INDIAN EPIGRAPHICAL LITERATURE—by D. B. Diskalkar	.. 319
PRINCE JETA'S GROVE IN ANCIENT INDIA—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D. Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S. (London)	.. 341
WAS THE CONGRESS A CHILD OF RUSSO-PHOBIA?—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.	.. 367
KOTAH SUCCESSION AFFAIRS, 1820-1838—by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, M.A., D.Phil.	.. 375
SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF FEUDALISM IN ANCIENT INDIA (DOWN TO THE 14TH CENTURY A.D.) (BASED MAINLY ON THE EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES)—by Prof. Radhakrishna Choudhary	.. 385
KANDHARAPURA—by D. C. Sircar	.. 407
OBITUARY	.. 411

CONTENTS

REVIEWS :	(1) Ceylon in the XVIIth Century : "An Historical Relation of Ceylon", by Robert Knox;	
	(2) Revista De Historia De America (Nro. 43—1957, Nro. 44—1957, Nro. 45—1958, Nro. 46—1958);	
	(3) The Personality of India, by Benapudi Subbarao, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D;	
	(4) Early Chauhan Dynasties, by Dasha-ratha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt;	
	(5) Stone Age Industries of the Bombay and Satara Districts, by S. C. Malik, B.Sc. (Hons.), M.Sc;	
	(6) The History of the Gahada-vala Dynasty, by Roma Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil.;	
	(7) On Bihar (Studies in History and Culture), edited by Radhakrishna Chaudhary;	
	(8) The Early Rulers of Khajuraho, by Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. . .	413
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS		.. 431
OUR EXCHANGES		.. 433

Monegar Choultry

BY

M. AROKIASWAMI, M.A., PH.D.,

Department of Indian History & Archaeology,
University of Madras

The term *choultry* has now come to have the significance of an inn or caravanserai, a place of halt for the traveller by road. In early times, however, the meaning seems to have been different. The choultry started in the first instance as a military outpost of protection, where the army could be stationed to defend the frontier from any possible attack. Such choultries existed in Egmore, Saidapet, St. Thomas Mount and in thirteen other places all around Madras during the days of the English East India Company. We know that in May 1740 troops were withdrawn from Egmore and the line of choultries on that side to fight the Maratha invaders. About the same time some of the choultries were converted into Land Custom Houses to take account of the goods brought into town. Tomby Chetty Choultry, Sunckarama Chetty Choultry, Armenian Gate, and St. Thomas point were some of the seven choultries that became Custom Houses in or about 1739. Still later these choultries became the offices of the local headman or *adigār*, who held court over petty cases, registered documents of sales and ordered the licensing of slaves.

The Monegar Choultry¹ (the term *manigār* being the Tamil equivalent of *adigār*) still seems to have had its origin in a different manner in the North Madras area close to Washermanpet. The name of Monegar Choultry occurs for the first time in Public consultations under date April, 2, 1802. We have however evidence to show that the institution is as old as at least 1696, when the Fort St. George Consultation Book refers to the choultry where the native poor were to be relieved from a fund established for this

1. The term *choultry*, Love correctly guesses, must have been derived from *chavadi* which means a hall or shed for transactions of public business—Love, *Vestiges of Madras*, I, p. 127, F. N. 12.

purpose and placed in the hands of the Mayor and Alderman.² The reference here must be in all probability to the Monegar Choultry, which must have acquired this distinctive name afterwards, since no other choultry is seen to function in our records as a charitable house of the poor except this one. The name choultry itself might have acquired the present meaning in course of time on account of the charitable work carried out in this institution for a long time.

The role of this choultry came to the forefront during the great famine of 1780-82. Those were years of great scarcity, the like of which had never occurred in India till then. Though mainly due to the failure of rain, the scarcity was greatly aggravated by the devastations caused by Hyder's armies which were fighting the English. The Governor of the time was Lord Macartney and he forthwith appointed a Grain Committee consisting of three civil servants, Robert Hughes, George Mourbey and William Webb, who were to distribute rice and other food-stuffs to people according to their utmost needs. Yet the people of Madras were in great suffering and a Poor Fund was collected at the instance of a Committee of charitable men called St. Mary's Vestry from the well-to-do of the City and even the Governor-General in Calcutta was requested to organise a fund for the purpose of saving the poor of Madras from dying of hunger. We have on record in the Fort St. George consultations for 1782 the following statement addressed to the Governor of Madras by the the Committee of charitable men above referred to :

"The subscription from the Europeans amounts to about eight hundred pagodas monthly, and from the charitable recommendation of your Lordship we have received a bill for five hundred pagodas, which has been raised among the inhabitants of Calcutta".³

Indian subscribers consisting mainly of dubashes, sowcars and zemindars agreed to give 242½ pagodas monthly, while certain individuals subscribed round sums like the zemindar of Kālahasti who gave 100 pagodas. In fact a rather good sum of money was collected for this noble purpose of relieving the poor and it was placed in the hands of a special committee devised for this task and it went by the name of "The Native Poor Fund Committee". It was at this time that the choultry in the present Washermanpet

2. Ft. St. George Consultation Book, 2/11/1696.

3. P. C., 24/5/1782.

area was found to be a congenial place to house the poor. The building was taken, curiously enough, as a public building with no rent and with no right claimed by anyone of its possession. That there was an owner for the building was, however, shown later, when the famine was over and one Pattabhi Pillai wrote to St. Mary's Vestry claiming arrears of rent for the use of the building as a choultry from January 1782 to October 1804. Mr. H. D. Ogilvie, Collector of Madras, to whom the letter was sent for verification, found the claim correct and Pattabhi Pillai was paid by the Vestry 2192 pagodas by way of rent and his claim was settled.⁴

But this event gave a turn to the affairs of the Native Poor Fund and of the Poor House of the Monegar Choultry. On the 19th October 1804, Dr. Kerr, who was a member of the Vestry, proposed the building of a new Poor House close to the Native Hospital, that had been built earlier for the relief of the native sick through the initiative of Dr. John Underwood. It was Kerr's idea to combine both the institutions with their finances and help them to be complementary to each other. He was the Chaplain at Fort St. George and was an important member of St. Mary's Vestry and he explained his intention to the Governor in a long letter where he unfolded his plan as convincingly as possible. He adduced three causes for breaking away from the old Monegar Choultry. There was, at first, the demand for rent, which did not appear reasonable; there were complaints about accommodation and the system of feeding at the choultry; it was also difficult of access for the gentlemen of the Vestry. He proposed that a new building be built at a cost of 6,000 pagodas to make it really commodious, that the running cost may be palpably reduced by making all workable inmates to work and earn for their maintenance and he appealed for Government help. Kerr's proposal fell through for various reasons. The first among them was that Lord William Bentinck, who was then the Governor of Madras, was not willing to spend on the proposal so much money as was required by Dr. Kerr. The second point in question was whether the Vestry was equal to the task of undertaking such works of public utility. The failure of that institution in managing Usan's trust money properly was just then brought

4. Vestry Proceedings, 2/1/1802; P. C., 16/10/1804.

up in a case before the Chancery and this made both Dr. Kerr and the Vestry most unpopular. Thus the whole scheme fell through at least for the time being. We read the following as the last words of the Vestry in its proceedings, when it met on 4th December, 1805:

"Henceforth the meeting of the special Vestry will be discontinued It also becomes necessary that the management of the Native Poor Fund do revert to the original committee".

(Signed) R. H. Kerr,
Senior Chaplain.
E. Vaughan,

It is thus obvious that not only the scheme of Dr. Kerr but also the special Vestry, which was heretofore in charge of the Poor Fund administration, fell on the rocks towards the close of 1805. But fortunately this did not end the noble work undertaken on behalf of the poor. On the other hand it came under Government control and was thus assured a further lease of useful service. In fact much of what Kerr had asked and even what he had anticipated for the Poor House were given in the course of three or four years as the sequel will show.

In accordance with the resolution passed by the Vestry committee on 4/12/1805 the poor fund passed into the hands of the Native Poor Fund Committee; and it amounted roughly to 20,000 pagodas. In a letter written to the Home Board of the East India Company in October 1807 by the Government of Fort St. George the following statement occurs:

"We observed to the Committee (Native Poor Fund Committee) that from the quantity of grain which had been issued from the public stores for the support of the poor under their immediate charge it was probable that the whole amount of the money remaining in their hands might be considered as due to the Company. On this principle we expressed our desire that the remaining balance might be transferred to the Treasury where the sum would be completed to 20,000 pagodas and the interest of that sum applied to the relief of the poor until the pleasure of your Honourable Court be known."

The Native Poor Fund Committee for its own part was never averse to handing over the sum to Government. They observed in their report that the balance of money remaining in their hands

after the disbursements during the scarcity and upto the time of their report, which was made in 1807, was not more than 11,205 pagodas and that they were willing to place that amount under Government control. The Government decided to replenish the amount so as to make it 20,000 pagodas and run the Poor Home, which the Native Poor Fund Committee wished to remain in the premises of the Monegar Choultry itself, from the interest accruing from this capital.

It was also agreed upon that whatever was wanting over and above the interest from the amount that was funded was to be got by way of public benefactions. At the consultations held by the Madras Government on 23rd June 1809 a letter was received from the committee managing the Monegar choultry that that institution should be united with the Native infirmary. The suggestion came from Dr. Berry, one of the members of the Committee, who recommended that the union should be effected by transferring the sick of the Infirmary to the Choultry together with the funds of the Infirmary. "In submitting the grounds on which their recommendation rested" runs the proceedings of the consultation referred to above "the Committee remarked that a near connection subsisted between the objects embraced by the charity of the Monegar Choultry and those of the Native Infirmary, the former being intended to afford an asylum to paupers suffering under incurable maladies while the Native Infirmary was more particularly destined for the reception of such cases as may admit of remedy. They stated that owing to the inadequacy of the accommodations and pecuniary resources of the Native Infirmary a small portion only of the diseased poor of the settlement could obtain relief from that institution and that it had in consequence happened that the charity of the Monegar Choultry had been constantly burdened with the maintenance and care of a great number of persons who properly were not objects of its benevolence but of that of the Native Infirmary." Thus at the time of this letter there were 87 patients of this description at the Choultry, while the Infirmary could not take in more than 40 on an average as in-patients. As early as 1807, Mr. Underwood, the Superintendent of the Infirmary, had submitted a proposal to Government for the purchase of the building of the institution;⁵ and still earlier, as we

5. P. C., 21/10/1807.

have seen, Dr. Kerr had submitted the same proposal of the union of the two institutions—the Choultry and the Infirmary. Thus it was now an easy matter to combine the two. The Infirmary was bought by Government for a small sum of 2000 pagodas from Mr. Underwood and the funds and patients attached to that charity were transferred to the Monegar choultry. Mr. R. C. Sherwood was appointed to the consolidated institution as Surgeon on a monthly salary of 80 pagodas with a palanquin allowance of 20 pagodas per month.⁶

It would appear that the Monegar choultry building had also come into the hands of the Government in the meanwhile, though no specific reference is made to it in the documents. This is indeed a curious omission but we find many alterations and additions being made to it in subsequent years. In one year, 1821 alone, the expenses of the repairs to the choultry are mentioned as Rs. 7768-0-2.⁷

In 1822 the managing committee of the institution was allowed by Government to acquire land to the north of the choultry for keeping caste-patients suffering from mental imbecility.⁸ In June of the same year the choultry committee was ordered to build a separate ward to keep the lunatics.⁹

The combined institution of the Choultry and Infirmary was heretofore known by the single name of Monegar Choultry and managed by a Government appointed Committee of which the Chief Secretary to Government, the Town Major and the Superintendent of Police were permanent members, a few more being annually chosen.¹⁰ In the years following the period of Munro, Governor of Madras, it became the duty of this committee to report weekly to Government on the number of men, women and children who were fed gratuitously, of the number who laboured for their food, the extent to which the demand for food might rise, the possible charitable sources from which help would be forthcoming and the amount roughly anticipated in that way. The statement

6. P. C., 23/6/1809.

7. See Letter from the Chief Engineer to Government dated 25th May, 1821.

8. P. C., 1/11/1822.

9. P. C., 4/6/1822.

10. P. C., 10/6/1808.

of the Committee was published in the Weekly Gazette and the public newspapers.

A turn, however, came in 1833 when extensive and unusual calls were made on the Choultry on account of pressure of people from the interior and it was impossible to meet the heavy demand. The Governor, Sir Frederick Adam, granted the Committee a credit of Rs. 15,000 and even that was not enough. It was feared that starving and naked beggars congregating in one place which was hardly sufficient to house them might produce some malignant disease at the capital. There were gathered in this year at the choultry 14,877 people — surely a sight that would stagger any Government. Sir Adam therefore suggested to the Committee to send back as many as possible to their native districts under charge of police peons, provided the respective Collectors were prepared to receive them and put them to employment.

In this way several were sent to their respective districts and the balance standing to the credit of the Choultry at the end of the dispersal was little less than Rs. 1000/-. But this did not mean any weakening of the cause for which it stood. It soon gathered strength mainly from private donations and its fund rose to one lakh of rupees in another year. Mr. G. T. Clarke, the Treasurer of the institution for the year 1854-55, has published a succinct account of the Choultry from which we see that for twenty years from 1834-54 it had fed nearly a lakh of people every year without its fund diminishing.¹¹

It is unnecessary to follow its history thereafter to show what an important institution the Choultry has been. Its record of work during a long period is really wonderful; but what is more wonderful is that it is one of the few institutions that has successfully withstood trials of nearly 200 years and remains to this day in some form or other.

11. G. T. Clarke; *Monegar Choultry* (1854), Scotch Mission Press, Madras. 1929, pp. 1-79.

Mallar Plates of Pravararāja—Year 3

BY

BALCHANDRA JAIN, M.A.,

Sahityashastri,

M. G. M. Museum, Raipur

The plates which are being edited here, were discovered in the village of Mallār¹ of the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. They were handed over to me by the Tahsildar, Bilaspur, and they are now deposited in the M. G. M. Museum, Raipur.

The set consists of three plates, the first of which is inscribed on one side only and the second and the third on both the sides. There is only one line of writing on the second side of the third plate. Each plate measures 6·9" in length, 3·5" in breadth and about ·1" in thickness.

Each plate has a square hole for the seal-ring to pass through. The ring was passed through the holes in the plates and its two ends were joined to the seal. The ring has now been cut.

The edges of the plates are thickened and slightly raised to give protection to the writing. The weight of the three plates together is 62 tolas while the seal and ring weigh 30 tolas.

1. Other inscriptions known from Mallar are:—

- (I) Brāhmī inscription of Prajāvātī and Bhāradvājī. *Proc. of the Indian History Congress*, 1953.
- (II) CP inscription of Mahā-Sivagupta. *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 113ff.
- (III) Stone inscription of Jājalladeva II, K. S. 916. *Ibid.*, I pp; 39ff; CII, IV Part II, pp. 512ff.
- (IV) Damaged stone inscription of Kalachuri period, fixed in the floor of the house of Shri Amarnath Sao. Unnoticed.
- (V) CP inscription of Jayarāja—year 5, recently discovered and un-published.
- (VI) CP inscription of Jayarāja—year 9, recently discovered and un-published.
- (VII) CP inscription of Vyāghrarāja—year 4, recently discovered and un-published.

There are in all 24 lines of writing on the plates: I-6, II a-6, II b-5, III a-6, III b-1. The letters are well-formed and deeply engraved. The *characters* are of the box-headed variety and are more similar to those of the records of the Pāṇḍuvamśi kings of South Kosala. The length of medial ī is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form, medial au is tripartite and the sub-script r resembles the sign of the vowel ṛi. The final form of m occurs in line 15.

The *language* is Sanskrit and with the exception of the imprecatory verses at the end, the record is composed in prose. The inscription is some-what carelessly written. Anusvāra has often been unnecessarily used while it is omitted in two places. (See Sukha in line 12 and Datta in line 15). Medial ī is used for medial i in line 18, ś for s and sh for ś in line 14, medial i and d omitted in lines 6 and 14 respectively; t doubled wrongly in line 15.

For other mistakes see tāmbra for tāmra in line 10, ru for tsara in line 23, medial ā for visarga in line 17, ri for ṛi in line 9 and va for rvva and rvva for va in line 3. As regards *orthography*, a consonant preceding or following r is doubled in some cases, the latter v is used for b in line 9. The final m is wrongly changed to anusvāra in lines 14 and 21.

The Charter belongs to Śrī-Mahā-Pravararāja who, according to the legend on the seal, was son of Mānamātra and who had acquired the earth with his own hands. It was issued from Srī-pura by the king on the 2nd day of Pausa in the third year of his reign. It records the grant of a village named Mitragrāma situated in the Śaṅkhachakra bhōga to Śubhachandrasvāmin, son of Damodaragaṇa who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra and who was a Bahvricha.² The donor king was paramabhāgavata and the grant was made by him for the merit of his parents and himself. The record was inscribed by the scribe, Gōlasimha, who also engraved the Thakurdiya plates³ of this king and the Kauvatal plates⁴ of Sudevarāja.

2. Bahvrich means having many verses; generally applied to the R̥gveda. The donee was, therefore a R̥gveda Brāhmaṇa.

3. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXII.

4. *Ancient India* No. 5, p. 49; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, p. 12, No. A. 53.

The inscription does not give the date in any of the known eras of the Indian History nor it mentions the name of the family of Pravararāja. But he appears to have belonged to the line of the Śarabhapuriya kings of South Kosala. So far we did not know the name of the Vamśa of these kings, but the recently discovered Mallār plates of Vyāghrarāja have now helped us in that respect. The inscription which is written in the nail-headed characters informs that King Jaya-Bhaṭṭāraka and his son king Pravara-Bhaṭṭāraka were born in the Amarāryakulā.⁵ That there existed a Kula called Amarāryakula or Amarajakula in the South Kosala country, is also known from the Bamhani plates of Bharatabāla⁶ whose queen Lōkaprakāśā is said to have been born in that family.⁷ The meaning of the term 'Amararajakulajā of the Bamhani plates as "born in a divine family" as interpreted by the earlier scholars, does not seem to be correct.

Possibly, Lōkaprakāśā was a princess of Śarabhapura and was not born either in the Pāṇḍava family or the Śūravamśa as suggested by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra⁸ and Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi,⁹ respectively. Accordingly, the word Narendra found in the Bamhani plates does not stand for Vākātaka Narendrasena but refers to Narendra of Śarabhapura, who may have been a brother of Lokaprakāśā.

According to the seal attached to the plates studied here, king Pravararāja was son of Mānamātra who, from other records of the family, is known to have been son of Prasanna and father of another son named Sudevarāja¹⁰ and whose another name as revealed by Kauvatal plates,¹¹ was Durgarāja. Prasanna or Prasannamātra apparently belonged to the Śarabhapuriya family. He

5. Unpublished, line 4.

6. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXVII, pp. 132ff; *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Part I, pp. 215-19.

7. 'Jātā Yā Kosalāyāmamarajakulajā' in line 29 of the Bamhani plates.

8. *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, part I, pp. 215-19, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 32ff.

9. *Indica*, pp. 268ff.

10. *Ep. Ind.* vol. IX, p. 173 and vol. XXIII, p. 22.

11. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 49, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, p. 12, No. A53.

issued a number of gold coins in his own name¹² and probably founded the city of Prasannapura on the bank of the river Niḍilā as referred to in the unpublished Mallār plates of Vyāghrarāja. He was succeeded by his son Jayarāja who issued the Arang¹³ and the Mallār plates.¹⁴ On the ground of the unpublished Mallār plates of Vyāghrarāja, this Jayarāja can safely be identified with Mānamātra-Durgarāja, father of Sudevarāja and Pravararāja. No charters issued in the name of Mānamātra or Durgarāja have come to our knowledge; the relationship between Jayarāja and Mānamātra is also not mentioned in any of the family records. This leads one to think that the real name of the son and successor of Prasanna, was Jayarāja, Mānamātra and Durgarāja being his secondary names. Jayarāja had his capital at the city of Śarabhapura. He had three sons, the eldest of them Sudevarāja succeeded the father on the throne of Śarabhapura, while the second son named Pravararāja, being a brave and ambitious prince went to Śrīpura and established his seat there; the third son Vyāghrarāja was residing at Prasannapura.¹⁵ Pravararāja had a short reign and probably he died at a very young age, sometime after his third regnal year when the administration of Śrīpura also, went in the hands of Sudevarāja who was already ruling at Śarabhapura. That is why we get the charters of Sudevarāja issued from Śarabhapura and Śrīpura both in his seventh regnal year.¹⁶ This shows that both Śarabhapura and Śrīpura were the seats of the Government of Sudevarāja and it was he, not Pravararāja, in whose time the dynasty came to an end as a result of his defeat by the Pāṇḍuvamśis.

It seems probable that like Pāṇḍuvamśi kings of Mēkalā, the earlier Śarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the imperial Guptas, but as soon as the Gupta empire weakened, these kings assumed independent status. The statement in the Balaghat

12. *Proc. of 5th Oriental Conference*, Lahore; *IHQ*, IX and XV; *The Gupta-Vākāṭaka Age*, p. 87, f.n. 3; *JNSI*, XII, p. 8; *ASI. AR*, 1926-27, p. 230; *JNSI*, vol. XVI, pp. 216-18.

13. *CII*, vol. III, pp. 191ff; *ASR*, vol. XVII, pp. 55ff.

14. Two sets of copper plates dated in the regnal years 5 and 9 respectively, unpublished.

15. Vyāghrarāja issued the unpublished Mallār plates from Prasannapura.

16. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXIII, p. 22; vol. XXXI, p. 103. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 49, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy 1945-46*, pp. 12, No. 53.

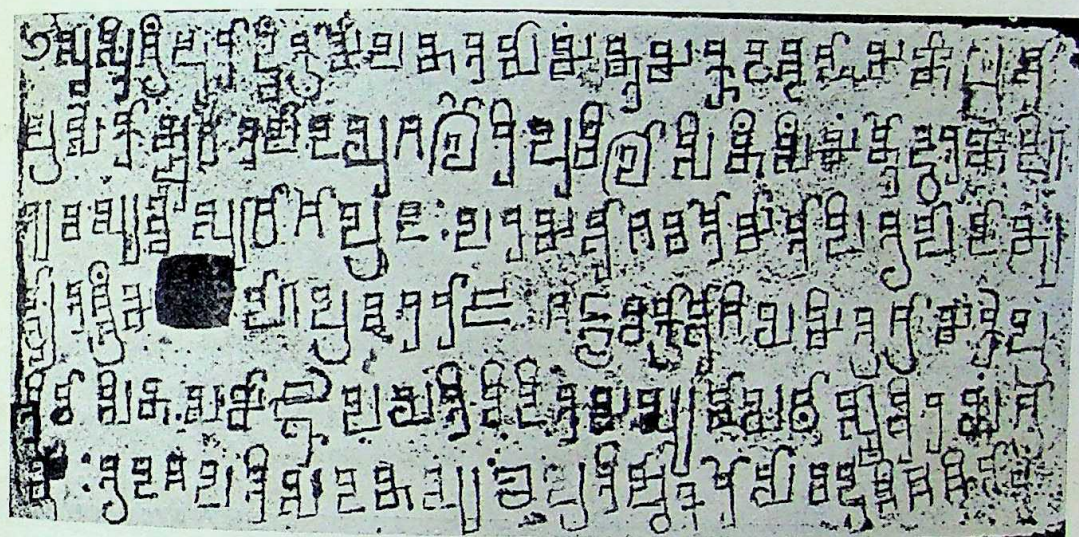


PLATE I

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

PLATE II a

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

PLATE II b

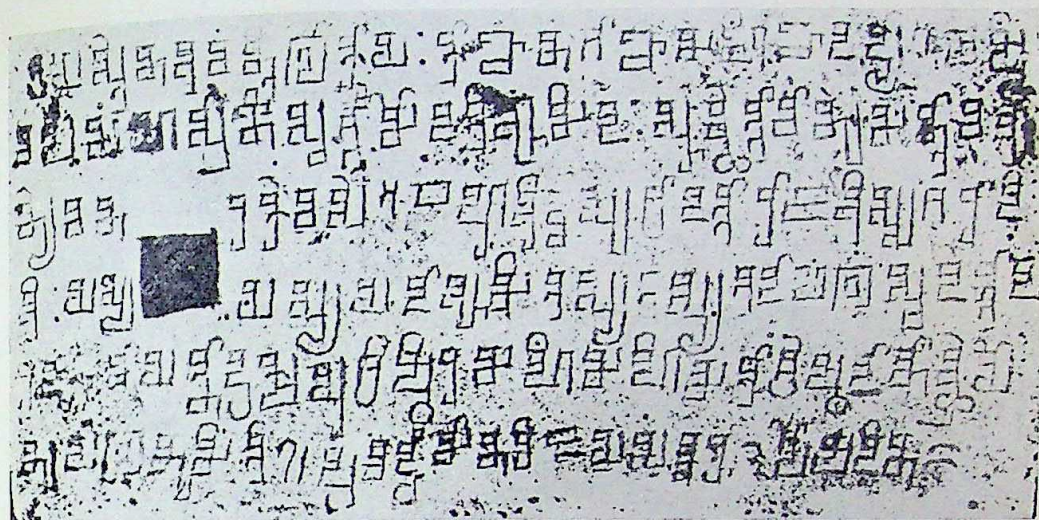


PLATE III a



PLATE III b



CHARTER

plates¹⁷ of Prithivīsheṇa II need not necessarily be taken to imply that the Śarabhapuriya kings honoured the command of the Vākātaka King Narendrasena. In fact, they, for a time, became the lords of a wider area than the Raipur and Bilaspur districts, and included the territory extending upto Chanda district in the West and the Cuttack in the east.¹⁸

Among the geographical names mentioned in the record Śrīpura, whence this grant was issued, has been identified with Sirpur in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. The modern village of Matiya situated in the Patwari circle No. 138 in Bilaspur district, possibly represents the gift village of Mitrāgrāma. For the identification of Śaṅkhachakrābhōga, I suggest Chakarbedha, situated in the same district.

17. *Ep. Ind.* vol. IX, p. 269.

18. *JNSI*, vol. XVI, part II, pp. 215-18.

TEXT¹

FIRST PLATE

1. ॐ² स्वस्ति [। *] श्रीपुराद्विक्रमोपनतसामं (म)न्तमकुटचूडामणिप्रभा-
2. प्रसेकाम्बुधौतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनीसीमं (म)न्तोद्धरणहे-
3. तुव (व्व) सुर्व (व) सुधागोप्रदः परमभागवतो मातापित्र (वृ) षादानु-
4. यातश्रीमहाप्रवरराजः शङ्खचक्राभोगियमित्रग्रामके प्र-
5. तिवासिनः समाज्ञापयति [। *] विदितमस्तु यथास्माभिरयं प्रा-
6. मः त्र (त्रि) दशपतिसदनसुखप्रतिष्ठाकरो यावद्विंशशितारा-

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

7. किरणप्रतिहतघोरान्धकारं जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः
8. सनिधिस्सोपनिधिरचाटभटप्रावेश्यः सर्व्वकरविसर्ज्जितः मा-
9. तापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिन्न (वृ)द्धये भारद्वाजसगोत्रव (व)हित्र (हृत्) चदामोद-
10. रग[ण] पुत्रशुभचन्द्रस्वामिने ताम्ब्र(स्र) शासनेनातिस्त्रि (सृ)ष्टः
11. ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयो (या) भूत्वा यथोचितं भोग-
12. भागमुपनयन्त सुख(खं) प्रतिवत्सस्य(स)थ [। *] भविष्यतश्च भू-

1. From the original plates and my ink impression.

2. Expressed by symbol.

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

13. मिपालाननुदश्यति [। *] दानाद्विशिष्टमनुपालनजं पुराणा
14. धर्म्मेषु निश्चितधियः प्रवदं (द)न्ति धर्म्मं (र्म्मम्) [। *] तस्मादि (द्दि)जाय
शु(सु)विषु (शु)द्धकुल-
15. श्रुताय दत्ता(तां)भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप्तुम् [॥ *] त(त)द्भवद्भिरप्येषा
16. दत्तिरनुपालयितव्या [। *] व्यासगीतांश्च श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [। *] अ-
17. [मंर]पत्य प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूवैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावा (वः) [। *] दत्ता

THIRD PLATE, FIRST SIDE

18. [ख]यस्तेन भवं(व)न्ति लोकाः यः काश्चनं गाश्च महीश्च दद्यात् [॥ १ *]
षष्ठी(ष्टि)
19. वर्षसं (स)हस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [। *] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
20. न्येव नरके वसेत् [॥ २ *] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादि-
21. मिः [। *] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) [॥ ३ *]
स्वदत्ता प-
22. रदत्ता वा यत्नाद्रक्ष्युधिष्ठिर [। *] मही महिम्तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो-
23. नुपालनमिति ॥ प्रवर्द्धमानविजयसंव्वरु (त्सर) ३ पौष दि २

THIRD PLATE, SECOND SIDE

24. उत्कीर्णं गोलसिद्धे (सिंहे) न ।

SEAL

1. मानमात्रसुतस्येदं स्वभुजोपाज्जि [तक्षि] ते [ः]
2. श्रीमत्प्रवरराजस्य [शासनं रिपुशासनं]

Kalyana, the Chalukyan Capital

BY

B. R. GOPAL, M.A., Ootacamund.

Modern Kalyāṇa in Bidar District of the present Mysore State once flourished as the famous capital of the Western Chālukyas from the 10th Century A.D. It is all the more famous because Basava, the founder of the Vīraśaiva cult, made it his seat of learning and preaching. When did Kalyāṇa become the capital of the Western Chālukyas? This question has remained unanswered for want of evidence.

Dr. Fleet wrote: "Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇapura which is the modern Kalyāṇi in the Nizam's Dominions is nowhere mentioned in the records of the earlier Chālukya period nor even in those of the Rāshtrakūṭa period. The earliest mention of it that I have been able to trace, is in an inscription of 1053 A.D., which speaks of it as the *neleviḍu* of the Western Chālukya King Sōmēśvara I."¹ Dr. Bühler, editing *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* wrote² that Sōmēśvara might not have founded Kalyāṇa which existed long before his time.

Mānyakhēṭa (modern Mālkhēḍ) had been the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas till their overthrow by Taila II, the Western Chālukya, and it seems to have continued to be the Capital even under Taila II, for, a record from Kākhaṇḍki in Bijapur District³ dated in 993 A.D.⁴ refers to Āhavamalla (Taila II) as ruling from Mānyakhēṭa.

It seems to have been the capital even under Taila's successors upto and during the reign of Jayasimha II. The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīra Rājendra Chōla, while recording his achievements, refers to his conquest over Jayasimha II wherein

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 335, footnote 1.
2. *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, Introduction p. 28.
3. *A.R.S.I.E.*, B. K. No. 170 of 1933-34.
4. The details of the given date are irregular. But the intended date seems to be 993 A.D.

it says that he made "Manyakhēṭa the playground of his army."⁵ The Karandai plates of Rājendra Chōla mention the fact that he proceeded against Mānyakhēṭa in order to fulfil the vow of his father Rājarāja I, who had declared that he would not have any recreation until he captured the city.⁶ These confirm the statement of Fleet that the capital of Western Chālukyas was at first Mālkhēḍ.⁷

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has, however, brought in the evidence of Tamil inscriptions which speak of the city of Kalyāṇa as an ancient city. The Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam inscription gives the details of the encounter between Chōla Rājādhirāja and Chālukya Sōmēśvara between circa 1044-46 A.D. In this record mention is made of Kalyāṇapuram which is said to have been sacked and razed to the ground. Therein the city is referred to as "Tonṇagar" i.e., an 'old city'.⁸ Prof. Sastri therefore suggested⁹ that it must have been at least a subsidiary capital for some years before the time when, according to Fleet, it was 'founded or developed into a capital' by Sōmēśvara I.

This view of Prof. Sastri cannot be accepted. The point of dispute is not that the city of Kalyāṇa did not exist before Sōmēśvara I made it the capital. It will be a 'pure mistake' of Dr. Fleet if the existence of the city itself is denied by him. And in so far of its being a subsidiary capital we have no direct evidence. It will be seen below that inscriptions refer to the capitals other than Kalyāṇa during the period of Jayasimha II, the father of Sōmēśvara I.

We may consider here those records of Jayasimha II which refer to his capitals. We understand from them that Ētagiri, Poṭṭalakere or Hoṭṭalakere and Kolliṇpāke were his *nelēvīḍus* or capitals on different dates. Two records from Rūgi¹⁰ and Bēgūr¹¹ dated 1019 and 1031 A.D. respectively refer to Ētagiri as his capital. Two

5. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, p. 119.

6. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 151.

7. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 427.

8. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V., No. 465.

9. *The Colas*, p. 277 (I Edition).

10. *A.R.S.I.E.*, B.K. No. 58 of 1937-38.

11. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, SK. 20.

records from Hallūr¹² and Bhairanmaṭṭi¹³ both dated Śaka 955 corresponding to 1033-34 A.D., refer to Kolliṭpāke as his capital. A copper-plate record from Sōnawāḍe dated Śaka 955 (1033 A.D.)¹⁴ and seven lithic records from Tammadhaḍḍi,¹⁵ Talēkhān,¹⁶ Kallihāl,¹⁷ Beḷagāmi,¹⁸ Māski,¹⁹ Kannolli²⁰ and Māṇṭūr²¹ respectively mention Hoṭṭalakere or Poṭṭalakere as the capital of the king. The first two of the lithic records also bear the same date as the copper-plate grant while the third is dated 1034 A.D., the fourth 1035 A.D., the fifth 1037 A.D., and the last two 1041 A.D. The name of this capital occurs in a slightly different form as Ghaṭṭadakere in another inscription of Jayasimha from Beḷagāmi dated in 1038 A.D.²²

This analysis will make it clear that between 1019 A.D., i.e., about four years after Jayasimha II succeeded his brother Vikramāditya V, and 1031 A.D. Ētagiri was his capital and later by about 1033 A.D. the capital was perhaps shifted to Hoṭṭalakere or Poṭṭalakere which continued to be so till about 1041 A.D., almost till the end of his rule. Immediately after the destruction of Mālkhēḍ, the Chālukyas seem to have moved to Ētagiri which was very near Mālkhēḍ. Ētagiri might be identified with Yādgir in the Gulbarga District of the Mysore State. Kolliṭpāke has been identified with Kulpak about 45 miles north-east of Hyderabad.²³ In the inscriptions found there it is 'invariably termed Kolliṭpāka'. So far as Poṭṭalakere is concerned, Dr. Fleet identified this with Daṇṇāyakanakere in the Bellary District, Mysore State.²⁴ But it has been rightly identified by Sri. Sivamurti Sastri with Poṭlacheruvu or Patancheru situated at a distance of about 18 miles north-west-

12. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, part I, No. 71.
13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 31.
14. *Journal of B.I.S.M.*, Vol. X, p. 88.
15. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, part I, No. 68.
16. *A.R.I.E.* 1957-58. App. B. No. 376.
17. *A.R.S.I.E.*, B.K. No. 122 of 1932-33.
18. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, SK. 126.
19. *A.R.I.E.*, App. B. No. 248 of 1953-54.
20. *A.R.S.I.E.*, B.K. No. 55 of 1936-37.
21. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, Pt. I No. 74.
22. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, SK. 153.
23. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 213-4; *Jour. Hyd. Arch. Soc.* January 1916, pp. 14 ff.
24. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 163.

north of Hyderabad.²⁵ It may be noted that this place, i.e., Hoṭala-kere has been referred to as the capital of Dēsinga or Jayasinhha II by Bhimakavi in his Kannada work *Basava-Purāṇa*.²⁶

As for Kalyāṇa referred to as the capital of the Western Chālukyas, we may examine here two inscriptions of Jagadēkamalla Jayasinhha II. The first epigraph from Rājūr²⁷ is dated Śaka 45869, Śrīmukha, Vaiśākha, śuddha, puṇṇame, Monday, Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa. The Śaka year quoted is obviously wrong. However, for Śrīmukha falling in the reign period of Jayasinhha II, the date corresponds regularly to 1033 A.D., April 16, Monday the corresponding Śaka year being 955. But the late characters of the record belie its genuineness.

The second record from Bijapur²⁸ is dated Śaka 958, Śrīmukha, Vaiśākha, śuddha, puṇṇame, Sunday, Uttarāyaṇasaṁkrānti. The details of this date also are irregular. The palaeography of this record also arouses a suspicion regarding its genuineness. Under the circumstances we cannot rely upon the evidence of these two records.²⁹

The earliest genuine reference hitherto known for Kalyāṇa as the capital of the Chālukyas is, however, furnished by an epigraph from Mānvi³⁰ in the Raichur District. It is dated Śaka 974 (1052 A.D.) in the reign of Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara I and is earlier by one year than the date of the inscription referred to by Dr. Fleet.

A still earlier record from Chikkerūr in Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District speaks of Kalyāṇa as the capital of this

25. P. B. Desai: *Jainism in South India*, p. 211-12.

26. *Basava-purāṇa*, sandhi 51.

27. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, part I, No. 69.

28. *A.R.S.I.E.*, B.K. 126 of 1933-34.

29. A copper plate grant from Dharwar (noticed in the *An. Rep. Arch. Sur. of India* for 1935-36, p. 101), purporting to belong to Vira-Noṇamba-Chakravarit bearing Western Chālukya *birudas*, refers to Kalyāṇapurī as his capital. A Vira-Noṇamba, son of Vira-Sōmēśvara is known as ruling over some outlying provinces of the Chālukyan empire in about 1046 A.D., and perhaps we may identify him with the Vira-Noṇamba of this grant. But then the characters of the record, a crude variety of Nāgari script, as also the date which is said to be Śaka 327 (mistake for 928 ?) question the genuineness of the grant.

30. *A.R.I.E.*, App. B. No. 256 of 1953-54.

king.³¹ The record is dated Śaka 970, ri, Śrāvaṇa, śu. 13, Monday corresponding regularly to 1048 A.D., July 25, the cyclic year being Sarvadhāri. Yet another record from Mudgal³² also refers to Kalyāṇa as his capital. The record is unfortunately damaged and only the Śaka year 970 and the cyclic year Sarvvajit can be read. The date falls in 1047-48 A.D.

A record from Sirivaram in Bellary District³³ dated Śaka 966, Tāraṇa, Vaiśākha, śu. 5, Thursday, corresponding to 1044 A.D., April 15 refers to the king Trailōkyamalla Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) as ruling from Poṭṭalakere when Pallavarasa, a subordinate of Udayādityadēva and Puliyanna, made a gift of village to Jyēstharaśi Bhaḷāra. From this record it will be seen that Poṭṭalakere continued to be the Chālukyan capital till 1044-45 A.D.

The above facts make it clear that Kalyāṇa became the capital of the Western Chālukyas during the early years of the reign of Sōmēśvara, sometime between 1045 A.D., and 1047 A.D.

I am indebted to the Government Epigraphist for India for his kind permission to utilise the unpublished records stored in his office in preparing this article.

31. This inscription was copied by me in course of my epigraphical survey of that Taluk and is noticed in *A.R.I.E.* for 1957-58 (App. B. No. 253).

32. This was copied by my colleague Sri S. H. Ritti and is also noticed in *A.R.I.E.* for 1957-58. (App. B. No. 365).

33. *S.I.I.*, vol. IX, part I, No. 98.

Vaiśālī Pedestal Inscription of Śrī Chandeśvara Dated La Sam. 239

BY

SHRI V. MISHRA, M.A.,

*Assistant Superintendent, Department of Archaeology,
South-Western Circle, Aurangabad—Dn.*

This inscription which is published here for the first time was discovered in the district of Muzaffarpur, North Bihar, and at present housed in the Vaiśālī Museum.¹

The epigraph consists of two lines and is encircled by straight lines on all the four sides. It is in a fairly good state of preservation, except for the last *akshara* of the second line.

The object of the epigraph is to record the fact that this simple pedestal on which there would have been an image is the work of Shri Chandeśvara.

The characters used belong to the Maithilī alphabet of the 14th century A.D. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first dated inscription of Śrī Chandeśvara.

Text

Line 1—La Sam. 239 Shogharavatti.

Line 2—Śrī Chandesarasya kriti.

1. This epigraphic was collected by Babu Bijali Singh of Chak Ram Das, whose collection of antiquities is the nucleus of the Vaiśālī Museum, Muzaffarpur.

Translation

Work of Shogharavatti Śrī Chandeśvara dated La Sam. 239.

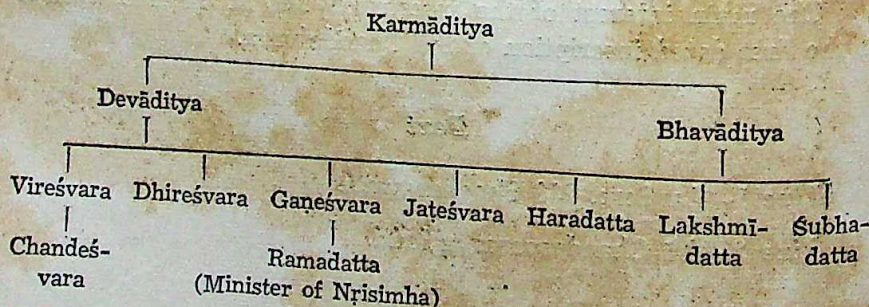
Date—It is a dated epigraph. According to the scholars and which seems to be more reasonable, the La Sam. era started in the year 1119/20 A.D., i.e., 1358/59 A.D. + 239 La Sam.).

'Shogharavatti'—The meaning of the word 'Shogharavatti' is not clear. The letter 'gha' may be 'pu'. In that case, it will be 'Shopuravatti'. The first letter may also be 'Shau'. The fourth letter 'va' in this word is not clear. In Mithilākshara we do not have 'va' like this. Taking into consideration all these different readings, the meaning of the word is not clear.

Śrī Chandeśvara—Who is this Chandeśvara? From the literary sources we know that there was Śrī Chandeśvara Thakkura who flourished during this period. He is not always mentioned as Śrī Chandeśvara Thakkura. We find in the *Rājanīti Ratnākara*² of Śrī Chandeśvara that he has described himself as 'Mantrināmāryyah Śrīmān Chandeśvarah Kriti'. In the same book he has called himself 'Śrī Chandeśvara Mantrinā'.

He is the most prominent personality among the Maithila digest writers. He has written a number of books. From his books we know a great deal of his family and personal history. According to the 'Vivāda Ratnākara', he was a mantrin who was entrusted with the office of Minister for peace and war.³

From his nibandhas we can have the genealogy of Chandeśvara's family:



2. *Rājanīti Ratnākara*, Ed. by K. P. Jayaswal, p. 1.

3. 'Saparakriyamahāsandhivigrahikathakkuramantrivara Śrī Vireśvarāt-majasaparakriya Mahāsāndhivigrahikathakkura Śrichandeśvaravirachite.



Vaiśālī Pedestal Inscription of Shri Chandésvara, dated La Sam. 239

The members of Chandeśvara's family were holding high and distinguished posts. According to the *Śaṅkha Sūtra* one of his uncles Gaṇeśvara presided over the council of the feudatory rulers of Mithilā. Besides in his son Ramdatta's book '*Chāndogya-mantroddhāra*', Gaṇeśvara is described as '*Mahārājadhirājasya Mahāsāmantapālino Mahāmattakeśasya Śriganēśvarasūnunaḥ*'. Thus we may conclude that these ministers were feudal barons. Therefore they were in a position to erect monuments and palaces. Devāditya, Vireśvara and Chandeśvara are noted in literature for their liberality.⁴

The famous poet-laureate and scholar, Vidyapati, was a descendant in the third generation from Chandeśvara's uncle Dhireśvara. According to Vidyapati, Harisimhadeva who flourished about seventy years or so earlier was a contemporary of the Yādava king Rāmadeva of Devagiri, modern Daulatabad in the District of Aurangabad. Rāmadeva was also a patron of a Hindu Digest writer Hemādri, who was also his mantri. Malik Kafur invaded Devagiri in 1309 A.D. and the king Rāmadeva died next year. So his contemporary must have come to the throne before 1310 A.D.

We also know from the *Vivādaratnākara* that Chandeśvara weighed himself against gold on the banks of the Bāgmati in sāka 1236 (1314 A.D.) after conquering Nepal.⁵

Chandeśvara writes in his *Rājanītiratnākara* that he composed this Ratnākara on the instructions from king Bhavēśa.⁶ This king Bhavēśa could not be a predecessor of king Harisimhadev because he had already seen two previous generations of Sri Chandeśvara. So king Bhavēśa must have succeeded after king Harisimhadeva.

4. For the liberality of Devāditya, Vireśvara and Chandeśvara see *Kṛitya Ratnākara*, *Kṛitya Chintāmaṇi* and *Purusha Parikshā* of Vidyapāti.

5. Śrichandeśvaramantriṇā matimatānena Nepālākṣilabhūmipālajayinā dharmendudugdhābdhinā vāgvatiyāḥ saritstāte surdhunīsāmyam dadhatgāḥ śuchau mārge māsi yathoktapurṇya samaye dattastulāpurushah... Rasaguṇa-bhujachandraiḥ sammite śākavarshe sahasi dhavalpakshe vāgvatisindhutīre. Adita tulitamuchchairātmanā svarṇaraśim nidhirākṣhilaguṇānamuttamah Somanāthah. (Interior verse).

6. Rājña Bhavēśenajñāpto Rājanītinibandhakam.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय

NOT TO BE ISSUED

Who is this king Bhavēśa? We know that after the death of Harisimhadeva, a new dynasty was set up by Firuz Shah Tughlaq under Kāmeśvara Thakura of Sugauna. He was probably the Rājaguru of ex-sovereigns of Mithila. King Bhavēśa or Bhavasimha belonged to this dynasty. He seems to have become king near about 1370 and our Chaṇḍeśvara would have been about 85 or so. Thus we see that Śrī Chaṇḍeśvara was alive till 1370 A.D.

The Vaiśālī epigraph is of the year 1358/59 A.D. (119/20 A.D.—239 La Sam.). So there is very little doubt that this epigraph was not inscribed without the instructions of Śrī Chaṇḍeśvara.

Dutch Victories in Malabar 1661-62

CAPTURE OF CRANGANORE

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A., Ph.D.

In order that no precious time might be lost, it was decided by the Dutch to divide the forces. Commandeur Roothaes was sent in advance with the ships *Zeepard*, *Goudsbloem*, *Vlissingen*, *Tholen*, *Bloembendaal*, *Kat*, *Schelvis*, and *Romein* and some shallows to occupy Cranganore and Cochin. But just when Roothaes desired to depart there took place the second disaster during this expedition. The ship *Zeepard* caught fire. All too soon small fires broke out on this ship. Fortunately they were soon put out. This time it was so violent that the frightened crew had for the most part already fled and already the cable had been cut through to a skein. Through this rashness, the ship ran into the danger of being dashed against the shore and being lost irrevocably.

The courageous and energetic conduct of the bargemen, Messrs. Symonsz and Cornelis, prevented this calamity. With the naked sword, they drove the people again to the ship and managed with great bravery to set bounds to the fire and especially to take overboard the gunpowder, 10,000 pounds, before it was reached by the fire. But through the large quantity of fire-extinguishing water that they had got in the hold all the match was damaged so that it appeared that "God, our Lord took away from us openly the means for preventing the total thwarting of our designs". Misfortune never comes single and there quickly followed a new calamity. At the moment that, after the departure of Roothaes, the other ships wanted to depart on the 19th December, there broke out on the night of the 18th-19th, in spite of the fact that it was the time of the good monsoon, a violent storm from the south-east which grew into a real hurricane. As well within as without Quilon, even fifty to sixty-year-old trees were pulled out by the roots. When in the day-time the wind began to turn to the south-west, the ships stood in great danger of being dashed against the cliffs and rocks. The ship *Vlieland* had already lost two anchors

and none of the ships of this fleet was provided with a hold. The ship the '*Raadhuis*' lost its last heavy anchor in the evening but remained afloat in a wonderful manner in an opening between the cliffs where the main force of the surf appeared broken by the rocks situated round about while the ship still remained only fastened to its last bow anchor. It became involved in great peril when in the evening the rudder was knocked off and the whole of the anchor and ropes was stripped. The stern was so damaged that already more than five feet of water stood in the hold. Men fired for help, but none of the other ships could offer that. It was due to the great courage of the bargeman De Beer that the ship remained safe. The ship turned round not a little so that no one could escape from the ship without being dashed against the cliffs by the surfs. The following day the weather was somewhat calmed and the storm abated so that the bargeman, Mr. Symonsz of the *Noteboom*, had opportunity to go on board with some vessels and help the exhausted crew whose courage had already been allowed to sink. The ship was pumped dry and they did not know how to get it floated again. A great quantity of gunpowder and lead also got lost by this disaster. For Van Goens this was a token "in which we could so openly see God's perceptible wrath and manifest opposition" and it seemed that "while we were fighting against our enemies, the Lord God was fighting against us". Besides these ammunitions of war without which they could perform nothing of importance, three of the best sloops and nine of the Tuticorin vessels were beaten into chips against the shore whereby the Dutch missed the means for landing a combined force and to this was to be added the damage to anchors, ropes and further rigging. What agonies and what perils the ship's crew had suffered are shown in the lively description of Schouten whose ship, the *Rode Leeuw*, had to put up with no less ills. It is to be wondered that the subsequent landings still turned out so well and this is solely to be ascribed to the fact that the enemy dared not exploit the advantage he had over the Dutch. The fierce storm had the consequence that the ships which were still safe had first to be calked. Again a loss of the still all too tightly measured time! To recuperate the loss suffered, the galliot, the *Parkeit*, was sent without delay to Ceylon for securing for the fleet as much gunpowder and match as the men in Colombo and Gale could spare. To the bargeman a bonus was promised if he accomplished the journey to Ceylon and back in one month.

On the 30th December, the greatest part of the fleet appeared in front of Cochin. Only the *Raadhius* and the *Beurs* were left behind in front of Quilon—the *Raadhius* for making its new rudder and stopping its leak, for which purpose, for the first time, two pumps were worked day and night; the *Beurs* remained with the Commandeur Godske still in front of Quilon to continue the peace negotiations with the natives and to put the transactions in order.

On coming in front of Cochin, the Dutch perceived that the enemy had already been informed by the English of the Dutch and because of that knowledge, had received from Goa, a reinforcement of 15 frigates with men and ammunition. The Portuguese had greatly improved their fortifications. The old wall was hidden behind an earthen rampart with strong points and snare preventions according to European invention. They were amply supplied with artillery and ammunition by the English. A few days before the arrival of Roothaes in front of Cochin, a big English ship sailed out of that harbour. A ship trading towards Surat—a trading ship—still remained inside. At Goa they were already informed of the imminence of the marriage between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza and the contract that had been concluded between the two countries of England and Portugal. Hence they considered the future to be less dark and it was firmly decided to receive the Dutch hotly. It appeared obvious that here the arbitration of war alone should decide. As during the intervening time all had been very much supplied with necessaries, delay would be fatal to both and they had to attack another Portuguese fortress. It was indeed now apparent that it was impracticable to attack Diu. At least 500 or 600 soldiers had to be sent back to Ceylon for the safety of the island. Also they had to leave behind more men in Ceylon and that of a better class than there were at the moment. The city moreover required a strong fortification. The Company was, to their honour, obliged to be master in Malabar. If they now aimed at Diu and their men passed by the Malabar Coast, then the enemy would imagine that the Dutch respected their power.

It was certain that the enemy had with the reinforcements sent a large number of soldiers to the fortress of Cochin and Cranganore which could easily trick the Dutch out of Malabar. Not less had the Dutch to take into account the wishes of the Zamorin. He urged them, in his own interests, to conquer Cran-

ganore before taking Cochin. This went against the wishes of the leader of the expedition who would rather have directed their entire forces as speedily as possible against Cochin. But they could not then incur the wrath of the Zamorin, for they were wholly dependent on his land for the supply of provisions for the army.

Besides, Cranganore controlled the connecting roads from Cochin to Cannanore and Goa along which roads the Portuguese could send reinforcements. If in the matter of Cranganore the Dutch did not yield to the Zamorin's wishes, then he would easily change from a friend to an enemy. The draft of the treaty which Van der Meyden had concluded in the previous year was very little according to the mind of Van Goens. He thought it not only premature but also rather imprudent to deliver to this prince half of the booty of Cochin and Cranganore and, what was further most unprofitable, only on $\frac{2}{3}$ of the pepper which the Malabar Coast produced could the Company lay hands. Where remained now the much desired total trade monopoly? The Portuguese had at least reserved to themselves the entire stock of pepper and cinnamon. With regard to Cochin Van Goens was firmly resolved to make the *Mootatavazhi*, the claimant to the Cochin throne, a willing instrument whom the Company should assist in everything that he but desired. Most factors pleaded in favour of an attack on Cranganore. Here, the prince of the land was at any rate on the side of the Dutch. Besides, the latter learned that 500 Portuguese lay in garrison inside the town. If the Dutch became masters of the fortress, then these 500 were at least shut out from further supporting Cochin later. The attack on Cranganore wherein they had the advantage of landing on the territory of a friendly prince called for less hardship to the inexperienced and sickness-harassed men than the attack on Cochin "although this was the bride for whom we danced". Cranganore was situated five Dutch miles (1 Dutch mile=4 English miles) north of Cochin and 20 Dutch miles south of Calicut; the town lay near the mouth of the Cranganore river. The Cranganore fort was situated somewhat close to the sea and could for a long time resist the attack of European soldiers. The wall had seven strong bulwarks and three ramparts of earth. During the time of the Portuguese, Cranganore was the seat of an Archbishop. In the town there was found a Jesuit monastery of considerable standing with a large library. Besides a Franciscan

Church there was the Cathedral or Chief Church with a burial ground of the Archbishops. Besides Cranganore, they had the College of Chanotte (Chennamangalam), a training institute for the clergy of the St. Thomas Christians where at the same time the native youths were instructed. To this an end would come by the Dutch conquest. It was not without uneasiness that the clergyman Baldaeus saw the return of the population to heathendom as the Company was wanting in sufficient strength to continue the mission work of the Catholics apart further from the fact that the population themselves showed aversion of Protestantism.

After the appearance of the Dutch ships in front of Cranganore, the Zamorin and the King of Cranganore, with various Malabar nobles and their retinue came to greet Van Goens and promised him their help. They promised to instruct him about the best routes for attacking Cranganore from the landside. Further, the army would be profusely supplied with provisions. A large military force of Nairs would come to help against the Portuguese. Meanwhile the Commandeur Godske had arrived with the *Raadhius* and the *Beurs* in the fleet which was now again complete.

On the 2nd January 1662 they risked the landing on Cranganore soil. While the disembarked troops marched through the Malabari Cranganore, they passed the king's palace where the princes and the nobles were assembled to observe their marching past. Wouter Schouten who on the order of the Surgeon-major of the army was transferred from the ship the *Roode Leeuw* to the admiral's ship, the *Noteboom*, to perform the duties of the Chief Surgeon there received orders to go on land with all his outfit and was then further to be present at all military operations. The first night the Dutch camped near a large tank or water basin under the shelter of the leaves of the trees. They, however, suffered great cold. "in the long thrusting wet grass; the green field served as a bed to us, the blue heavens for shelter and the elbows for pillows so that the fog did not injure us much". When the Dutch drew near to, and obtained sight of the hostile town on the following day, they perceived that it would cost more work and blood than they had thought before. Also, the enemy had here enclosed the old fortifications with a new earthen rampart strengthened with three points on the

landside. The Dutch were astonished over the unusual diligence which now became very inconvenient to them. They had now to start with a formal siege. All requisites for the same were brought to the land and they immediately began the work. It was obvious that very little help was to be expected from the Zamorin in spite of his promises. No provisions were supplied to the Dutch. He was not willing even to furnish coolies until they had promised not to abandon Cranganore before they had captured Cochin. Even for good money they could get nothing. This was an ill luck which made itself felt acutely especially during the first days as, firmly persuaded of the Zamorin's help, they had not brought sufficient provisions from the ships to the shore. Also on Wouter Schouten whose entire stock consisted of some rusk and a little cheese "hung the low empty stomach already quick, valiant, wry and crooked". He tried to have his further stock of provisions fetched from his ship. But this went amiss as his slave whom he had admitted on board to carry his goods made a feast of the stocks of his master with the slaves of other commanders, "having indeed mixed finely with each other all that I had kept for a sick and needy day out of fear, as he afterwards wished to say, that the same should have been destroyed so that I must know that my faithful orderly had been wholly prudent". Luckily, the famine in the army did not last long as Van Goens caused sufficient provisions to be supplied from the ships. The Zamorin excused himself pretending that his subjects dared not go to the army out of fear that evil should befall them. The Dutch now obtained permission to buy what they wished in the Malabaree Cranganore. The Zamorin complained that in the previous year the Dutch departed without any previous communication and left him behind a prey to his enemies. Diverse trenches were dug in concentric circles round the town from which they shelled Cranganore vehemently on walls, towers, houses and churches, the men labouring day and night and not receiving the least help from the Zamorin. Batteries were thrown up and terribly strengthened with gabions and heavy artillery. The bombardment of the Dutch was answered by a formidable cannon fire of the Portuguese. The circumstances in which these activities took place were indeed very unfavourable. During the nights a bitter cold prevailed and in the daytime intolerable sunshine. The soldiers, without any shelter, were obliged to entrench themselves like moles under the earth, a state of

affairs which naturally could not last long in this manner. They did not wish to have the trenches dug nearer than a stone throw's distance from the town. But when they approached here, the great fear of the very inexperienced soldiers was obvious. The entire troops took to flight even before they had seen the enemy while they let the officers alone stand on the field. As a deterrent example for these "heroes", two were condemned to the gallows.

The fleet also co-operated as much as possible in the operations. The smallest heavy ships received charge to sail up the river of Cranganore as far as possible to cut off supplies to the enemy. Meanwhile both parties had to suffer over and again from a heavy bombardment. The Portuguese dared not thrust their heads before they received from the Dutch trenches a multitude of small bullets "as a salutation and honour", but they shot back bravely. Round the digging soldiers the bullets whizzed from all sides. With sloping trenches the town was continually closely approached and the men came so near that they could understand the scornful cry of the Portuguese whom the Dutch could not have addressed in quite a friendly manner. The bombardment continually worked greater havoc now that the cannon stood at such a short distance from the town.

Every evening the enemy made a sally whereby he tried with great heroism to break through the defensive works which however miscarried at every turn; they could then be greeted with a vehement round and again be obliged to withdraw with great loss. Continually these sallies were made on the region of Godske and not on that of Van Goens or Roothaes. The young Schouten who found here adventures to his taste naturally did not take part in warlike operations proper. He was incorporated with the regiment of Isbrand Godske and had therefore to take care of the wounded. Because they found round about the town nothing but level fields on one side and a long river on the other side without any houses, tents or huts, they had confusedly set up quickly and dexterously a hospital of bamboo and palm branches. The surgeon major of the fleet and the camp was a native of Picardy called Darsycour who had behind him already a war-experience of fifteen years with a very large knowledge of the curing and healing art. Schouten on his part showed much praise for this experienced and qualified surgeon. Darsycour ordered Schouten to bandage the wounded of the regiment of Godske and have them transferred to

the hospital to be found with the regiment of Van Goens. But both the surgeons attached to Godske were to see that they provided themselves with a shelter aside from the trenches. They made a hut of branches and tree leaves coped from above with palm leaves. Here they were sheltered from the severe cold in the night and the violent heat in the day-time.

Through the continual sorties of the enemy the surgeon Schouten obtained a good deal of opportunities for the treatment of the many wounded who fell victims to the attacks of these Portuguese. In the midst of these flutes of cannon balls the wounded had to be bandaged and transported to the hospital. The besiegers now approached very closely under the walls and towards the fortification which the Portuguese had made near the river side. In this fortification served the deserters who becoming so degenerate, obscene and unfaithful, had deserted to the enemy and now received Van Goen's men not only with cannon balls but also with vulgar abuse.

At last the Zamorin sent a number of armed Nairs who were to assist the Dutch in the fight. But in the siege they were of little use to Van Goens. Their proper weapons were their knives and swords while they could only very badly handle shooting guns. Mostly they shot in the wild way with heads turned aside without proper aim.

When Van Goens learned from a spy of the miserable condition of the Portuguese in Cranganore, he resolved on an assault. A day previously, he had, in obedience to his instructions, caused the town to be claimed with offer of the copy of the articles drawn up by the Lords Seventeen wherein their religion and possessions remained guaranteed. As Van Goens anticipated, these proposals were rejected. The Portuguese answered that they still had too much blood in their veins to be unfaithful to their lord and master, the king of Portugal, and too much courage still rested with them for their causing Cranganore to fall into the hands of the enemy so cowardly. Immediately the fight was resumed. In the town the soldiers of the garrison alone were still mainly present as the married for the most part had departed with their wives and children.

In order that more time might not be allowed to pass, an attack was risked at mid-day on the 15th January in the heat

of the day against a fenced part of the city protected only by the Nairs. The enemy was just engaged in performing religious worship in the churches where the mass was celebrated. Hence it was very still and there were almost no artillery. To mislead the enemy, all flags were left behind on the entrenchments and batteries. In complete silence, they advanced to a place which according to a spy was the weakest. Prayer was said in the trenches at the foot of a hill by the Reverened Baldaeus while the soldiers stood away crowded round him. Shortly after this, alarm was made cunningly at the other side of the town to allure the enemy thither. Under the cover of the smoke of the cannon fire the Dutch dashed against the bulwarks during a loud war cry while the more experienced soldiers stimulated the less courageous ones, but were received here very hotly with hand granades, fire-pots and cannon balls of the Portuguese. The Portuguese as well as the natives defended themselves impetuously against the rushing violence. Finally, by means of the throwing of hand grenades the Dutch obtained space and pressed so dashingly through fire, flame, smoke and weapons and violence of the enemy that they reached the bulwark in the town. The Dutch now carried their storming ladders to a defensive work of the town near the river. This was also taken. But the enemy still did not relinquish all resistance and again made a dash. The Portuguese Commander, Urbano Fialha Fereira, came to help his people and faced them until finally he was severely wounded, fell down and was taken prisoner. All fortifications along the river were taken by Van Goens' troops. The Portuguese could not any more keep up the fight and went back to a Jesuit church, yet fighting. When Van Goens observed that the enemy had made off from there, he was of opinion that the despairing enemy could cause still greater loss. He therefore caused an offer of peace to be made desiring rather to preserve one of the Dutch than slay many enemies. The Portuguese accepted the peace proposal and surrendered themselves to the Dutch with about 350 men. The enemy had to mourn about 50 dead in the town. Several Portuguese had fled over the river to Cochin. Some of them were drowned. The Nairs also had suffered very severe losses; not less than 500 or 600 of them were killed or drowned in the flight over the river. Yet a very considerable number of Nairs with the prince Godavarma, the youngest brother of the King of Cochin, who at the head of his Nairs had assisted the Portuguese, had managed to

escape. To the Dutch side the losses were likewise very heavy—20 dead and 80 wounded among whom were experienced officers such as Captains Poolman and Schuylenburch, six lieutenants and four ensigns. Day and night Van Schouten with his colleagues was busy bandaging all the wounded and rescuing them from cannon balls. The hospital appeared much too small, but after the capture of the town one of the biggest churches was set up as a hospital. Even that Church could not contain all the wounded and they were brought to the towers and cells of the neighbouring cloister. The dispensary and the surgeon's shop were placed in front of the altar where the priest used to read the mass. Even cooks and sailors had to render service as Visitors of the Sick.

The conditions of surrender which the Dutch accorded to the Portuguese were fairly moderate. By the treaty which Van Goens, in the name of the United East India Company, concluded with the Second in Command of Cranganore, the Portuguese were permitted to have all their troops march out with flying standards and beating drums so that they might be disarmed before the Dutch Commander after which they would be taken back to Europe. The Topasses and free natives were allowed to remain staying in the town. To the Romish clergy, a longer stay there was denied. At the first opportunity they were sent to Goa. Similarly, all free married and unmarried women were to be transported to Cochin and Goa. Lastly, the Company laid hands on Portuguese goods (in particular, war material) and slaves present in the town. The Dutch made their entry in the captured town. In one of the churches seized for the reformed worship, a thanksgiving and prayer service were held by the Reverend Baldaeus for this good "victory".

A few days later, on the 18th January (1662), the Zamorin with some other princes, among them the King of Cranganore, and diverse high nobles came to congratulate the Dutch Admiral. These high personages were received very festally and honourably under loud booming of cannon. The Dutch allowed the princes to have a look at the sights of the capital town. In this journey they also came into the hospital. As the Zamorin's Nairs had not taken part in the combat, there were no subjects of his among the wounded—a circumstance whereof Van Goens utilised to make the great prince look more or less embarrassed by asking

him how many wounded he had to mourn. As the prince had thereupon to give a negative reply, Van Goens pointed out to him that he could then provide an abundance of fruits, flesh and vegetables to those poor wounded who had poured their blood not only for the Dutch but also for him, the Zamorin, by fighting the enemies of them both, the Portuguese.

Immediately, siegeworks were levelled to the ground, the war material in the town hauled, the fire extinguished, and the ramparts and walls repaired. However, if Nieuhof could be believed, not much more remained standing after the capture and plunder of the town. The wounded Portuguese were brought into the hospital church where they were very well looked after. The Commander-in-Chief, Fialho Fereira, whose whole body had been shot, was attended to by the surgeon-major himself. But this was of no avail. Before long, he died of the wounds he had received. He was given an honourable burial by Van Goens.

With perceptible satisfaction Schouten narrates the execution of the Dutch deserters who had gone over to the Portuguese—persons who had invited their own countrymen from outside the town to the gallows and who had now to hang there themselves. Two others came there indeed with terror as they were reprieved under the gallows. On account of their agitation, they had immediately to be bled by Shouten. One happened to relate, although according to Shouten cunningly and without foundation, that he had seen the heavens already open before him and the angels ready to lead his soul there.

After the capture of Cranganore the Dutch made themselves ready to attack Cochin. Therefore they again brought on board most of the artillery and further necessary implements. In Cranganore there remained behind only the sick and wounded, about 200 in number.

Origin of Maya in Sankara's Philosophy

BY

R. B. JOSHI

Now let us turn to our third point to be proved that (III) Sankara is influenced by Buddhism. The Buddhist influence on Sankara is usually traced in two ways. According to one way, it is believed that Sankara was directly influenced by the Buddhist thought. According to the second way, it is believed that the line of the Buddhist influence on Sankara is to be traced through Gaudapada, who was the teacher of Sankara's teacher. But I hold that Sankara is influenced by Buddhism in his doctrine of Maya in both the ways.

Let us, therefore, now turn to Gaudapada. In Gaudapada we find the first important teacher in the orthodox line in the post-Buddha period.

Gaudapada is claimed to be the founder of Advaita Vedanta.¹ He is also claimed to be the teacher of Sankara's teacher. In order to know the philosophy of Gaudapada we have to turn to his celebrated work the "Mandukyakarika". The "Mandukyakarika" is also known as the Gaudapadakarika or the Gaudapadiyakarika and also as the Agamasastra. This work, which is supposed to be an exposition of a short Upanishad called the Mandukya, is the only source for us to understand the philosophy of Gaudapada.²

1. Cf. "The doctrine of Absolute Monism (Advaitavada) was first revealed in brief by Sri Gaudapadacharya. Afterwards it was formally propounded as a system of philosophy by Sri Sankaracharya. Thereafter it was fully expounded by his direct followers like Mandana, Suresvara, etc. Subsequently it was ably defended by Nrisimhasrama, Madhusudhana Saraswati, Brahmananda, etc., against the vigorous attacks of the upholders of Dualism (Dvaita), qualified Monism (Visishtadvaita), Pure Monism (Suddhadvaita), etc. and finally it was popularised by such later celebrated Advaita teachers as Dharmarajadhvarindra, Appayya Dikshita, etc.—"(Mahamohopadhyaya Ananta Krishna Sastri: Vedāntaraksāmaṇiḥ, English Introduction, p. 5).

2. There are some other works too attributed to Gaudapada, which are viz. Uttaragitavritti, Sankhyakarikabhaṣya, Nrisimhottara—tapaniya—Upani-

In this Gaudapadakarika we meet for the first time the word *Maya* used by a teacher belonging to the orthodox line in the sense which clearly suggests the meaning of the word as used by Sankara. The word occurs in this work of Gaudapada at no less than sixteen places,³ and at all these places it clearly bears the sense which is significant to understand Sankara's use of the word and which clearly suggests Sankara's sense. And it should be noted here that it has generally been held for long that Gaudapada's philosophy as found in his *karika* has been influenced by the Buddhist philosophy. But this view has been vigorously challenged. Let us, therefore, now turn to the consideration of the points involved in this controversy.

The grounds, on which it has been held by one writer, Prof. V. Bhattacharya⁴ that Gaudapada has been influenced by Buddhism, are mainly the similarity between Gaudapada and Buddhism with regard to the terminology, the phrases, the illustrations, the arguments, and the doctrines. Another writer, Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan,⁵ who has challenged the view of the above writer Prof. V. Bhattacharya and who has criticised in detail all the grounds adduced by Prof. Bhattacharya in support of his view, maintains that Gaudapada has borrowed only the terminology, the phrases, the illustrations, and the arguments from Buddhism, but not the doctrines. But Dr. Mahadevan's view is untenable and the grounds, on which he bases his view, are unconvincing. In the discussion that follows this will become much clearer.

Dr. Mahadevan says, "The *Mayavada* or *Vivartavada* is implicit in the teachings of the Upanishads. Of the Upanishadic seers, we see in *Yajnavalkya* a doughty champion of the trans-phenomenal (*niṣprapañca*) view. Gaudapada is only a continuator of *Yajnavalkya*'s thought and not an innovator who introduced alien ideas

shad—bhāṣya, *Durgasaptasatibhāṣya*, *Subhagodaya*, and *Srividyaratnasutra*. As Gaudapada's authorship of these works is doubtful, I have here confined myself to the *Mandukyakarika* alone.

3. Vide *Gaudapadakarika*, I. 7,16,17; II. 12,19,31; III. 10,19,24,27,28,29; IV. 44, 58, 59, 61.

4. Prof. V. Bhattacharya: *The Agamaśāstra of Gaudapada* (The Text of *Gaudapadakarika* edited with an Introduction, Translation, and Annotations), Published by Calcutta University, 1943, introduction.

5. Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan: *Gaudapada—A Study In Early Advaita*, University of Madras, 1952, pp. 196-220.

into Vedanta."⁶ As regards Dr. Mahadevan's statement that Maya-vada is implicit in the teachings of the Upanishads, it should be remembered that in our examination of the contents of the Upanishads we have already proved that there is no doctrine of Maya to be found in the Upanishads. On this point we have nothing to add to what is said there already as Dr. Mahadevan does not make any new point here. Dr. Mahadevan seems to find the Maya doctrine in Yajnavalkya's advocacy of the trans-phenomenal view of reality. In our examination of the contents of the Upanishads we have already pointed out that there is no Maya doctrine in the teachings of Yajnavalkya and we need not add here anything more to what is said there. In view of what we have proved about the teachings of Yajnavalkya the statement of Dr. Mahadevan becomes understandable. Gaudapada cannot be looked upon as only a continuator of Yajnavalkya's thought but has to be looked upon as an innovator in so far as he introduced the alien doctrine of Maya into Vedanta, taking the idea from Buddhism.

For the theory of two truths for vyavahara and paramartha in the system of Advaita Dr. Mahadevan finds a basis in Mundakopanishad (I.1—5.), which speaks of two kinds of knowledge, the higher and the lower, the para vidya and the apara vidya. The lower knowledge is for the phenomenal, whereas the higher for the trans-phenomenal. Under the former are to be included the four Vedas and their auxiliary studies. The latter is that by which the Immutable is known. The apara vidya is really avidya, nescience. The para vidya is the wisdom of the Upanishads, which are not to be confused with collocation of words. The trans-phenomenal reality, which is the supreme truth (paramartha satya), in the terminology of the later Vedanta and which is the content of the para vidya, is described by the Mundaka almost on the model of Yajnavalkya's teachings in the Brihadaranyaka. It is that which cannot be seen nor seized, which has no origin, nor properties, no eyes nor ears, no hands nor feet, the eternal, the all-pervading, extremely subtle, the imperishable; it is that which the wise regard as the source of all being. Here in these passages

6. Ibid., p. 202.

of the Mundaka we have the germinal thoughts which should have naturally led to the formulation of the two levels of truth, the empirical and the absolute."⁷ The para vidya and the apara vidya by themselves in the Mundakopaniṣad hardly suggest the two truths, the paramārtha and the vyavahara, in the Advaita theory. At least by themselves they do not necessarily and exclusively mean these two truths in the Advaita theory but are capable of bearing such an interpretation if any one wants to put such a one on them. But in reality their meaning is more theological than philosophical and the two vidyas, if taken in their untwisted meaning, are far from meaning the two truths or the two levels of being, viz., the paramārtha and the vyavahara in the Advaita theory of Gaudapada.

Three kinds of knowledge (jñāna) in Gaudapada, viz., laukika, suddhalaukika, and lokottara, says Dr. Mahadevan,⁸ are borrowed from the Yogachar terminology. But the terms in Gaudapada, says Dr. Mahadevan,⁹ do not have the Buddhist meaning but are used to teach the Upanishadic doctrine of the three avasthas. Dr. Mahadevan¹⁰ further criticises the threefold conception of jñāna according to the Vijñānavada, viz., the pariniṣpanna, the paratantra, and the parikalpita; which he believes to be a parallel of the Advaita doctrine of the degrees of truth, viz., the paramartika, the vyavaharika, and the pratibhasika, and points out that the Vijñānavadin cannot subscribe to the doctrine of the threefoldness of jñāna. As regards Dr. Mahadevan's point that the Vijñānavadins cannot subscribe to the doctrine of the threefoldness, it is concerned with the logical or philosophical validity of the Vijñānavadin's position and that is criticised here. We are not, however, concerned with this point from the point of view of our present investigation. What is of interest to us here is only the point that Gaudapada's terms laukika, suddhalaukika, and lokottara, though borrowed from the Buddhist terminology, have no Buddhist meaning in Gaudapada and that they refer to the three levels of being (three avasthas). But Dr. Mahadevan's statement of the point is only arbitrary and unproved. He has not shown how the

7. *Ibid.* p. 207.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

terms in Gaudapada do not have the Buddhist meaning. Dr. Mahadevan has here conveniently confused epistemology with ontology and has made the three terms, which as used in Gaudapada are purely epistemological in their connotation, bear an entirely ontological meaning in order to make them support his view and has made them mean the three levels of being in the Advaita theory. It is true that in all idealistic philosophies, knowledge and being, the epistemological and the ontological, tend to be ultimately identical. If Dr. Mahadevan wants to take advantage of this position of the idealistic philosophies, he may very well take it. But in any case he cannot be said to be keeping faithfully to the text of Gaudapada. The three terms, when interpreted in a straightforward way, judging from the place¹¹ and the context where they occur in the text of Gaudapada, do not support Dr. Mahadevan's view.

As to the controversy¹² about the point "Naitat Buddhena bhasitam",¹³ this protest of Gaudapada need not necessarily be interpreted as Dr. Mahadevan has done. He takes the protest as an indication that Gaudapada is not at all influenced by Buddhism. Dr. Radhakrishnan too seems to make much out of this protest, which he finds "rather overmuch", in support of his view, which is essentially similar to Dr. Mahadevan's. But it should be noted that this protest by itself need not necessarily mean that Gaudapada was not at all influenced at any point in his philosophy by Buddhism but can very well mean also that only at that point, where he protests, Gaudapada was not influenced by Buddhism and that he was influenced at other points in his philosophy. And this point means the doctrine of the Absolute (Brahman), which was not taught by Buddha but wrongly ascribed to him by the different Mahayana schools of Buddhism but which was taught by Gaudapada alone,¹⁴ the other things being the same as in Nihilism (*śūnyavāda*), which Buddha taught. This view seems more probable because there is one more consideration, which is in favour

11. Vide Gaudapadakarika, IV. 87-89.

12. Vide Dr. Mahadevan, *ibid.*, p. 214-217; Sir S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 463; Prof. N. P. Purohit's Article "The Gaudapadakarika and Buddhism" in *Proceedings and Transactions of the VIIIth All India Oriental Conference*, Mysore, 1935, p. 380.

13. Gaudapadakarika, IV. 99.

14. Prof. Purohit, *ibid.*

of this view, viz., that Gaudapada nowhere in his *karika* has attacked or criticised or tried to refute or protest against any doctrine of Buddha or anything of Buddhism. This is not an insignificant point to prove the sympathy and respect of Gaudapada for Buddha and his Buddhism.¹⁵

The main argument in refuting Prof. V. Bhattacharya's view that Gaudapada is influenced by Buddhism, Dr. Mahadevan seems to base, throughout in his refutation of Prof. Bhattacharya, mainly on the point that the Advaita doctrines, where the Buddhist influence is found by Prof. Bhattacharya, are different from the similar Buddhist doctrines and hence not influenced by Buddhism, as if for being influenced the complete identity of the doctrines is required!¹⁶

"Gaudapada", says Dr. Mahadevan, "lived and taught in an age when Mahayanism was having a great hold on the minds of people. The task of a teacher at such a time would naturally be twofold—to convince the followers of the Upanishads that their path was sound and to spread the knowledge of the Vedanta among the Bauddhas themselves. To secure the twofold objective, it would seem, Gaudapada adopted the logical method of expounding the Vedanta through the Bauddha modes of expression and argumentation. The text of the Upanishads is no doubt invoked. But it is well to remember that they are not cited too often nor in a dogmatic manner. For the most part the appeal that Gaudapada makes is to reason, and, what is more, to experience. He speaks with a voice of authority derived from the intuitive experience of the absolute; and he utilizes his logical discipline in expounding the truth of Vedanta. It is no wonder then, that Acharya Sankara was drawn to his teachings and found in them the spring of eternal life. No reader of *karika* will go unimpressed by the genius of its author for spirituality. In the history of Advaita his name will ever remain as that of a great pioneer who

15: Cf. e.g. the vigorous attacks on Buddhism by a later Advaiti like Sankara and his followers, and also by the non-Advaita orthodox Vedantins who criticise even Sankara on the ground of the semblance of Sankara's doctrine to Buddhism.

16. Cf. Mm. Ananta Krishna Sastri's refutation of Prof. Bhattacharya in a similar way in his English Introduction to his Sanskrit book "*Vedānta-rakṣamāṇiḥ*".

combined in himself a deep mysticism with a penetrating philosophy, and a poetic vision with a logical mind".¹⁷

The above passage clearly shows that, according to Dr. Mahadevan, Gaudapada was not orthodox but was open to reason and resorted to intuition and did not stick to the Upanishadic texts dogmatically, quoting them in a dogmatic manner. Hence it is unbelievable that Gaudapada, who, on Dr. Mahadevan's admission itself elsewhere in the same book, was so much influenced in his terminology, phrases, illustrations, and even in arguments, was not at all influenced in his doctrines, unless it is assumed that for being influenced there is a need of complete identity of doctrines and that no difference should be found, or else it is assumed that Gaudapada's dogmatism must have prevented him from taking in his philosophy anything outside the orthodox texts or traditions without minding whether it is satisfactory to him on the basis of his reasoning or his intuitive experience. But both the assumptions are unwarranted. For being influenced it is not necessary that there should be a complete identity of doctrines and that no difference should be found. And again, on Dr. Mahadevan's admission itself in the passage quoted above, Gaudapada was not dogmatic.

Again Dr. Mahadevan's simile of the Hindu monks, who, while preaching Vedanta in the West, feel the necessity of clothing their thoughts in Christian expressions,¹⁸ is also inapplicable in the case of Gaudapada, who, according to Dr. Mahadevan, is supposed to have similarly preached his Advaita in Buddhist expression. It is questionable whether the mental attitude and the feelings of Gaudapada towards Buddhism and the Buddhas are identical with the mental attitude and the feelings of the modern Hindu monks towards Christianity and the Westerners. And this identity is an important point in determining whether Gaudapada is likely to have remained uninfluenced by Buddhism in his doctrines like the modern Hindu monks, who, as Dr. Mahadevan holds, are uninfluenced by Christianity in their doctrines of Vedanta, which they preach in the West.

17. Dr. Mahadevan, *ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

18. Dr. Mahadevan, *ibid.*, p. 202.

We have seen so far that Dr. Mahadevan's view about the Buddhist influence on Gaudapada's Advaita against Prof. Bhattacharya's view that Gaudapada is influenced by Buddhism is unconvincing and defective.

Now let us turn to the consideration of the defence of Mm. Ananta Krishna Sastri. This writer also defends Advaita against Prof. Bhattacharya's view that Gaudapada is influenced by Buddhism.¹⁹

According to this writer Gaudapada was the first to reveal in brief the Advaitavada, which afterwards was formally propounded as a system of philosophy by Sankara.²⁰ Hence it is clear that this writer holds that the Advaitavada of Gaudapada is not substantially different from that of Sankara. The difference is only formal. Essentially the Advaitavada of Gaudapada is identical with that of Sankara.

Now in defence of this writer too, only one place is of interest to us from the point of view of the present investigation; and the place is where he points out the difference between the Avidya of the Advaitavada from the Avidya of the Buddhists. The Avidya of the Advaitavada, this writer points out, is neither nirāśrayā nor nirviṣayā while the Avidya of the Buddhists is nirāśrayā and nirviṣayā. Because of this difference the Avidya of the Advaitavada, holds this writer, is not borrowed from the Buddhists or influenced by them. But this conclusion is based on a wrong presupposition of this writer that for being influenced a complete identity of the doctrine borrowed or influenced is required. On this same wrong basis he has argued all other points too in the same way.²¹

In the same place this writer also points out that the saṁvriti-satyatva of the Advaitavada is different from that of the Buddhists. For the Advaitin, says this writer, saṁvriti-satyatva, i.e., the māyātva or the falsity of the jagat, is not comprehended by merely thinking (bhāvanā) it to be unreal as in the case of the Buddhists but by the realisation (anubhūti) of the underlying

19. Vide Mm. Ananta Krishna Sastri: Vedāntarakṣaṁaniḥ, English Introduction.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

reality, i.e., the substratum, the Atman. Because of this difference, holds this writer, the falsity of the world according to the Advaita view is not borrowed from Buddhism.²² Again here too is the same argument as the one noted above!

Let us now turn to another writer, viz., Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri, who has in detail investigated this problem.²³ The conclusion of this writer as to how far and to what extent the conception of Maya is to be traced in the pre-Sankara literature is as follows: (1) "The conception of Maya is as old as some of the later books of the Rigveda where its forms are clearly noticeable and that it gradually developed through the speculation of the Upanishads and passing through the hands of Gaudapada and Sankara was crystallized into a technical form, elaborated more and more as time went on; (2) that the word "Maya" in the sense of "illusion", of course, occurs later—for the first time in the Svetasvatara Upanishad (iv. 10); and (3) that most of the critics of Maya have started with gratuitously assuming Maya to be a concrete reality, standing face to face with the Absolute as it were, a tertium quid, between the Absolute and the Universe and this has made their whole criticism futile and irrelevant. Some again have criticised it while perfectly ignoring one of its chief principles, which, expressed in modern Kantian phrase, would run: 'The transcendental ideality of the world does not deprive it of its empirical reality'.²⁴ This conclusion is a reply to the two types of critics of the doctrine of Maya in the Advaitavada. One type of critic is one, who attacks the theory of Maya on the ground of its logical validity as a philosophical theory. The third point in the conclusion is directed against such a critic. We are, however, not concerned with this point. What is of interest to us from the point of view of our present investigation is not the point whether the Maya theory is logically valid as a philosophical theory. What is of interest to us here is that whether the Maya theory of Sankara, no matter whether logically valid or not as a philosophical theory, is borrowed from or influenced by Buddhism. From this point of view only the first two points in the conclusion of this

22. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

23. Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri: *The Doctrine of Maya*, Luzac & Co., London, 1911.

24. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.

writer quoted above are of interest to us. And here he says that, even though the conception of Maya is as old as some of later books of the Rigveda, the word Maya in the sense of illusion occurs later for the first time in the Svetasvatara Upanishad (iv. 10). Here it is clear that the word Maya in the sense of illusion, even according to this writer who holds that the Maya theory of Sankara is not borrowed from Buddhism or influenced by Buddhism, does not occur in the pre-Sankara literature except in the Svetasvatara Upanishad. Now as regards the occurrence of the word Maya in the sense of illusion in the Svetasvatara Upanishad it has been already, while examining the contents of the Upanishads, pointed out the unacceptability of the evidence of the Svetasvatara Upanishad. After the Svetasvatara Upanishad this author finds only the Gaudapadarika where the word Maya in the sense of illusion occurs. In the Gaudapadarika the word Maya occurs sixteen times in all. But we have already seen that the occurrence of the word Maya in the sense of illusion in the Gaudapadarika is indicative of the Buddhist influence on Gaudapada and have seen that those, who deny the Buddhist influence on Gaudapada, have not been able to prove their view. We need not add here anything to what is said there as this writer makes no new point here. Again in the conclusion quoted above this writer has maintained that the conception of Maya, the forms of which are clearly noticeable in the later books of the Rigveda and which gradually developed in the Upanishads, passing through the hands of Gaudapada and Sankara crystallized into a technical form elaborated more and more as time went on. While treating Gaudapada this writer, however, has not shown in what form the concept of Maya came into the hands of Gaudapada and what was its form when it left the hands of Gaudapada later on to pass into the hands of Sankara. This writer is quite vague on this point and yet he rushes to his clear conclusion that the concept of Maya passing through the hands of Gaudapada and Sankara crystallized into a technical form elaborated more and more as time went on. This vague, unanalysed, undocumented statement about the evolution of the concept of Maya in the hands of Gaudapada is uninformative and hence not of much value from the point of view of our present investigation.

We have now seen so far that none of those scholars, who hold the view that Gaudapada is not influenced by the Buddhists in his Maya theory, have not been able to prove their point con-

vincingly. I am, therefore, persuaded to hold that Gaudapada has been influenced by Buddhism in his doctrine of Maya. Besides, there are again some positive grounds, which strengthen us in holding this view. And the grounds are as follows.

It has been suspected that Gaudapada was most likely to have been himself a Buddhist.²⁵ Or at least, it has been held, he was surely a staunch admirer of the Buddha and held the view that the teachings of the Upanishads tallied with those of Buddha.²⁶ He is also supposed to have been the disciple of a Buddhist teacher.²⁷

The Gaudapadakarika, the only work of Gaudapada and the main source for us to understand his philosophy, is supposed to be a commentary on a very small Upanishad, viz., the Mandukya Upanishad. But this Upanishad, from which the Gaudapadakarika receives its name Mandukyakarika, figures prominently only in the first chapter of the Gaudapadakarika and is not found in the rest of the work. In the rest of the work, which consists of three chapters, we feel that we are not reading any commentary by Gaudapada but are reading an independent work by Gaudapada expressing the independent ideas of Gaudapada. On seeing the insignificant place of the small Upanishad in this work of Gaudapada the final impression becomes irresistible that the small Upanishad is only just a peg for Gaudapada to hang his ideas on. Gaudapada seems to have used the Upanishad only as a conve-

25. Dr. S. Das Gupta: A History of Indian Philosophy, Cambridge, 1922, Vol. I, p. 423,

26. *Ibid.* Also vide the footnote next below.

27. Cf. "Neuere Untersuchungen der tief-sinnigen weisheits-spüche dieses Meisters (Gaudapada*) haben gezeigt, dass Gaudâpada in seinen Anschauungen, ja zum Teil sogar in seinen Ausdrücken (in vers 4, 92 nennt er Z.B. die Seelen, "âdibuddha" d.h. Ujerweckte!) von der philosophischen Spekulationen der spät-buddhistischen Mahâyân-Schulen abhängig ist und die von Nagârjuna (um 2000 n. Chr.) und anderen entwickelten metaphysischen Lehren den Gedanken-gängen der Upanishaden angepasst hat. Das Bestehen eines solchen Abhängigkeits- verhältnisses ist auch von der indischen Überlieferung selbst nie vergessen worden: denn Gaudapâda wird als ein Schüler des Buddhisten Bakka bezeichnet und die Anhänger der Illusionstheorie werden bis auf den heutigen Tag von ihren Gegnern "verkappte Buddhisten" gescholten. Seinen glänzendsten Vertreter fand der akosmische Vedânta in dem Schüler von Gaudapâdas Schüler Govinda, in Sankara (gest. 820 n.Chr.)". (*This above bracket is mine) (H. von Glasenapp: Der Hinduismus, p. 305.

nient pretext just for passing on his ideas safely under the garb of orthodoxy. Otherwise the fact that why Gaudapada selected a very small and comparatively less important Upanishad for commenting on leaving aside the bigger, major, and most important Upanishads, and the fact that why Gaudapada, on once picking up this Upanishad for comment, commented on it only in the first chapter of his work leaving aside the Upanishad in the rest three chapters of his work,—these two facts become unaccountable.²⁸

Again, in the small Upanishad, viz., the Mandukya Upanishad, which Gaudapada picked up for comment, no reference is found to the term Maya or to the doctrine of Maya as developed by Gaudapada in his Karika. In this Upanishad are to be found mentioned only the four states of the Self, which, taken by themselves and interpreted in a straightforward way, do not contain any doctrine of Maya as developed by Gaudapada in his Karika (or also as found later in the philosophy of Sankara). But Gaudapada picked up these four states of the Self mentioned in this Upanishad and, on treating them in a novel manner, foisted on them an extraneous theory of Maya.²⁹

Again, Gaudapada in his Karika never refers to the older other Upanishads. He does not make even a passing reference to them. He is, therefore, not likely to have taken his doctrine of Maya from the other older Upanishads too. Otherwise, he would have referred to them in his Karika.³⁰

Again on comparing the contents of the Gaudapadakarika and the doctrines of the Madhyamika and Vijñānavāda, it has been held, it will be found that Gaudapada had fully accepted the conclusions of the two schools of Buddhism and had accordingly reduced the conception of Atman or Brahman of the Upanishads to a form which can hardly be distinguished from the Buddhist Vijñāna or vacuity.³¹

Again, Gaudapada, it has been held and quite reasonably, was influenced by the then current philosophy, viz., Buddhism, which

28. Cf. S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, pp. 196 et. 198.

29. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

30. Cf. *ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-198. Cf. H. von Glasenapp quoted in the footnote 27 above.

was in full blaze then, and under the influence of that current philosophy tried to understand the doctrines of the Upanishads. In such an attempt of re-interpreting the Upanishads in the light of the then current philosophy of Buddhism under the spell of which Gaudapada had come, Gaudapada, it is quite reasonable to hold, most naturally must have imported into the Upanishads the exotic Buddhist doctrine of Maya.³²

Our investigation regarding Gaudapada so far has shown us that Gaudapada was the first teacher, belonging to the orthodox line, to use the word Maya in the sense of illusion,³³ and that he was influenced in his doctrine of Maya by Buddhism.

Now let us turn to the grounds for holding that Sankara was influenced by Gaudapada. It is necessary now to deal with this point, because we have now arrived in our investigation so far at the point of determining the Buddhist influence on Sankara, and because this point viz. Gaudapada's having influenced Sankara is very significant in determining the Buddhist influence on Sankara as it is one of the two ways, as we already stated before, in which Sankara was influenced by Buddhism. But before proceeding to the consideration of this point we have to note two points in passing.

One point is about the other pre-Sankara Advaitins. About the other pre-Sankara Advaitins not much is known. But from what little is known out of the stray references found in the works of Sankara and others, it is generally held that none of them advocated the theory of Maya and that all of them, at least not a few of them, were inclined towards some sort of a Bhedābheda-vada and a jnana-karma-samuccayavada.³⁴ It is also generally held that between Gaudapada and Sankara there has not

32. Cf. S. C. Chakravarti, *ibid.*, p. 198.

33. Cf. "Das älteste uns erhaltene Lehrbuch des Mâyāvâda sind die Lehrsprüche des Gaudapâda (wahrscheinlich Anfang des 8 Jahrhunderts n. Chr.),". (H. von Glasenapp, *ibid.*, p. 304).

34. Cf. Prof. S. Kuppuswamy Sastri, JORM, 1927, pp. 5-15; M. Hiriyanna, JORM, 1928, pp. 1-9; M. Hiriyanna, IA, Vol. LIII, pp. 77-86; K. Madhavakrishna Sarma, P.O. Vol. V, No. 1 (1940), pp. 1ff.; V. A. Ramaswamy Sastri, *The Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 66; T. M. P. Mahadevan, *ibid.*, pp. 224-230, Prabhu Datta Sastri, *ibid.*, p. 95 ante et seq.

been any teacher of note or at least their names have not come down to us.³⁵

The other point is about the defenders of Sankara against the attacks of those, who hold that Sankara has been influenced by Buddhism in his theory of Maya. These defenders of Sankara, who hold that Sankara has not been influenced by Buddhism, have tried to support their position on one or more of the following grounds:—

(1) It is said that Sankara's theory of Maya is found in the Upanishads and hence Sankara is not influenced by Buddhism in his theory of Maya.

(2) It is said that Sankara's theory of Maya is found in Gaudapada, who developed his theory of Maya out of the teachings of the Upanishads, and hence Sankara is not influenced by Buddhism.

(3) It is said that Sankara's theory of Maya is not identical with the Buddhist theory of Maya and that there are notable differences between the two, and hence Sankara is not influenced by Buddhism.

(4) It is said that even Buddhism is developed out of the foundations in the Upanishads and that the similarity of Sankara's Vedanta with Buddhism is a natural consequence of their common origin viz. the Upanishads and not due to the Buddhist influence on Sankara. Hence Sankara is not influenced by Buddhism.

We have already seen in our investigation so far that the arguments based on the first three grounds above were not convincing and were refuted. Hence we need not be detained here by the consideration of similar arguments advanced by others. We need, therefore, consider here only the fourth ground mentioned above.

The fourth ground too is not quite convincing. Firstly, as there are weighty and positive considerations on the side of the view that Sankara and Gaudapada have been influenced by Buddhism in their theory of Maya, the similarity between Sankara's

35. Cf. Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri, *ibid.*, p. 95.

Vedanta and Buddhism cannot be easily explained away as due to only their common origin. Secondly, again, the theory of Maya, where the similarity is found, does not lie at the point of their common origin i.e. the teachings of the Upanishads, but is found at a later stage in the history of Vedanta, a stage later than the time when Buddhism, which according to some scholars was another off-shoot of, or a parallel development out of, the teachings of the Upanishads, was a full-fledged school of thought characterized by the theory of Maya. Thirdly, and lastly, all attempts to emphasize on the Upanishadic origin of Buddhism prove at the most only the orthodox origin of Buddhism and thereby in a sense the orthodoxy of Buddhism. But this point is of help only in making Buddhism acceptable to the orthodox and in producing the impression that there is nothing wrong with Sankara in his borrowing the Maya doctrine from Buddhism and that there need not be the feeling that the orthodoxy is violated by Sankara by his borrowing the Maya doctrine from Buddhism. This serves as a defence of Sankara only against the criticism that Sankara was unorthodox in being influenced by Buddhism in his doctrine of Maya but not against the criticism that Sankara was influenced by Buddhism in his doctrine of Maya. Again, it is of crucial importance to prove the presence of Maya in the Upanishads and not the Upanishadic origin of Buddhism. Buddhism might have had its origin in the Upanishads in respect of any of its aspects or doctrines other than its doctrine of Maya. That is of no importance for us here. Again, besides, what is of crucial importance for us here is whether Sankara was influenced in his doctrine of Maya by the Maya theory in Buddhism or in the source of Buddhism. But in the arguments based on this point nothing is asserted definitely about this except vaguely emphasizing on only the Upanishadic origin of Buddhism.

Now let us turn to the grounds on which it has to be held that Sankara is influenced by Gaudapada.

Sankara's teacher was Govinda, who was the disciple of Gaudapada. As regards Gaudapada, we have already seen that he was influenced by Buddhism and that his doctrine of Maya is taken from Buddhism. It has, therefore, to be held that the Buddhist influence on Gaudapada, passing through the teachings of Govinda, entered into the philosophy of Sankara and that Sankara's doctrine of Maya is one of the major places, where

the Buddhist influence has entered travelling along this line—from Gaudapada through Govinda to Sankara.³⁶

Again, Sankara in his work, where he is officially supposed to comment on the Brahma-Sutra of Badarayana, showers praises on Gaudapada. He does not do so on Badarayana. Of course, Sankara shows respect for Badarayana and appreciates him. But Sankara's respect for, and appreciation of, Badarayana seem to be only formal when compared to Sankara's great appreciation of Gaudapada. Sankara has a very great respect for Gaudapada. He has admired and accepted his views. The reason for Sankara's admiration being greater for Gaudapada than for Badarayana is that the views of Gaudapada were nearer to Sankara while the views of Badarayana were, as G. Thibaut has pointed out, nearer to Ramanuja or, as some other scholars point out, to some other theist but certainly not to Sankara. Hence it has to be held that Sankara is influenced by Gaudapada.³⁷

Again, Sankara does not quote exactly by chapter and verse from the Upanishads in support of his Maya doctrine. He only states the doctrine without discussing its source. He states the doctrine only dogmatically and does not advance any argument. If at all he has any argument, all that seems to be nothing more than taking advantage of some general statements in the Upanishads. He takes the advantage of the general statements from the Upanishads like: the Brahman is the ultimate reality, the stage of duality is not final, or the world of many is not the ultimate reality. On twisting these general statements Sankara forces out his doctrine of Maya, which is quite foreign to the original Upanishadic texts. Nowhere the Upanishads state, as Sankara does, that the world is the result of the Maya at work and is merely an illusion. Sankara has made only an unproved statement. He has never proved it quoting from the Upanishads.³⁸

36. Cf. "Il est à remarquer que cet adversaire du Bouddhisme avait subé l'influence d'une philosophie à moitié bouddhiste, l'idéaliste Gaudapâda (circa 780), qui relevait autant du Mâdhyamika que des Upanishads et qu'il parait avoir inspiré à C'ankara sa théorie de l'illusion universelle" (René Grousset, *ibid.*, p. 153). Cf. also S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, p. 199.

37. Cf. S. C. Chakravarty, *ibid.*, p. 199.

38. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-202.

We have seen so far the one way in which the Buddhist influence is found to have entered into the philosophy of Sankara. Let us now turn to the consideration of the other way i.e. the direct way, in which Sankara, as I have already stated, is influenced by Buddhism in his doctrine of Maya.

Here we have to note that the Avidya in Sankara is not found in Gaudapada's theory of Maya. Sankara has borrowed his Avidya directly from Buddhism and fused it into Gaudapada's doctrine of Maya, which Sankara had taken into his philosophy from Gaudapada and which did undergo some change at the hands of Sankara.

We have now seen so far that Sankara was influenced by Buddhism in his doctrine of Maya in both ways i.e. through Gaudapada and also directly.

It has, therefore, to be held in conclusion that Sankara was influenced by Buddhism in his doctrine of Maya.

III

Let us now turn to see to exactly what extent Sankara was influenced by Buddhism in his doctrine of Maya.

The word Maya is used in the pre-Gaudapada orthodox literature in the sense of the power of producing illusion and hallucination. With this power the sense of wonder (in the Atharvaveda the sense of fear or dismay) was associated.

Gaudapada used the word Maya both in the sense of the power producing the illusion or hallucination and also in the sense of the illusion or hallucination so produced i.e. the world (the jagat) as "effect" (kārya) or "fact". This second sense in Gaudapada refers not to the power but to the fact or the effect produced by the power. This sense of the word Maya in Gaudapada is not found in the pre-Gaudapada orthodox literature. It is found in the Buddhist literature only. Here is found one trace of the Buddhist influence on the Maya theory of Gaudapada.

In Gaudapada's Maya the sense of moha in the conception of the Buddhist Maya is prominent and not the sense of wonder or dismay found associated with the Maya in the pre-Gaudapada orthodox literature. Here is another point of the Buddhist influence on Gaudapada's theory of Maya.

Sankara also used the word *Maya* in both the senses of Gaudapada and he added one more word viz. the *avidya* in the Buddhist sense. The *Avaidya* is not found in Gaudapada's doctrine of *Maya*. Sankara took it from Buddhism. Of course, he changed the Buddhist *Avidya*, which was *nirāśrayā* and *nirviṣayā*, into his *sāśrayā* and *saviṣayā* *Avidya* so as to make it fit in in his *advaita* philosophy. This is a point of departure of Sankara from Gaudapada.

The theory of two levels of being (two *satyas*) viz. the *saṁvṛiti* *satya* and the *pāramārthika* *satya* found in Gaudapada is another point of the Buddhist influence on Gaudapada. Gaudapada borrowed from Buddhism this theory not found in the pre-Gaudapada orthodox literature. This theory of Buddhism is very closely linked with the other Buddhist theory of *Maya* and together the two form the important doctrine of *Maya*.

Now Sankara, while adopting Gaudapada's doctrine of *Maya* into his philosophy, changed Gaudapada's two level theory into his three level theory so as to make it fit in in his own type of the *Advaita* philosophy. The *saṁvṛiti* level of being in Gaudapada (and also of *Bauddhas*) was further divided by Sankara into two levels viz. the *prātibhāsika* level and the *vyāvahārika* level. As a result Sankara obtained his three level theory of being consisting of the *prātibhāsika* (the dream world), the *vyāvahārika* (the empirical world), and the *pāramārthika* (the real world). This is another point of departure of Sankara from Gaudapada (and also from *Bauddhas*).

Correspondingly, of course, Sankara had to divide the *Avidya* too, taken from the Buddhists, into two *Avidyas* viz. the *Mūla-avidya* and the *tūla-avidya* so as to make it suit the two levels in his three-level theory of being, viz. the *vyavaharika* and the *pratibhasika* respectively, in the *saṁvṛiti* world, which requires two causes for the two levels of being therein one for each level separately. These two varieties of *Avidya* are not found in the Buddhist *Avidya*. Hence this is also a point of departure of Sankara from the *Bauddhas*.

Let us now put together the result of the above analysis of the *Maya* theory of Buddhism, Gaudapada, and Sankara.

The Buddhist influence on Sankara: (1) Gaudapada's second sense of *Maya* taken from Buddhism; (2) Gaudapada's first sense

of Maya prominently associated with mohakatva as its nature; (3) Gaudapada's distinction between the samvriti and the paramartha levels of being; (4) Sankara's Avidya in the Buddhist sense.

Sankara and Gaudapada compared: (1) Gaudapada's Maya doctrine does not have the Avidya found in Sankara's doctrine of Maya; (2) Gaudapada's doctrine like that of the Bauddhas has only two levels of being while Sankara's doctrine has three levels of being (sattā-traividhya).

Sankara and Buddhism Compared: (1) The Buddhist Avidya is nirāśrayā and nirviṣayā while Sankara's Avidya is sāśrayā and saviṣayā; (2) In Buddhism there is only one Avidya while in Sankara the Avidya is of two kinds viz. the Mūla-avidya and the Tūla-avidya; (3) The Buddhist doctrine has only two levels of being while Sankara's doctrine has three levels of being (sattā-traividhya).

Sankara's doctrine of Maya: Gaudapada borrowed his doctrine of Maya with its two levels of being from Buddhism. Sankara borrowed the Avidya from Buddhism and fused it with Gaudapada's doctrine of Maya. In fusing the Buddhist Avidya with Gaudapada's Maya and in producing his own theory of Maya Sankara changed suitably both the Maya with two levels of being of Gaudapada and also the Avidya of the Buddhists. The final result of Sankara's efforts is his own peculiar doctrine of Maya with its two kinds of Avidya³⁹ and its three levels of being. This doctrine of Maya in Sankara, though influenced by the Maya doctrine of both Gaudapada and Buddhism, is yet identical with the Maya doctrine of neither of the two.

39. Sankara has used the word Maya and Avidya as almost so interchangeable that they are looked upon as identical and hence there is a lot of confusion regarding Sankara's theory of Maya. But Sankara's Avidya is not interchangeable with Maya but means Maya only in a restricted sense, i.e., in only one of the two senses of Gaudapada, i.e., the first one, i.e., as the cause of the samvriti world, but it never means the samvriti world, which meaning also is found in the word Maya as used by Gaudapada (and perhaps as used by Sankara too carelessly). Maya, therefore, is a wider term than Avidya in the strict sense of Sankara. Avidya is less than Maya in the wider sense and is equal to Maya only in the restricted sense. Sankara does not seem to have cared to define carefully his sense of the word Avidya and used the word indiscriminately and carelessly and hence the confusion about the meaning of the words Maya and Avidya in Sankara's theory even in the minds of the well-read students of Sankara.

Our investigation so far with all the above analysis of the doctrines of Maya as found in Buddhism, in Gaudapada, and in Sankara, shows itself to be clearly in support of my view, which I stated at the very outset as the probandum, that the germs of the doctrine of Maya as found in Sankara are found in the Buddhist thought and Sankara developed them into his full-fledged doctrine of Maya, which is decidedly not identical with the doctrine of Maya in the Buddhist thought but still clearly shows the traces of its influence on it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON VEDANTA & BUDDHISM

Books in Sanskrit.

- The Vedas. (Pt. Satavlekars's Ed.).
 Rigveda (Rajvade's Ed., Poona).
 Mādhavācārya's Sarvadarśanasamgraha.
 Gaudapāda's Māṇḍukyakārikā (Ānandāśrama Edition).
 -Do- (Prof. V. Battacharya's Ed.).
 Ekādaśopaniṣad (Iśādyāṣṭa with Amaradāsa's Maṇiprabhā. Chāndogya-
 Brhadāranyaka with Nityānanda's Mitākṣarā, and Kaivalya with Śan-
 karananda's Dipikā).
 Brhma-Sūtra with Śankara Bhāṣya.
 Vidyāraṇya's Pancadaśi.
 Appayya Dikṣita's Siddhāntaleśasamgraha.
 Śrīharṣa's Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakāḍya.
 Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Advaitasiddhi (with Brahmānanda's Laghu-
 candrikā).
 Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa (Rahula Sankṛtyayana's Ed.)
 Do. (Dr. V. V. Gokhale's Ed.).
 Do. Viṃśikā.
 Do. Triṃśikā
 Do. Trisvabhāvanirdeśa.
 Asanga's Abhidharmasamuccaya (P. Pradhana's Ed.).
 Do. Mahāyānasamgraha (E. Lamotte's Ed.).
 Sāntarakṣita's Tattvasamgraha (G. O. S. Series) with Kamalasīla's Panjikā.

Books in English.

- S. D. Dasgupta: A History of Indian Philosophy, I, 1922.
 J. N. Farquhar: An Outline of Religious Literature of India, Oxford, 1920.
 A. B. Keith: Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1923.
 H. Kern: Manual of Indian Buddhism, Strassbourg, 1896.
 De la Vallée Poussin: The Way To Nirvana, Cambridge, 1917
 S. Radhakrishnan: Indian Philosophy, London, 1923-27.
 Th. Tscherbatsky: The Central Conception of Buddhism (Dharma),
 London, 1923.
 Do. : The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana, Leningrad, 1927.
 Do. : Buddhist Logic, Leningrad, 1932.

- E. J. Thomas : History of Buddhist Thought, London, 1933.
 M. Winternitz : History of Indian Literature, II, Calcutta, 1933.
 Yamakami Sogen : Systems of Buddhistic Thought, Calcutta, 1912.
 N. Dutt : Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism, London, 1930.
 C. Hamilton : Buddhist Idealism in Wei Shih Er Shih Lwen, Chicago, 1929.
 E. Obermiller : Analysis of the Abhisamayāṅkāra, London, 1933.
 D. T. Suzuki : Studies in Lankāvatāra, London, 1930.
 Mrs. B. L. Suzuki : Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism, London, 1907.
 G. Tucci : Some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreyanatha and Asanga, Calcutta, 1930.
 A. S. Iyengar : Fundamentals of The Schools of Vaidic Philosophy.
 F. Max Müller : Three Lectures on The Vedanta Philosophy.
 V. G. Kirtikar : Studies In Vedanta (Edited by M. R. Jayakar).
 V. S. Ghatge : The Vedanta (A Study of Brahma-Sutra) (Edited by V. G. Paranjape).
 M. N. Sirkar : Comparative Studies In Vedantism.
 W. S. Urquhart : Vedanta and Modern Thought.
 P. N. Srinivasachari : Studies in Vedanta.
 P. D. Shastri : The Doctrine of Maya in The Philosophy of Vedanta.
 Jadunath Sinha : Indian Realism.
 R. Nagaraja Sarma : Reign of Realism In Indian Philosophy.
 S. N. Dasgupta : Indian Idealism.
 Do. : Philosophical Essays.
 V. Bhattacharya : Āgamaśāstra.
 T. M. P. Mahadevan : Studies In The Earlier Vedanta.
 Stanslav Sahayer : Mahayana Doctrine of Salvation.
 R. D. Ranade : A Constructive Survey of The Upanishadic Philosophy.
 Max Hunter Harrison : Hindu Monism And Pluralism.
 V. Bhattacharya : The Basic Conception of Buddhism.
 M. Hiriyanna : Outline of Indian Philosophy.
 S. C. Chakravarty : The Philosophy of The Upanishads.
 S. K. Belvalkar & R. D. Ranade : Creative Period In Indian Philosophy.
 A. E. Gough : The Philosophy of The Upanishads.
 Paul Deussen : The Philosophy of The Upanishads.

Books in French :

- E. Bournouf : Introduction a l'histoire du Bouddhisme indienne, Paris, 1844-76.
 René Grousset : Les Philosophies indiennes, Paris, 1931.
 De La Viliée Poussin : Bouddhisme, etudes et materiaux, London, 1898.
 Do. : Bouddhisme, opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique, Paris, 1909.
 Do. : Nirvana, Paris, 1925.
 Do. : La morale Bouddhique, Paris, 1927.
 Do. : La dogme et la philosophie du Bouddhisme, Paris, 1930.
 P. Masson-Oursel : Esquisse d'une histoire de la philosophie indienne, Paris, 1933.

- Do. L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne, Paris, 1933.
 P. Oltramare: Histoire des idées theosophiques dans l'Inde, II Bouddhisme, Paris, 1923.
 J. Przyluski: La légende de l'empereur Aśoka, Paris, 1923.
 Do. : Le conseil de Rajagraha, Paris, 1926-28.
 Do. : Le Bouddhisme, Paris, 1932.
 Th. Stcherbatski: L'epistemologie et la logique chez les Bouddhistes tardifs, Paris, 1928.
 S. Levi: Matériaux pour l'étude du système Vijnaptimatra, Paris, 1932.
 P. Regnaud: Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde.
 E. Lamotte: La somme du Grande Véhicule d'Asanga.
 Follet: La philosophie indienne.

Books in German:

- O. Rosenberg: Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie, Heidelberg, 1924.
 O. Strauss: Indische Philosophy, München, 1925.
 H. von Glasenapp: Der Buddhismus in Indien und Ferneren Osten, Berlin - Zurich, 1936.
 M. Walleser: Die Buddhistische Philosophie, Heidelberg, 1904-11-12.
 Wassiliew: Der Buddhismus, St. Petersburg, 1860.
 H. Jacobi: Triṃśikāvijnapti, Stuttgart, 1932.
 J. Masuda: Der individualistische Idealismus der Yogacār Schule, Heidelberg, 1926.
 M. Schott: Sein als Bewusstsein, Heidelberg, 1935.
 M. Winternitz: Der Mahayana Buddhismus, Tübingen, 1930.
 E. Wolf: Zur Lehre von Bewusstsein, Heidelberg, 1930.
 T. Yura: Bewusstseinslehre im Buddhismus, Tokyo, 1932.
 A. Kirchner: Die Stellung des Buddhismus zum Problem des Absoluten.
 H. Oldenberg: Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus.
 Do. : Buddha.
 M. Walleser & Aung: Dogmatik des modernen südlichen Buddhismus.
 R. Schulze: Brahma die Lösung des Daseins-rätsels.

Books in Italian:

- L. Suali: Introduzione allo studio della filosofia indiana, Pavia.
 F. Belloni-Filippi: I maggiori sistemi filosofii indiani, Palermo.
 G. Tucci: Il Buddhismo, Fogliano, 1926.

ARTICLES IN JOURNALS

- V. Bhattacharya: Evolution of Vijnaptivada, IHQ, x, 1, March, 1934, pp. 1-11.
 D. Chatterji: The Problem of Knowledge And The Four Schools of Later Buddhism, ABORI, xii, 3 April 1931, pp. 205-15.
 S. Dasgupta: Philosophy of Vasubandhu in Viṃśikā And Triṃśikā, IHQ, i, 1928, pp. 36-43.
 Do. : Philosophy of Lankavatara, BS, pp. 859-76.

- C. Hamilton: Hsuan Chuang And the Wei Shih Philosophy, JAOS, 51, pp. 291-308.
- R. Kambayashi: Über die historische Entwicklung des buddhistischen Bewusstseins, Mélanges Anesaki, Tokyo, 1934, pp. 294-302.
- E. Lamotte: L'Ālayavijnāna dan's la Mahāyānasamgraha, MCB, III, 1934-35, pp. 169-255.
- De la Vallée Poussin: Notes sur l'Ālayavijnāna, MCB, III, 1934-35, pp. 145-168.
- Do. : Madhyamaka, MCB, II, 1932-33, pp. 47-54.
- E. Obermiller: The Sublime Sciences, Acta Orientalia, ix, 1931, pp. 81-306.
- Do. : The Doctrine of Prajnāpāramitā, Acta Orientalia, xi, 1932, pp. 1-131.
- St. Schayer: Die Mahayanistische Kritik des Hinayanistischen Pluralismus. ZDMG, N.F., 9, 1930, p. 105.
- Th. Stcherbatski: Über den Begriff Vijnāna im Buddhismus, ZIF, 7, 1929, pp. 136-9.
- D. T. Suzuki: Introduction To Lankavatara, EB., Vol. V, No. I, March, 1299 pp. 1-79.
- Do. : Mahayana And Hinayana Buddhism, EB, Vol. VII, April 1932, pp. 1-22.

The Battle of Jiran (November 1534 A.D.)

BY

ARYA RAMCHANDARA G. TIWARI, PH.D.

Reader and Head of the Department of History, Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth, Vallabh Vidyanagar, W. Rly.

The sudden worsening of the political situation in the Deccan¹ compelled Bahadur Shah to raise his first siege of Chittor in 1533 A.D. His treaty with Karmeti,² the dowager queen of Chittor,³ (cir. March 28, 1533 A.D.),⁴ a merely face-saving device, reflects no credit on Bahadur Shah. The doubtful promise of the loyalty of the Rana,⁴ the indemnity of 10 million tankas⁴ (5 lakh rupees),⁵ the present of 100 horses and 10 elephants,⁶ the surrender of the crown and the belt of Gujarat⁷ and the handing over of Udai Singh as hostage⁸ were not commensurate with the sacrifices of a three-month siege.⁹ However, Bahadur compensated himself by the conquests of Ranthambhor (through Burhan-ul Mulk Muhammad Bayani and Mujahid Khan) and Ajmer (through Malik Shamsher-ul Mulk Nulia Khan).¹⁰ Next, he compelled Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar to submit to him.¹¹

1. cf. Mirat-i Sikandari (Faridi Tr.), p. 180.

2. *ibid*, p. 179; Haji al-Dabir: The Arabic History of Gujarat, I/227 Tarikh-i Farishta (Briggs Tr. IV/125) and Tabkat-i Akbar-i (De Tr. III/369) say that the Rana begged for the peace. See also Muhnot Nensi ki Khyat (Ramnarayan Duggad Tr.) I/54.

3. Mirat-i Ahmadi (Bird Tr.), p. 244.

4. Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 1279. There was nothing 'reasonable' in it as alleged by the author (p. 179).

5. Mirat-i Ahmadi, p. 245.

6. *ibid*, p. 245; Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 179. Tab. (III/369) and Farishta (IV/124) do not give the exact number of the horses, elephants and the cash.

7. Tab. III/369; Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 179. Farishta (IV/124) mentions only the waist-belt. See also Memoirs of Babar (Leyden and Erskine Tr.), II/3412.

8. Nensi I/54.

9. Farishta IV/124.

10. Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 180.

11. *ibid*, p. 180. However, see Farishta IV/311.

Bahadur-Humayun Relations

In spite of his correspondence with Babar¹² and the scheme of some of the nobles of Delhi to substitute Bahadurkhan for Ibrahim Lodi before the Battle of Panipat¹³ (1526 A.D.), it is not clear whether Bahadur Shah had any design on the throne of Delhi at the time of his accession as the ruler of Gujarat. However, the welcome to the descendants of Bahlol Lodi in Gujarat (about Nov. 1530 A.D.),¹⁴ the conquest of Malwa (April 17, 1531 A.D.),¹⁵ the anti-Mughal treaty with Burhan Nizam Shah (second half of Aug. 1531 A.D.),¹⁶ the asylum to Sultan Alam Lodi (between March-May 1532 A.D.),¹⁷ the expulsion of the Rajputs from Chanderi, Raisin and Bhilasa (April-May 1532 A.D.),¹⁸ the conquest of Gagraun and Mandsaur (May-June 1532 A.D.),¹⁹ the asylum to Allauddin Lodi and his son Tatar Khan (May-Nov. 1532 A.D.),²⁰ the friendship with Nasib Shah of Bengal (Oct.-Nov. 1532 A.D.),²¹ the humiliation of Rana Vikramjit of Chittor (March 1533 A.D.), the conquest of Ranthambhor and Ajmer (March-April 1533 A.D.), the asylum to Mirza Muhammad Zaman, the reduction of Burhan-ul Mulk of Ahmadnagar (1533-4 A.D.), the asylum to Munshi Mulla Mahmud,²³ and the attempt to bribe Sher Khan of Bihar against the Mughals²⁴ were cumulatively potent enough to reveal the anti-Mughal designs of Bahadur Shah to any

12. Memoirs of Babar, II/361.

13. Tab. III/321; Farishta IV/96. See also Mirat-i Sikandari (pp. 114-5) and Mirat-i Ahmadi (p. 227).

14. cf. Tab. III/348, 369; Farishta IV/112; Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 164.

15. Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 167; Tab. III/353, 614; Farishta IV/14; Ain-i Akbari (Jarret Tr.), II/230.

16. Farishta IV/116.

17. Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 176; Tab. III/367.

18. Mirat-i Sikandari, pp. 174-5; Tab. III/367.

19. Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 177; Tab. III/367-8.

20. cf. Mirat-i Sikandari, pp. 178, 220.

21. Tab. III/444-5; Farishta IV/352.

22. The time of the arrival of the Mirza is uncertain. Mirat-i Sikandari (p. 181) says that the Mirza arrived in Gujarat *after* the First Siege of Chittor by Bahdur Shah while Tab. (III/369) and Farishta (IV/73) and Mun-takhabut Tawarikh (Ranking Tr., I/452) say that he came *during* the siege. However, at another place (IV/1234) Farishta says that the Mirza joined Bahadur *before* this siege.

23. cf. Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 185.

24. Akbar Nama (Beveridge Tr.), I/2338.

one. However, the simultaneous presence in Gujarat of Mirza Muhammad Zaman and Sultan Allauddin Lodi, the Mughal and Lodi pretenders to the throne of Delhi, could not arouse Humayun into action. After the despatch of the last letter of Bahadur to Humayun in connection with Mirza Muhammad Zaman the war with the Mughals was anticipated.²⁵ However, it was not yet inevitable. Can this mere anticipation of future clash with Humayun be an explanation of Bahadur's second siege of Chittor? No. On the other hand, Humayun was alarmed only when Bahadur made vast preparations against the Mughals under the pretext of making war with Chittor.²⁶ The worsening of Bahadur-Humayun relations can at best serve as a background of Bahadur's second attempt to reduce Chittor. Its cause lay in the internal dissensions of Mewar.

Cause of Bahadur's Second Attack on Mewar

Vikramjit's partiality for the company of the wrestlers and his preference for the foot-soldiers had offended the nobles of Mewar.²⁷ Vikramjit openly boasted that each of his 7,000 wrestler-soldier could kill an enemy with his horse by a mere box.²⁸ These wrestlers were granted rations including meat from the state store house.²⁸ This policy, apart from weakening the defence of the state, due to the neglect of cavalry, was an open challenge to the authority of the nobles. Some of them in collusion with Duma Mehta helped Minas in cattle-lifting from the plain below the fort of Chittor.²⁹ The order to pursue the thieves was disobeyed with the retort that the Rana should better ask his wrestler-soldiers for it. Vikramjit, though hurt, remained quiet.²⁹

The news of this revolt pleased Bahadur. It was a godsent opportunity for avenging on Mewar the past defeats of his father Muzaffar Shah (II).³⁰ Bahadur collected an army which

25. cf. *Mirat-i Sikandari*, p. 185.

26. *Akbar Nama* I/2393. The Rajput annalists (*Raval Rana ki Vat*, leaf 87 (b) and Kavi Rao: *Kavitta Vikramadit aur Udai Singhji ra*, verse 23) refer to the sending of the Rakhi by Karmeti to Humayun when the latter was in Bengal. It is a distorted version of the message of Vikramjit to Humayun for help when the latter was engaged in the east.

27. *Raval Rana ki Vat*, leaf 83(a). cf. Kavi Rao, verse 4.

28. *Raval Rana ki Vat*, leaf 83(a).

29. *ibid*, leaves 83(a)-(b). See also Kavi Rao, verse 5.

30. *Raval Rana ki Vat*, leaves 83(b)-84(a); Kavi Rao, verse 6.

included soldiers from Jhalawar, Khandesh, Daulatabad, Bhavnagar, Bijapur, Karnatak, etc.³¹ The Mughals and the Portuguese were also recruited to it.³² The Gujarat army consisted of 50,000 soldiers.³³ The flight to Chittor of Udai Singh, a hostage of Vikramjit with Bahadur Shah, served as a convenient pretext for the attack.³⁴ Bahadur marched from Champaner³⁵ to Mandu.³⁶ Then he crossed the Chambal and forced his entry into Mewar.³⁷

Meanwhile Vikramjit was also not idle. The Vakil of the Rana informed him about these developments.³⁸ The Rana summoned his nobles and the chieftains of the adjoining estates for help. The Rajputs of Ranthambhor, Godhand, Bhankhar, Sopur, Ramgadh, Ajmer, Badnor, etc., collected around him.³⁹ Both the armies met at Jiran⁴⁰ near Neemuch.⁴⁰ Bahadur and Vikramjit rode on elephants to direct the battle.⁴¹ The artillery of Gujarat rendered efficient service.⁴² In the thick of the battle the Rajputs scolded the Rana for his insulting behaviour towards them and his boastings about the prowess of his wrestler-soldiers. They left the field after a curt admonition to summon his 7,000 wrestler-soldiers to face the storm.⁴³ Dalpat Rao (?),⁴⁴ Rao Ashokmal Pawar⁴⁵ (Bijoliyan), Sajja Jhala⁴⁶ (Delwara), Karma⁴⁷ (the great grandson of Chunda),⁴⁸ Asakaran⁴⁹ s/o Rawal Prithviraj of Dungarpur,⁵⁰

31. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(a); Kavi Rao, verse 7.

32. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(a).

33. Kavi Rao, verse 7.

34. Muhnot Nensi, I/54.

35. Mirat-i Sikandari, p. 185.

36. Mirat-i Ahmadi, 247.

37. Kavi Rao, verse 8.

38. *Ibid.*, verse 8.

39. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 84(a)-(b).

40. *Ibid.*, leaf 84(b); Kavi Rao, verses 8-9.

41. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 84(b).

42. Kavi Rao, verse 9.

43. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaves 84(b)-85(a).

44. Kavi Rao, verse 11.

45. *Ibid.*, verse 12.

46. *Ibid.*, verse 13.

47. *Ibid.*, verse 14.

48. Nensi I/34.

49. Kavi Rao, verse 15.

50. Vishnu Temple Inscription (Vaneswara: Dungarpur): Published in Vir Vinod III/1191.

Kheta⁵¹ (great grandson of Chunda)⁵² and Sanga (?) retreated from the field. Vikramjit, himself wounded⁵³, withdrew from the field⁵⁴ and closed himself up in the fort of Chittor.⁵⁵ The Sultan reconnoitred the site and laid the siege to the fort.⁵⁵

Now two problems arise about this battle:—

(1) When was this battle fought (the date of the battle)?

and

(2) What was its outcome?

The Time of the Battle of Jiran

The siege of Chittor which ended on Feb. 27, 1535 A.D.⁵⁶ after three-month duration⁵⁷ would have begun in the last week of November 1534 A.D. So the Battle of Jiran which just preceded it would have taken place in the second half of November, 1534 A.D. Its exact date cannot be fixed to-day.

The Outcome of the Battle of Jiran

Did Bahadur win in the Battle of Jiran? If so, why are all the Muslim chroniclers silent about it? Except Al Badaoni,⁵⁸ no Muslim historian has referred to any engagement before the second siege of Chittor by Bahadur Shah. And even Al Badaoni has neither named it nor given its details. Their silence justifies an adverse inference.

Surprisingly, two native chroniclers of Mewar have not only mentioned it but also supplied us with all its details. This clearly implies that, in spite of the withdrawal of the nobles and the retreat of the Rana, the Rajput chroniclers saw nothing humiliating in it to be suppressed. By corollary, there was no success to make the Muslim historians proud of it.

51. Kavi Rao, verse 17.

52. Nensi I/34.

53. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 85(a).

54. Ibid., leaf 85(a); Kavi Rao, Verse 16.

55. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 85(b).

56. Vanshavali 828, leaf 64(a); Vanshavali 878, leaf 68(a); Copperplate (Chief Commissioner Office, Udaipur, Register entry No. 5127).

57. Raval Rana ki Vat, leaf 87(a).

58. Al Badaoni, I/453.

If so, there was no success in it which could be attributed to the artillery of Gujarat or the strategy of Bahadur Shah. Similarly, the inexperience of Vikramjit cannot be pleaded as a cause of the withdrawal of the Rajputs.

Conclusion

The strength of Mewar remained unbroken even after this battle. The fort of Chittor withstood a three-month siege. And in the end Gujarat suffered considerably in the Second siege of Chittor (Feb. 27. 1535 A.D.). This forced Bahadur to dig himself for two months before Humayun⁵⁹ somewhere near⁶⁰ Mand-saur.⁶¹ He dared not risk a general encounter with the Mughals as advised by Sadr Khan⁶² after the initial defeat of the advance guard of the Gujarat army under Mirza Mukim Khurasani Khan and Syed Ali Khan.⁶³ One might accept the fact of the military strength of the Mughals. Even some concession be made for the unproven charge of treachery of Rumi Khan,⁶⁴ still it is difficult to deny that Bahadur was possibly too weak to risk any engagement after the Rajput carnage. May one say that the Battle of Jiran was the first major check in the career of Bahadur Shah, the beginning of his end.

Acknowledgment

Thanks are due to the Secretary, the Ministry of Education, Government of Rajasthan for his kind permission to consult manuscripts in all the Government Libraries in Rajasthan, and to Shri Girdharilalji Sharma for his kind permission to consult manuscripts in the collection of Rajasthan Viswavidyapeeth, Udaipur. Thanks are also due to Shri Sharma for his deputing Shri Ashia Savaldanji Charan Kavi to prepare a copy of the manuscript of 'Kavitta Rana Vikramdit aur Udai Singhji ra Kavi Rao ra Kahiya'. The fact that Shri Savaldanji Ashia did an excellent service in this respect also deserves a special mention and thanks from the author of this article.

59. *Ibid.*, I/454; Tab. II/50, III/373; Farishta II/76, IV/127.

60. Akbar Nama I/303; Al Badaoni I/454.

61. Akbar Nama I/303; Al Badaoni I/454; Tabb. III/373.

62. Tab. III/372; Farishta IV/126-7.

63. Farishta IV/126-7.

64. Farishta IV/126. See also Tab. III/372; Haji al-Dabir I/240.

64. cf. Mirat-i Sikandari, pp. 187-8.

Indian Epigraphical Literature

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR, *Poona.*

Introduction

1. Hundreds and thousands of inscriptions set up during the last twenty-five hundred years have been found in all parts of India and in some outside countries where Indian culture and religion were introduced in the early centuries of the Christian era.

2. These inscriptions are written in different languages; but a majority of them are in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the South Indian languages.

3. The contents of the inscriptions are rich and varied as they were set up for various purposes. Some were composed to commemorate certain private or public, religious or secular works, while the object of others was to describe the exploits and virtues of kings and great men in the political, religious or literary field or to glorify the erection of temples or other edifices. Some were meant to record the donatory charters to religious establishments, revered persons, public institutions or to devoted followers, while the purpose of the remaining was to record miscellaneous socio-economical or administrative affairs like the registering of the sale-deeds or providing medical aid to the needy or building of bridges, forts etc. or obituary notices of killed heroes and immolation of *satis*. In short there is scarcely any conceivable topic of public or private interest which is not represented in Indian inscriptions. The epigraphical literature thus reflects as well the peace-loving studious mentality of religious men as the unsettled fighting mentality of ambitious men. As such the Indian inscriptions are highly educative. Like Sanskrit literature, the Indian epigraphical literature is a mine of information to a student of Indian culture. They throw considerable light on the different aspects of the Hindu life and thought and have played an important role in maintaining unity of Indian culture. Students of political, social, economic and cultural history of ancient India

have, therefore, got to supplement their knowledge by the study of the rich epigraphical material.

4. The importance of inscriptions for the examination of political history and the nature of the political institutions in ancient India is now admitted by all. A good deal of accurate information which we now possess in regard to ancient India is undoubtedly derived from the study of inscriptions whose primary value lies in their documentary evidence.

5. But the fact that epigraphs are sometimes very useful for preparing the history of the Indian literature itself and its study to a student of Indian languages and literature is, as important as the study of the classical literatures in the respective languages is not generally admitted. But a little thought will show that the epigraphical literature forms an important section of the vast Indian literature and a history of Sanskrit literature as well as of the literatures in the different languages would not be complete without a study of the inscriptions in the respective languages.

6. Some scholars undervalue the study of inscriptions wrongly thinking that the inscriptions are to be studied for the knowledge of the political history only and that their place is in the department of the ancient Indian History and not in that of the languages. They say that the small band of epigraphists only are concerned with them and the language students have nothing to do with them.

7. Secondly they think that the items of historical and other information which the inscriptions supply are needless before the high quality of prose and poetry which a student of literature expects if at all from the inscriptions. According to them the idea of composing history aiming at objective accuracy is entirely out of harmony with the spirit of literature and its conception of art with its emphasis on imagination and impersonalised creation.

8. It is true that Indian inscriptions were rarely set up with the express object of presenting literary pieces. They were as stated above set up for various purposes generally for recording the military, civil or philanthropic activities of rulers, their officers and great men. These statements though not mentioned in the strict sense of writing history, naturally contain elements

of political history which elements have been of very great use in reconstructing the political history of ancient India which she had practically none before. But it is not merely the subject matter; but the form in which it was put, which has given the great importance to Indian epigraphical literature which it possesses.

9. It must also be realised that Indian epigraphy had been originated, developed and declined on certain lines peculiar to India. The epigraphs might have begun to appear in India at a later period from the fourth cent. B.C. but the tradition behind them is very old. A majority of the Indian epigraphical records consists of eulogies of rulers. It is well known that there was a regular hierarchy from the greatest sovereign to the smallest chief ruling in India for hundreds of years. The formation of this ruling class was also peculiar to India. Both local and invading militarised tribes which headed towards monarchy were eventually absorbed without a trace in the Hindu society. Many new castes were created from these tribes. Any successful adventurer could become a king and gain respectability by adopting the culture and religion of the people and by building temples and making donations to Brahmins and engaging court poets to praise them in public. The Brahmins and the court poets could give them a caste and status in the society by praising them in panegyrics and making people forget that they were aliens to the country, culture and community of the indigenous people. They in turn gave respect and liberal patronage to their poets. The Brahmin class which has no parallel in any other country was almost wholly devoted to Vedic learning and religious observances. Because they were so qualified the rulers and the wealthy men gave them grants for their peaceful maintenance. Patronage to court poets for their academic qualifications and eulogistic performances and patronage to the Śrauti Brāhmaṇas for their Vedic learning and religious observances at the hands of the feudal lords were instrumental for the rich output of the praśasti literature.

10. It may further be noted that some of the royal families and their ministerial families were highly learned and enlightened and were patrons of art and literature. This tradition maintained in India for centuries together naturally helped the popularity and growth of epigraphical literature particularly of the praśasti literature. Such men take pleasure in often mixing with people and helping them. Similarly the cordial relations between the sub-

jects and their royal families were responsible for so many *praśastis* and charitra kāvyas. It is true that the panegyrics are not spontaneous disinterested Kāvyas. In composing them formal flattery may have been the cause but some of them were no doubt inspired by feelings of genuine loyalty to the kings, veneration for the sanctity and admiration for the learning of the priestly class.

11. The warlike and charitable activities of the rulers and the *praśastis* composed by the court poets in their glorification were possible under the system of feudalism and Brahmanism and it is seen that the rise and fall of the Indian epigraphical literature had taken place mostly with the grant and withdrawal of royal patronage to the Brahmin class. Whenever the feudal lords were eliminated, there was no patron king whose exploits, merits and charities were to be sung and in the absence of patronage there was no court poet to compose the eulogistic or donatory inscriptions. The feudal system may appear in future in some form or other but the Brahmanical system which was mainly responsible for the growth of Indian epigraphy will never appear again.

12. The panegyrics which were specially composed by the court poets after the fashion of the *dāna-stutis* of the Vedic times thus constitute an important portion of the Indian epigraphic literature. Since the panegyric contains eulogistic description not only of the reigning king but of his ancestors it used to be called as *Pūrva* or *Pūrvaja pūjakā* (see J.B.R.S. 41-257). But later on the significant term *praśasti* became common with such literary pieces. They are fairly lengthy and contain merits of literatures. The use of the word *praśasti* in some of the inscriptions themselves clearly shows that the poets who composed them also wished to have their inscriptions called as eulogies. These eulogies which must have been publicly recited were some times incised on stone slabs or on copper plates to preserve them as permanent records. Because they were incised on such lasting materials they have been fortunately preserved to us though many more of the kind must have been composed and lost. The panegyrics written by great poets like Śriharsha, for instance, have remained undiscovered so far.

13. When the court poet was asked to prepare a eulogy of his patron he is naturally inspired by feelings of loyalty and expectation of liberal patronage and does his utmost to show off his own learning and poetical abilities. He may not claim actual

divinity to his hero but he does not hesitate to compare him with the legendary characters in ancient India in point of his noble birth, handsome form, great learning, and proficiency in arms and arts and poetic talents and his ability to uphold the existing social order and protect his kingdom from internal troubles and foreign invasions and maintain its prosperity. If his hero has succeeded in defending his kingdom against invaders and misrule the court poet is even prepared to compare him with the god Vishṇu, who had lifted up the earth in his Varāha incarnation. So although the inscriptional poet sets out in the beginning to the task of recording the warlike activities of his patron in a general way he soon forgets proportion and goes on to describe them in an exaggerated and poetic way. As a result of this he sometimes produces a literary piece of a high quality.

14. In all such cases, the composition presents a combination of historical information and poetical description and the inscriptions possess both historical and literary importance sometimes the one predominating over the other. It is but natural that in the society less politically conscious the writers were inclined to make their narration more attractive than exact. Since the authors were generally highly learned men they gave it the appearance more of a literary piece than of a historical document. The cultural back-ground of the *prāśasti* is more appealing than its historical background. Although the general materials are the same, the poetic methods differ with the poetic ability of the author.

15. As a matter of fact narration of historical events was always of secondary importance to the authors of inscriptions as it was with the classical poets. Despite their apparent claims to deal with historical themes, their main concern was to deal with the poetic possibilities and consequently these authors were indifferent to chronology and topography. There is some truth in Keith's following statement :

"Bāṇa in his Harshacharita wished to describe history but failed. Historically the work is of minimum value; chronology is weak and confused. It is extremely difficult to make out the identity of the kings of Mālvā and even of Gaud kings". This can be said with regard to almost all the so called historical works in Sanskrit literature. So although we get some historical information from the *prāśastis* they are essentially literary pieces and not historical records.

16. Although heroism could be shown by a warlike man only the performance of noble deeds like the building of a temple, digging of a well or tank or the issuing of a donatory charter in favour of a holy or learned man could be done as well by the king as by a private person. There were, therefore, some *praśastis* of private persons like the revered priests Mahānāman, Prabodhaśiva, Vipulaśrimitra Prabhāchandra etc. or renowned poets like Nānāka, Bhavadeva etc. written by their admirers or of private persons who built temples or tanks at their own expenses like the Mandsore guild of silk weavers, Kubja of Aihole, and Anantadeva of Bahal. Among the great persons who were eulogised in inscriptions there were many ladies who vied with men in their pious and humanitarian activities and whose womanly qualities of beauty and virtue deserved as much praise as their piety and munificence. There are some beautiful *praśastis* of important places like the Arbudatīrtha *praśasti* composed in VS. 1378 (E.I. 9-155).

17. Memorial inscriptions composed in praise of heroes fallen in battle and of the *Satis* who immolated themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands are sometimes of poetical importance e.g. the memorial inscription at Eran, dated 510 (F.G.I., p. 91).

18. It is also true that with all the desire to show off his learning and poetical abilities, every poet cannot be expected to produce a *praśasti* in the proper sense of the term and the poetic description which the poet gives becomes a mixture of real poetic merit and pedantry and artificiality. This is a feature of the great bulk of the inscriptional literature produced during all the years. Its general characteristics are the skilful use of long sentences full of stock expressions and figures of speech with plurality of long adjectival phrases, blooming embellishments like the plays on words and of verses with a variety of metres. A typical instance of such compositions are the Maitraka inscriptions which contain except in very rare cases nothing of historical nor of real poetical importance though they cover a period of nearly three hundred years. They are only filled with long, verbose and tiring descriptions and the figures of speech in high flown Sanskrit. They rarely record an event of contemporary history as if in the peaceful times no noteworthy event took place. Narration of historical events was neglected and real poetical ability could not be shown, as the composers were wanting in poetical genius and

not rising above the conventional style. Poetry became only a mechanical craft with them. Such compositions are generally dry and are neither of great historical importance nor of poetical significance.

19. But some of the compositions are no doubt important from literary as from historical point of view. The Girnar *praśasti* of Rudradāman, the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta and the Aihole *praśasti* of Pulikeśin are only a few instances of the large number of the kind. There are still some *praśastis*, the number of even these is not small, which are of little historical importance but are highly poetical. The Dudhpani rock inscription of Udayamāna assignable to the 8th Cent. is highly poetical and contains almost legendary accounts. (E.I. 2 343). The Tribhuvanam Sanskrit inscription of the last Chola King Kulottunga III is a mere Kāvya and has little historical matter in it. (D. R. Bhandarkar, Vol., p. 3). The literary value of such *praśastis*, which are like necklaces of pearls inset with gems of various alankāras as some of the *praśasti* writers have themselves said is enhanced in proportion to the learning and poetical gifts of the composer. They thus exhibit the genius, culture and prestige which according to Bhāmaha (c. 700 A.D.) are the essence of poetry. They may not be very elaborate but by their high standard of poetry they can stand comparison with the best literary products of the recognised masters of the classical Sanskrit literature. In delicately depicting the different aspects of Nature, in influencing the emotion of sex appeal into the treatment of nature e.g. personification of the night or a river in terms of a woman, in the delineation of human feelings, in using suggestive expressions as for example a particular ruler frightened many a time the wives of his enemies meaning that he undertook many expeditions, in bringing out the noble qualities of a cultured mind, in comparing the heroes or heroines of the *praśastis* with mythological characters, in describing vividly the geographical places and in narrating the poetical incidents suggestive of power politics techniques, some of the inscriptional poets have shown wonderful skill. Their careful study of the political affairs which took place only a short time back and which might have been even witnessed by them and their skill in giving a realistic touch to the scenes and events are greater than that of the classical poets. The skill of the inscriptional poets in the treatment in a pleasant fiction of the hard historical facts cannot be ignored.

J. 10

20. Most of the effective figures of speech of the classical poets which add to the beauty of a poetic composition have been used by the inscriptional poets. Their compositions sometimes contain not only the same ideas but also words and phrases as are found in standard classical Sanskrit and Prakrit works. They present several other points of affinity with the classical literature and are therefore worth being called Kāvya. For, both of them followed the same traditional technical practice in their art of making poetry. The persons to be eulogised or the places to be described may be different with different poets but the poetic technique was almost fixed. Like the classical poets the inscriptional poets, almost all, were fond of playing on words specially on the names of the rulers they were describing. Their skill is certainly superior to that of the classical poets when they use verses intended to yield two meanings, mythological and historical. Of the Arthāṅkaras they have very frequently used Upamā, Utprekshā and Rūpaka. They seem to be always eager to take advantage of every little circumstance to bring in poetic details and descriptions and did their best to make their compositions resemble a Mahākāvya. In fact some of the *praśasti* writers have named their compositions as Kāvya e.g. Harisena's Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta, though owing to its wealth of details is a unique historical document among Indian annals is styled as Kāvya by the author himself. (C. I. I. III. No. 1). The poet Kubja calls his Tālaguṇḍā *praśasti* as a Kāvya. (E.I. 8.31). The eulogistic description of the deeds of valour and manifold noble qualities of the hero of a *praśasti* with reference to epic character in high flown Sanskrit containing long compounds and puns and other *alankāras* interspersed with descriptions of landscape, seasons, mountains, rivers, temples and mansions, are all in the manner of a Mahākāvya. Many such samples of the Kāvya style found in inscriptions agree with the works of the recognised masters of Indian poetic art.

The inscriptional poet may be equally guilty of exaggeration but he could not ignore the facts and could not indulge in unlimited imagination like the classical poets. The skill of the inscriptional poets in presenting before us in a concise form the graphic picture of events is noteworthy. The vigorous style and the vivid description of the battle in the Dubi C.P. inscription of Bhāskaravarman of Assam (J. Ass. R. S. 11, 12), in the Kurram inscription of Paramēśvaravarman (S. I. Inscriptions I. 61) and

in the Nausari inscription of Pulikeśin, dated 739 A.D. remind us of such a style of the well known classical poem *Veṇiśamhāra*. In the *praśasti* the matter to be described is arranged in a systematic manner. It may even be said that the inscriptional poets have some times shown originality in introducing poetical ideas not found in the classical literature.

21. They have particularly observed the age old convention of beginning their literary works with an auspicious word, a managala and salutations to the deity sacred to them which often contain flashes of high poetical genius. Hundreds of such invocatory verses in the *praśastis* which surpass in quantity if not in quality those in the classical poems and plays make a substantial contribution to classical Sanskrit literature. In fact the enlisting of the numerous peculiar poetic ideas in the invocatory portion of the classical works and of the inscriptional *praśastis*—Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist—is an interesting study by itself. Here the inscriptional poet has undoubtedly soared to great heights of imagery and hyperbole though sometimes his imagination moves in conventional grooves owing to the spirit of the age and his traditional thinking. In the invocatory portion which is sometimes of more poetical importance than the descriptive portion of the *praśasti* the author exhibits his knowledge of Indian philosophy, mythology, spiritualism and his feelings of devotion to God, while in the descriptive portion of the *praśasti* he exhibits his learning in different arts and sciences and his study of literature current in his time. In the former he takes us to a world different from that in which we are living. His flights of imagination are higher in the former than in the latter. It may be noticed that the inscriptional poets are not behind the classical poets in giving a highly sensuous account of the amorous activities of the deities which they so devotedly worshipped. As man had created his gods in his own image so also he had transferred to them the sexual differentiation proper to the mortal beings of the earth, though according to some scholars all this can be interpreted in a philosophical way. Invoking the protection not only of the God himself but of an object connected with him gives a peculiar charm to the poetry of the stanza. The Kandahar grant of Dharmarāja of the ninth century, for instance, opens with a verse invoking the protection of the plaited hair of Śiva. (E.I. 19.265). Invocation of the foot of Viṣṇu (E.I. 27.38) or Śiva is just in keeping with the Indian tradition. The Malapaṭṭi pillar inscription of

Gaṇapatideva contains a beautiful comparison of the numerous hoods of the Śeṣha illuminated with crest jems with miniature lamps. (E.I. 12.191). Another inscription contains a masterly description of the terrible aspect of Narasiṃha. (E.I. 9-190). After salutation to Murāri the incarnations of Viṣṇu in forms of Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, and Rāma are invoked for blessings in highly poetical stanzas by the poet Amara in the Ajayagaḍ inscription of the Chandella King Bhojavarman dated V. S. 1348 (E.I. 20.100).

22. Sometimes even the benedictory verses as in the Allaha-bad praśasti of Samudragupta and of the portion according to the date of an event as in the Mandsore prasasti of Vatsabhaṭṭi are of great poetic value and in the conventional style.

23. The agreement of form, thought and imagery being thus quite complete with the inscriptional and the classical poets the *praśasti* in form as well as in sense strictly belongs to the domain of the Kāvya or the Sanskrit artificial compositions.

It will thus be clear that the general panegyric object of the inscription set up generally at the initiation of rulers coupled with the professional qualifications of the composers have naturally given a peculiar poetic appearance and literary value to the apparently historical records.

24. For these reasons the epigraphical literature whether in Sanskrit, Prakrit or in any of the South Indian languages constitutes an important branch of Indian literature which for quality as well as for quantity richly deserves a careful study at the hands of all students of Indian literature. Even the inscriptions in the several Sanskrit provincial languages, though there is much deterioration in their epigraphic technique, sometimes contain literary merits. The Oriya inscriptions are specially important in this respect.

These elegant compositions whose number runs into hundreds are valuable contributions to Indian literature, and their gifted poets would have been lost to the history of Indian literature, particularly of Sanskrit literature, but for the inscriptions which have been fortunately preserved to us, but which may not represent the entire literary output of the inscriptional poets. Had it not been for the inscriptions, all this literature of these authors would have remained unknown to us.

25. With regard to the second objection to the study of inscriptions by language students the following may be said:—As a matter of fact the historical information which the *praśastis* give and which the author himself had considered to be of secondary importance gives the dated *praśastis* a sort of superiority over the undated literary works of classical poets. The numerous almost accurately dated inscriptions have the advantage over the works of classical authors in that from the date and other contemporary detailed information given in the inscriptions and in the absence of a date from the comparison of the paleography and the language of the inscription, from the internal evidence of the subjects, persons and events treated and from other external resemblance we can assign the poet of a particular inscription almost to a definite date, place and region. As the inscriptional poets had generally no separate existence but at the court of a particular king or royal family they naturally recorded information with relevant details about their patrons and their contemporaries. The object of the inscriptions being also to record building of temples or other works of public utility or the donation of villages and lands we get so much geographical, religious, social and economic information of the times which we rarely get from the works of the classical authors. There is a geographical basis for literature. The location of a record is of great importance as it indicates the extent of a king's kingdom, and is helpful in ascertaining the poetic composition as expounded by rhetoricians, and in properly understanding the dialectical, territorial and chronological peculiarities noticed in the compositions. Interpretation of literature invariably demands some appreciation of date and writers and their writings must be judged in a large measure by considerations of age and environment. (Gowan, Hist. Ind. Lit.).

26. We get from the dated inscriptions a larger number of solutions of the chronological problems still unsolved larger than those obtained from the colophons of literary works which also sometimes give definite historical information including the date e.g. in Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* which was composed in Ś. 891 in the time of the Chalukya king Krishnarājadeva or from the introduction of Jalhana's *Subhāshita-muktāvali*. Such inscriptions enable us to fix the chronological sequence not only of the poets known from inscriptions but of those known from Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts and literature. (M.A.S.I. No. 13, p. 101). The inscriptions enable us to fix at least approximately their dates

and thus to trace the history of the *Kāvya* literature. The importance of this information can well be appreciated when we consider that it has been very difficult in the case of some of the most celebrated classical authors and works to determine their dates or even to know from what parts of the country they had come. There are a number of classical works whose age had not yet been determined with some accuracy.

It is well-known how the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. which actually mentions Kālidāsa as a great poet proves that he must have flourished before that date and how some verses in the Mandsore inscription of 473 A.D. which indicate imitation of Kālidāsa's work Meghadūta (v. 49) enable us to still lower down the limits of his date. The poet Māgha must have belonged to the second half of the seventh century as he was grandson of Suprabhadeva, minister of the king Varmalāta of whom an inscription of 625 has been found. How the inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla enable us to fix the date of the dramatist and poet Rājaśekhara is well-known. When an inscription quotes a passage from a known but undated Sanskrit work it helps us in fixing the lower limit of the composition of the work. The Khoh inscription of Śarvanātha, dated G.S. 214 (533-34 A.D.), which refers to the Mahābhārata as *Śatasāhasrī Samhitā*, shows that the complete epic must have come into existence before that time and that the poets of the Gupta period must have been responsible for the final redaction. (Studies in Ind. Antiquities, by H. C. Raychaudhari). The use of Vishnu's names as given in the Vishnusahasranama on the coin of the Gupta Sovereigns of the fourth century A.D. and in an inscription from Champa in S.E. Asia of the sixth cent. A.D. proves the popularity of the sacred stotra at an early period and in far off countries outside India. The reference to the Bṛihatakathā of Guṇāḍhya in the Gumareddipur c.p. inscription, dated in the 40th year of king Durvinita in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. (I.A. 42, 201) and in the Cambodian inscription dated between 9th and 13th century (Bargoigne Inscription 56-60) enables us to know when and where the work was extant. The occurrence of a verse in the Devi Māhātmya from the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa in the Dadhimātā inscription of Druhlana dated in the seventh century enables us to determine the latest date of the composition of the *Devi Mahāhātmya*. (E.I. 11.277). The Sūrya Śataka of Mayūra who lived in the seventh century is inscribed in Chola-Grantha charac-

ters of the tenth cent. on a pillar in front of the Durgā shrine in the temple of Kachchhapesvara at Kānchipuram (A.R.S.I.E. 1921) which shows the great popularity of the literary work within the period of three hundred years in such a distant part of India. The date of the Sanskrit grammar, Rūpāvatāra by Dharmakīrti can approximately be fixed with the help of a Chola inscription which mentions the study of the work as part of the curriculum of higher Sanskrit schools of the reign of Rājendra (1012-1044). This shows the popularity of the work at least in the eleventh century. Its upper limit can be fixed in the seventh cent. from other evidences. (J.O.R.O. Mad. 1934.277). The Tirumanikala (Arcot Dist.) inscription of the Kāḍavarai chief enables us to fix the date of the Tamil work Periyapurānam at about 1133 A.D. The Panchadharla pillar inscription of the W. Chalukhya king Viśveśvara dated Ś 1324 settles the date of composition of the Telugu poetical work on Rhetorics entitled Kāvyaḷankāra Chūḍāmaṇi. Similarly when an inscription is copied in a literary work though such is done very rarely, the date of the latter can be fixed and its literary importance ascertained. The Anāwādā (in Gujarat) inscription of V.S. 1348 which begins with the opening stanza of the *Gītāgovinda* of the poet Jayadeva of Bengal proves the wonderful popularity of the work throughout India within a century. (I.A. 1912.21). The Āśvi copper-plate inscription of Ś. 1020 of the Yādava king Irammadeva copied in the Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi of Hemādri and the Gulaghala stone inscription copied in a palm leaf manuscript in the possession of the Swami of the Malavalli Maṭha may be cited as instances in this connection. (Ep. Carn Vol. 14, No. 208, p. 278).

27. A noteworthy feature of the epigraphical literature is that the inscriptional poet had generally lived at the court of a particular king or royal family and had a fixed income whatever it was. Vatsubhaṭṭi, the well-known author of the Mandsore inscription of 473 A.D. is supposed to have been a private man of learning who made money by composing a piece of poetry occasionally when his services were required by ordinary people like the guild of silk weavers at Daśapura. But simply because he does not praise the then ruler Bandhuvarman as a patron of poetry it need not be supposed that he was not a court poet. Some of the classical poets also must have lived at the courts of kings. But they have rarely mentioned their patrons in their literature. The inscriptional poets had necessarily to

mention them and record many relevant details about them. From the inscriptions therefore we get so much information not only about the poet and his patron but also about various persons and events of the time. The value of the inscriptions as dated literature therefore requires to be recognised even by scholars who occupy themselves primarily with classical literature.

28. It is well known that the classical authors have often shown utter disregard for history inspite of the fact that they could have full access to the historical records. How they used to sacrifice even contemporary history for fiction can be seen from the fact that they had almost unnecessarily given fictitious names to historical persons as may be seen from Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita* and such other works of Rājaśekhara, Padmagupta, Bilhana etc. The poet Jayānaka who undertook to write a historical poem named *Prithvirāja-vijaya* had an imperfect knowledge of Indian History and had even distorted historical facts. The identification of the rulers and persons mentioned in literature has therefore become a difficult task which is to some extent facilitated only by the study of inscriptions. The princes mentioned in the *Daśakumāracharita* for instance can be identified with the rulers in the *Vākāṭaka* and other contemporary royal families only with the help of the epigraphical records. (Saṁśodhan Muktvāli Pt. 2, p. 95 by mirashi in Marathi). The beauty of a literary piece is undoubtedly enhanced if it is localised in person, place and time as can be seen for instance from the Allahabad *prāśasti* of Samudragupta and the Aihole *prāśasti* of Pulikeśin II.

29. The inscriptions are sometimes of greater importance than the literary poems and plays where the stories are generally based upon some incident in the life of an epic or a quasi-historical hero or upon the love affair in a royal family and which thus deals mostly with the easy and happy life only of a particular class of people in the society. In the few social plays like the *Mālatīmādhava* the life of the upper class of people is depicted. Works like the *Mṛichhakaṭika* which try to depict the life of the lower class of people are rare in Sanskrit literature, while the inscriptions record incidents drawn as well from the every day life of a simple and credulous people as from that of the higher and cleverer class. It may also be noted that classical literature gives us general information about the intellectual and cultural life of the people while the inscriptional literature also depicts the life

of the different classes of people in the society and gives the true picture of the society as a whole and thus enlightens us with the history of ancient India in its various aspects. More than the classical literature, the epigraphical literature reflects and is reflected by contemporary life.

30. It will thus be seen that the items of historical information casually introduced by the inscriptional poets are useful in supplying important data to trace the development of classical Sanskrit. (I.H.Q. 1938 Ind. Cult. 1939). In fact it is only the inscriptions which are dated in a definite period that can give us an idea of the literary evolution of the different literatures in India. They also enable us to trace the history and the development of the styles of poetry and rhetorics etc. How in earlier stages the style was simple and how it began to be highly ornate and conventional is seen from the inscriptions only. In short for the history of the intellectual and cultural life of the ancient Indians and for our knowledge of the evolution and characteristics of classical literature the importance of inscriptions cannot be exaggerated. (See Keith, Hist. Skt. Lit., p. 149).

31. Most of the Sanskrit *praśastis* are written in the Champu style the characteristic of which is prose and verses intermingled. The inscriptional poet likes to write as well in prose as in verse. The champu style affords good opportunities to the poet to display his erudition and command over prose and verse in one and the same composition. This style had been popular with the inscriptional poets from early times, whereas it became widely popular with the classical poets from a late period only, the earliest classical work of the class written in full *Kāvya* style named *Nalachampu* and *Yaśastilakachampu* being dated in the tenth cent. A.D. The first was composed by the poet Trivikramabhaṭa who is also known to have composed two c.p. inscriptions dated Ś. 836 of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa king Indraraja III (915-917) and the other was composed in Ś. 951 by Somadeva the court poet of Harihara, a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The inscriptional *champus* are not merely a mixture of prose and verse but are a kind of high classical compositions with a greater proportion of verses than prose along with metrical variety and with an elaborate and exuberant display of fancy and diction. This style is very nicely seen in South Indian Inscriptions specially from Karnatak where both the Champu's named above were written. (Heritage of Karnatak, p. 185).

J. 11

32. Sanskrit having become many centuries before the Christian era a standardised literary language and having apparently ceased to grow no evolutionary stages can be marked in the Sanskrit language itself of the inscriptions. But Sanskrit words which either are not given by the Dictionaries or are not met with in Lexicographer's works are used in some inscriptions (E.I. 3.150). The adoption of such foreign words had been going on since the Śaka invasions in the centuries before the Christian era. By using from time to time Sanskritised words of local, Dravidian and foreign use, the inscriptions show that the Sanskrit vocabulary was constantly becoming richer and richer. Several words used in practical life which are rarely found used in classical literature were used in inscriptions. (E.I. 31.168). The Dravidian element in the Sanskrit vocabulary of the South Indian Sanskrit inscriptions is as great and noteworthy as the Sanskrit element in the Dravidian vocabulary of the S.I. Dravidian inscriptions has been owing particularly to the closer political connection between the North and the South and to the enormous literary output which accompanied the religious revival of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in South India. Knowledge of the similarities and differences of these two groups particularly the influence of the Dravidian languages on Sanskrit is only possible by a study of the epigraphical literature in both of them.

Similarly the preference to Sanskrit words in their Prakrit inscriptions and the subsequent adoption of the Sanskrit language in their inscriptions by the Buddhist epigraphical writers of North-West India and Central Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era were responsible for the coining and introduction of a number of new Sanskrit words in the epigraphical literature.

33. But in the case of Prakrit, of the different South Indian languages and of the various Sanskritic provincial languages like Oriya, Marathi etc., the inscriptional material of which is also vast and important, the linguistic evolutionary stages can be distinctly marked with the help of the epigraphical material in the respective languages. The growth of the South Indian languages, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam cannot be properly traced without the help of the inscriptions in the respective languages. The Telugu inscriptions constitute the earliest records in Telugu literature. The development of the Marathi language, for instance, can be very clearly seen with the help of the Marathi inscriptions

in the time of the Yādavas, Śilāhāras, Bahāmanis and the five Decan Sultans and of the Chhatrapatis and the Peshwas.

34. The inscriptional poets have laid us under a great debt which has not yet been properly acknowledged; more intimately connected as they were with the practical life of the people of their times and as they had frequently to move in the diplomatic circles they have given us so many designations of public officials and administrators, and official and technical terms of every day use which were used in different State Departments in ancient times but most of which are now out of use. Most of the terms are seldom met with in the numerous works of classical authors. With the rule of the Muhammedans for a number of years the ancient Indian terms were replaced by their own terms. The British Government did the same thing and introduced a number of their own terms in all the administrative departments of the country in place of the Muhammedan terms and of the remaining Hindu terms. The ancient Indian terms having thus gone out of use for a number of years, their meaning and use are not known. None of the compilers of the modern Prākṛit, Pāli and Sanskrit Dictionaries is known to have utilised the epigraphical material in which the technical terms of different kinds had been freely used for hundreds of years. For the new lexicographer therefore who wishes to find out suitable Indian terms and expressions for the foreign terms the Indian epigraphical records have been of immense use. The administrative system that prevailed in ancient India had attained a high degree of perfection being used for thousands of years by hundreds of administrators in innumerable places and therefore importance of such terms cannot be underrated. Had it not been for the inscriptional literature which is fortunately preserved the country would have lost beyond recovery a very useful branch of knowledge. Although almost all the terms have long gone out of use the progress of epigraphical studies is expected to bring out their correct meaning and will enable us to discover the past wealth from oblivion. Some of them no doubt deserve to be introduced in our present administrative terminology and new linguistic coinage.

35. The inscriptions incised on stone slabs or copper plates or even on small clay tablets and tiny coins are permanent records. They have come down to us as actually written by the scribes of old unmodified and uncodified by later redactors. They

present us with the most reliable text of the work in spite of the irregularities due to the habits and carelessness of the local scribes. The orthographical peculiarities do not mar the originality of the text. The original text as it was when the inscription was incised in the script and speech of the time is before us unaltered or disfigured for so many years, except when it is damaged or worn out. It is not unlikely that some changes in the text of classical works are made consciously or unconsciously when the manuscript while being copied and recopied from time to time passes through different hands of scribes. It is also sometimes seen that the texts have been modified, edited and redacted by compilers and redactors with varied motives and diverse points of view, while the inscriptional literature has come down to us as actually inscribed by the ancient scribes unmodified by later compilers or commentators. It is for this reason that the more reliable text, for instance, of the well-known *Mahimna Stotra* of Halāyudha is that which is inscribed on stone slabs fixed in the Amareśvar temple at Māndhātā on the bank of the Narmadā. (E.I. 25.179.) than that in the different later manuscripts of the work preserved in Grantha Bhāṇḍāras. When no manuscript copies of a literary work are available, the importance of its inscribed text cannot be exaggerated. We are doubly fortunate when an inscription is engraved in more than one copy. The Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription of the early Chalukya king Kirtivarman II is presented in two copies, one in twenty-five lines in the local characters of the period and the other in twenty-eight lines in Nagari characters prevailing in North India at the period. Each copy is more or less damaged; but they mostly supply each other's deficiencies. So the text of the inscriptions can be almost satisfactorily put together from the two copies (E.I. 3.2). The Tribhuvanam Sanskrit inscription of the last Chola king Kulottunga III is engraved in two copies in Grantha characters at two places in the Kampha-hareśvara temple (D. R. Bhandarkar Vol. p. 3.). The text of an inscription in Cambodia is incised on several stone pillars (R. C. Mazumdar, *Inscriptions of Cambodia*).

How valuable are the Dhār, Māṇḍu and Ajmer inscriptions which present us with the only text of the dramas like *Pārijātamanjari*, *Harakeli nāṭaka* and the *Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka*, and the poems like *Kūrmaśataka*, *Koḍaṇḍa kāvya*, can be seen from the fact that no manuscript copies of the works have yet come to light. Some beautiful stotras have become known only because they were ins-

cribed on stone pillars of temples. The Udaipur Rājasamudra inscription and the Tanjore Br̥hadiśvara temple inscription which record lengthy historical Kāvya of several cantoes are the only reliable texts of the works available. What a sad thing it is that only some verses in praise of poetry are found inscribed in the Sitabengi cave and no full text is available (A.R.A.S.I. 1903-4 p. 74 and 123).

36. Another thing is this: when it is clearly stated that a record was copied by the composer himself on the stone slab or copper plate for being engraved by the mason we are exceptionally fortunate to see the actual handwriting of the poet. Mahipatika himself wrote in 99 A.D. the Kurram copper casket inscription in the Prakrit language and in the Kharosthi script containing an extract from the *Pratityasamutpādasutra* (E.I. 18.15). Similarly Haribala copied the text of a Sutta from the Majjhimanikāya on the Kasia copper plate (M.A.S.I. No. 7). They may not be the actual composers of the texts but they were great Buddhist scholars and in the inscriptions we have their handwriting. But the following were the actual poets who copied their own compositions on a stone slab for being engraved by a third man.

(1) Chakradāsa, author of the Poona c.p. inscription of the Vākātaka queen Prabhavatigupta dated c. 425 A.D. (E.I. 15.41).

(2) Kubja, the author of the well-known Aihole *praśasti* of 634 A.D. (E.I. 6.1).

(3) Vinayachandra, author of some grants of the Ganga king Narasimhagupta of Orissa (E.I. 3.129).

(4) Āditya, son of Vinayachandra, author of some grants of the Ganga king Indravarman.

(5) Virūpa, author of the Chicacole grant of the Ganga king Satyavarman (I.A. 14.11).

(6) Chandradatta, author of the Palethi (in Tehri Gadhwāl) sun temple *prasasti* dated in 11th cent. A.D. (Siddha Bharati pt. 2 p. 275).

Even if a record was not actually copied by the poet but was copied by a scribe we can still see the type of the script prevailing in the period and in the region in which the poet lived. But we can never see either the handwriting of any of the classical poets or that of his contemporary scribe. They must have used some

such frail material as birch-bark, palm-leaf, or a piece of cloth which is now lost.

37. From the fact that transfer of a manuscript of a *praśasti* to stone is alluded to in the Mau inscription of Chāḍṇella Madanavarman (E.I. 1.197) it seems that manuscripts of *praśastis* used to be kept though they are rarely found. Although they cannot be as reliable as the original inscriptions unless they are the first originals from which the inscriptions were copied some lost inscriptions can be retrieved from the copies kept of them. The *Sukṛitakīṭikallolīni* by Udayaprabhasūri, Vastupāla-Tajapāla *praśasti* by Jayasimhasūri and the Dabhoi *praśasti* by Jinaharshagaṇi and the documentary epigraph of V. S. 1298 recording resolutions of a council of Jain monks and laymen which was inscribed on a stone slab at Śatrunjaya for the knowledge of all the Jainas, which are said to have been extant as inscriptions, can be traced from their manuscripts kept in the Jain Bhandars. The text of the fragmentary second slab of the Kumbhalgadh inscription of V. S. 1517 can be restored with the help of a manuscript entitled *Praśasti Sangraha* which contains those inscriptions of Rānā Kumbha which originally belonged to the temple of Māmādevi at Kumbhalgadh and the Kīrtistambha at Chitor. (P.I.H.C. 14.367).

38. A student of Indian literatures specially of Sanskrit literature, will find it advantageous to study both the classical and the epigraphical literature in the respective languages as sometimes a piece of information from one supplements that from the other. There is a remarkable coincidence between certain verses in the *Strī-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and a part of the well known *Besnagar* inscription of *Heliodoros*. From the combined information obtained from both the sources we know that there was a close connection between the teaching of the *Mbh.* and that of the inscription, *Takshaśilā* where *Vaiśampāyana* recited the epic to *Janamejaya* had something to do with the diffusion of the teaching of the *Mbh.* and that since *Heliodoros* belonged to *Taxila* he must have actually heard and utilised the teachings of the *Mahābhārata* from which he quoted some verses in his inscription. If inscriptional poets offer help in dating the actual composition of the classical works the classical poets offer help in properly understanding the texts of several inscriptions. Several expressions of the classical poets can well be compared with those of the inscriptional poets for determining their present meaning. (C. Shivaram-

murti Sanskrit literature and Art page 9.). How the Vishṇusahasra-nāma stotra is of great importance for the interpretation of passages in the inscriptions and coin-legends of the Gupta emperors is well known. (I.N.S.I. 9.137). Similarly the numerous inscriptions in the different S.I. languages have contributed so immensely to the growth and richness of the respective S.I. languages that no student of those languages can do without studying them to understand the literature in them properly.

39. The epigraphical literature has preserved the entire culture of India. When various local vernaculars grew greatly and inscriptions in those languages began to be set up the Sanskrit inscriptions more than the Sanskrit literature became a necessary bond for the cultural unity of India. Constant recruitment was necessary in order that the Indian literature might be preserved from stagnation. The inscriptional poets have done this and have thus kept the torch of Sanskrit learning continuously burning during all these ages. By composing Sanskrit inscriptions on popular subjects they had kept the masses of the time in touch with the classes. This was probably one of the reasons for the continuous popularity of the Sanskrit learning throughout India. The literary products of the inscriptional poets like those of the classical authors rank high among the creations of civilised man and mirror the intellectual and spiritual life of the Hindus. Their significance for the proper appreciation of the cultural development of the people can therefore hardly be over-estimated.

40. The rise of the moon of great classical poets no doubt illumines the whole literary firmament but the constant twinkling of the numerous stars of the inscriptional poets gives it a calm, steady and pleasing appearance. Just as the moon shines brilliantly in the sky in the midst of the bright stars the great classical poets appear more glorious in the background of the numerous inscriptional poets of the time. A study of the classical and the inscriptional literatures further shows that although the poets and their patrons could not escape death the poets could, not only make themselves immortal, but could also make all their patrons immortal.

Prince Jeta's Grove in Ancient India

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., D. LITT., HON. F.R.A.S.
(LONDON)

Designation :

Prince Jeta's grove known as Jetavana or Jetārāma or Jetuyāma was one of the royal gardens in northern India. The term *Jetavana* occurring in Buddhist literature should not be understood in its original sense as the name of a private garden belonging to Prince Jeta. *Jetavana*¹ was no doubt a famous Buddhist monastic residence in a suburb of Sāvattihī (Śravastī),² which perpetuates the noble deeds of Prince Jeta, the original owner of the property, who is said to have laid out this grove.³ *Kosalamandira* was another name of this establishment.⁴

First permanent centre of Buddhism. Construction of Jetavana-vihāra :

With the erection of the Jetavana monastery and the formal dedication of the same to the Buddha by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika, also known as Sudatta, who was the purchaser of the site and hence its owner,⁵ the first permanent centre of Buddhism was established at Sāvattihī. In this grove the monastery (*ārāma*) of Anāthapiṇḍika was built⁶ at a cost of 54 koṭis of wealth, which

1. Luders' List No. 731; Jātaka Label No. 5 (Barua & Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 59).

2. Modern Sāheṭh-Māheṭh, which denotes not only the site of the city proper with that of Jetavana but also the adjoining areas of archaeological importance. The entire site lies on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich districts of Oudh (U.P.) and can be reached from Balarampur railway station. Just to the right of the road from Balarampur to Bahraich and not more than 800 ft. away from the road lies Sāheṭh, while Māheṭh is about one third of a mile still further (ASI Memoir, No. 50, p. 1).

3. *Mahāvamsa Commy.*, PTS., p. 102.

4. *Suttanipāta*, p. 192.

5. *Papañcasūdanī*, I, pp. 60-61.

6. *Paramatthajotikā*, I, p. 112.

was made a gift to the order of monks headed by the Buddha.⁷ Jetavana was a favourite retreat of the Buddha⁸ and an early centre of Buddhism. The Buddha renounced the world at Jetavana. He himself said, "When my wisdom was immature and when I was still attaining perfection, I left my kingdom and renounced the world".⁹

Jeta's Park :

In honour of the two donors the Buddha called the place Jeta's Park (Jetavana), and the pleasure grove of the banker Anāthapiṇḍada (*Anāthapiṇḍadārāma*). Great was Jeta's joy when he heard his name placed first. So he had the vestibule he had built duly ornamented with all kinds of precious substances.¹⁰

Anāthapiṇḍika approached the Master while he was in his monastery at Jetavana and invited him with the order of monks to take food in his dwelling place. The householder served and satisfied the Lord with the order of monks with sumptuous food. He was asked by the Lord whether he had prepared the Jetagrove for the use of the order of the four quarters for the present and for the future. The householder answered in the affirmative.¹¹

Location & Description :

Jetavana was situated at a distance of one mile to the south of Śrāvastī. The grounds of Jetavana were densely covered with trees and looked like a forest.¹² Grasses, sticks, branches and stalks were collected by men in this grove.¹³ This grove had sweet scented flowers, trees and various kinds of deer, peacocks and birds.¹⁴ It had pools which were affected by drought. The fish and tortoises were destroyed.¹⁵ In Buddha's time a Bo-plant was planted at the entrance of the Jetavanavihāra.¹⁶ There was a ceremonial planting of the Bo-seed which grew into a mighty Bo-tree. This tree gave rise to a new *Bodhimanda* at the gateway of the

7. *Sāratthappakāsinī*, PTS., I, p. 13.

8. *Dīgha*, I, p. 178.

9. *Jātakas* Nos. 538 and 539.

10. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 49.

11. *Vinaya Cullavagga*, p. 164.

12. *Samantapāsādikā*, III, p. 532.

13. *Samyutta*, III, p. 34.

14. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 45; *Thūpavaṃsa*, 81.

15. *Jātaka* No. 75.

16. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 35, 59, 82.

Jetavana monastery.¹⁷ Jetavana and Veluvana were the groves where the trees grew up spontaneously.¹⁸

Jetavana is thus described by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika: "In this grove toil wins knowledge and it is inhabited by the king of norm (*dhamma*). Here virtue inspires the highest life and by it mortals are purified neither by family nor by wealth. Looking to their own wealth let the learned wisely search the doctrine."¹⁹

Jetavana monastery in charge of Tisāsanadhaja :

Jetavana monastery was in charge of Tisāsanadhaja who lived there teaching *Paritta*.²⁰ An elder named Saddhammakitti went to Jetavana after learning the canonical texts from Ariyavamsa and lived there. He taught the canonical texts and helped the religion.²¹

Four main buildings in the Jetavanavihāra :

The banker Anāthapiṇḍika caused the Gandhukuṭi to be built for the Buddha in the centre. He caused to be constructed cellular abodes for eighty great disciples and to be provided each with one pinnacled, two pinnacled, duck and partridge roofed, long chambered and pavilion like retreats and tanks as well as places to walk, retire during the night and stay during the day.²² The four main buildings known as the Mahāgandhakuṭi,²³ Karerimaṇḍalamāla, Kosambakuṭi and Candanamāla²⁴ in the Jetavanavihāra, were meant for the personal use of the Buddha. Kosambakuṭi or Kosambakuṭikā stood on the border land of Jetavana.²⁵ A Kosamba tree stood in front of it. The Karerikuṭi derived its name from a *Kareri* or *Varuna* tree standing at its door. The Salalaghara was built by king Pasenadi of Kosala and the rest was erected by Anāthapiṇḍika. The Karerimaṇḍalamāla was a sitting

17. Barua, *Gaya & Buddhagaya*, p. 169.

18. *Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 11.

19. *Majjhima*, III, p. 262.

20. *Sāsanavamsa*, p. 101—a small collection of texts gathered from the *Suttapitaka*.

21. *Ibid.*, 163.

22. Fausboll, *Jāt.*, I, p. 92.

23. *Paramatthajotika*, II, p. 403—*Bhagavato Jetavane Mahāgandhakuṭi*.

24. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (the Commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*), II, 407.

25. *Sāratthappakāsinī*, Siamese Ed., I, p. 361.

shed built near the Kareri bower in front of the Karerikuṭi. This term is used to denote the Gandhakuṭi, Karerikuṭi, and Nisīdana-sālā.²⁶ Each of the four buildings was erected at the cost of one hundred thousand coins.

Bimbisāra & Pasenadi meeting the Lord at Jetavana :

King Bimbisāra of Magadha interviewed the Lord at Jetavana.²⁷ King Prasenajit (Pali Pasenadi) of Kosala met the Lord in this grove. The Lord reconciled him and his wife Mallikā here by a single word of admonition (*Jāt.* no. 306). The Lord cleansed Jetavana with a broom in his hand.²⁸

Activities of Devadatta, Cuḷodara & Mahodara

In this grove Devadatta sent assassins to kill the Buddha who received them hospitably.²⁹ While staying here in the fifth year of his Buddhahood the Lord saw a war which was likely to take place between Cuḷodara and Mahodara.³⁰

Tamapaṇṇi seen from Jetavana :

The excellent Tambapaṇṇi was seen by the Buddha from Jetavana.³¹

Conversion of Anāthapiṇḍika. Construction of resting places :

The banker Anāthapiṇḍika was converted by the Buddha. He built resting places at every league, on having received a promise from the Buddha to visit Śrāvastī.

Anāthapiṇḍika in search for a suitable site. Jeta declined to sell his garden :

The banker, on his return from Rājagriha to Śrāvastī was on the look out for a suitable site which was neither very far nor very near the city, easy of communication, easily accessible, not overcrowded at day time, noiseless at night, bereft of tumults, sequestered, sombre, and a place fit for silent meditation. The banker engaged men to cut down trees and clear the site. The

26. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II, p. 407.

27. R. L. Mitra, *Northern Buddhist Lit.*, p. 45; Cf. *Jāt.* No. 338.

28. R. L. Mitra, *Ibid.*, p. 29.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

30. *Mahāv.*, Ch. I., vs. 45-46.

31. *Dīpav.*, Chap. II, v, 2.

prince changed his mind and declined to part with his favourite garden, but according to legal opinion it was too late for the prince to back out of the contract made. Prince demanded an exorbitant price, namely, as many crores of gold pieces as would be required to cover up the entire site.³² In fulfilment of the condition of purchase from Prince Jeta³³ the banker engaged his men to cover up the site with a layer of gold pieces.³⁴ When nearly the whole of the site was covered up with 18 koṭis,³⁵ and a small portion remained to be covered, Jeta appeared and wanted to participate in this work of piety and utilised the whole amount of 18 koṭis received from the banker as well as the sale proceeds of the trees in constructing a store room over the gateway.

Construction of a number of buildings in the Jetavanavihāra :

The banker at the cost of another 18 crores caused to be built a number of buildings, such as dwelling rooms, retiring rooms, store-rooms over the gateways, service halls, halls with fire-places, storehouses outside the vihāra (monastery), closets, cloisters, halls for exercise, wells, sheds for the wells, bathrooms, halls attached to the bathrooms, tanks and pavilions.³⁶

Completion of the construction of Jetavanavihāra. Construction of a pleasant room for the Buddha and the dedication ceremony :

To complete this work of piety from the purchase of the site to the dedication of the monastery a huge amount of money had to be spent. All the stages in the process of construction of the Jetavana monastery consummated by the ceremony of dedication,³⁷ are faithfully represented in the Bharut bass reliefs bearing on the

32. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Pt. I, p. 8; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 228.

33. According to the Tibetan account Prince Jeta was put to death (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 121).

34. With a layer of crores (*Koṭisaṃthatena Keto*—Barua & Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, 161. Cf. *Cullavagga*, 159—*Kotisaṃtharam santharāpesi*; *Jāt.*, I, pp. 92-93; *Paramatthajotikā*, I, pp. 112ff.

35. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), I, p. 92.

36. Cf. *Cullavagga*, p. 159—*vihāre kārāpesi, pariveṇāni....koṭṭhako.... upatṭhānasālāyo aggīsālāyo kappiyakuṭṭiyo vaccakuṭṭiyo caṅkame caṅkaṃasālāyo udapāne udapānasālāyo jantāghare jantāgharasālāyo pokkharāṇiyo maṇḍape kārāpesi*.

37. Cf. *Jinacarita*, vs. 422-23.

subject.³⁸ The Bodh Gaya relief illustrates only the scene of fulfilment of the term of purchase.³⁹

The banker erected a new building in a Jetavanavihāra. A pleasant room for the Buddha was built and around it dwellings for eight foremost elders were constructed. He made ponds and terraces.

Sudatta or Anāthapiṇḍika built a residence for the Buddha which was made pleasant by rows of jingling little bells, crowded with pinnacles, having a beautiful roof covered with numerous jewels.⁴⁰

The banker clad in new robes with 500 merchants went out to meet the Buddha who requested him to give the monastery to the monastic order. He complied with his request. He brought a gold vessel and poured water over the Master's hand and dedicated the monastery (*vihāra*) to the order headed by the Buddha. The Master accepted it.⁴¹

The presence of Sumana and Sakulā at the dedication ceremony :

Sumana, also known as Subhuti, who was Anāthapiṇḍika's younger brother, was present at the time of handing over the grove to the fraternity.⁴² Sakulā or Pakulā⁴³ helped the Master at the acceptance of the gift of this grove.

The dedication festival lasted for 9 months and at this festival 18 *koṭis* were spent and 54 *koṭis* on the monastery.⁴⁴

Rainy seasons spent by the Buddha at the Jetavanavihāra

In the Jetavanavihāra the Buddha spent one of the rainy seasons,⁴⁵ but the commentary on the *Dhammapada* (Vol. I, p. 4) tells us that the Master resided in this monastery and spent 19 rainy seasons (*ekūnavīsati vassāvāsā*).

38. Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. II, pp. 27-31.

39. Barua, *Gaya & Buddha-Gaya*, II, pp. 104-05, fig. 54.

40. *Jinacarita*, vs. 409-10.

41. *Jinacarita*, vs. 422-23; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, I, p. 964.

42. Cf. *Psalm of the Brethren*, p. 4.

43. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, p. 91.

44. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 228ff., p. 231.

45. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 50.

Anāthapiṇḍika and Sāriputta :

Anāthapiṇḍika having received the sad news of the death of *Sāriputta*, one of the famous disciples of the Buddha, took his remains to his house and honoured them. He built a *caitya* or shrine over them.⁴⁶

Anāthapiṇḍika was ill when the Lord was at Jetavana. He sent for the Lord and *Sāriputta*. *Sāriputta* with *Ānanda* came to him and enquired of his illness. *Anāthapiṇḍika* informed him that he was not better but worse. *Sāriputta* advised him that he should not be a creature of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, mind, form, consciousness and contact. He should not be a creature of four elements, of the realm of infinite space, or of the realm of nothingness or of the realm of neither perception nor non-perception. *Anāthapiṇḍika* was later cured of his pain.⁴⁷

Description of the Jetavanavihāra :

When the door of the Jetavana monastery was open, on each side of it there was a stone pillar with the figure of a wheel on the top of that on the left, and the figure of an ox on the top of that on the right. On the left and right of the building the ponds of water, clear and pure, the thickets of trees always luxuriant, and the numerous flowers of various hues, constituted a lovely scene, the whole forming what is called the Jetavanavihāra, which was originally seven storied. The sandalwood image was burnt. When the two storeys were completed, the image was removed back to its former place.

The Jetavanavihāra was fully decorated and its halls and courts carefully prepared. There were fountains and streams in the garden. Rare birds sat by the pools and on the land they sang in sweet concord. Beautiful in every way was the Jetavana vihāra. Scattering flowers and burning incense invited the Lord to enter Jetavana. For the use of the fraternity throughout the world, the Jetavanavihāra was accepted as a gift with the prayer that overruling all evil influences it might give the kingdom permanent rest. The happiness of *Anāthapiṇḍika* might flow out in count-

46. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

47. *Majjhima*, III, pp. 258-63.

less streams.⁴⁸ The Buddha spent three months at the Jetavana-vihāra with one dish of food per diem.⁴⁹

Visits of Fahien and Tao Ching, two Chinese pilgrims, to the Jetavana monastery :

Fahien and Tao-ching first arrived at the Jetavana monastery.⁵⁰ Fahien saw that to each of the great residences for the monks at the Jetavanavihāra, there were two gates. The monastery was seen by him as existing in the centre. Here the Buddha lived for a longer time than at any other place, preaching his norm and converting men. Topes were built where he walked and sat. Outside the east gate of Jetavanavihāra the Buddha discussed with the advocates of 96 schemes of false doctrine, when the king, his great officers, householders, and people were assembled to hear it.⁵¹

Visits of Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā to the Vihāra. Anāthapiṇḍika and the Buddha :

Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā went regularly twice everyday to the Jetavanavihāra to wait upon the Buddha. In the residence of Anāthapiṇḍika seats were always prepared for two thousand monks. Not a single day he asked any question to the Buddha on account of his excessive love for the Master. When he took his seat, the Master thought "this merchant protects me where I have no need to be protected".⁵² The Buddha promised to Anāthapiṇḍika that as soon as the monastery would be completed, he would visit Jetavana and reside there. The Buddha at the invitation of Anāthapiṇḍika came and entered the Jetavana monastery.⁵³ The Lord expounded the doctrine to Anāthapiṇḍika who was very charitable to the needy. In his house five hundred monks were constantly fed. In this connection the Buddha said "the best food is that which is given in love"⁵⁴

48. Beal, *Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, SBE., Vol. XIX, p. 231.

49. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 225; Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 147.

50. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 56-57.

51. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 54-60.

52. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, Yamakavagga, *Cakkhupālavatthu—esa maṃ arakkhitabbatṭhāne rakkhati*

53. *Jinacarita*, vs. 409-10, 415-16 and 421.

54. *Jātaka* No. 346.

Importance of Jetavana in religious history. Buddha's activities as a religious teacher and religious preacher :

The importance of Jetavana in the religious history of India is indeed very great. The Jeta-grove was visited by such famous disciples of the Buddha as Ānanda, Sāriputta, Mahāmaggaḷāna and Anuruddha. Ānanda addressed the monks while he was in the Jetavanavihāra about Puṇṇa, Mantāni's son⁵⁵ and three noble bodies of the doctrine regarding right conduct, meditation and wisdom.⁵⁶ He spoke of the truth-finder who removed every wrong state of consciousness.⁵⁷ In this grove Sāriputta replied to Ānanda that he had been keeping himself free from passions and evil things, with his thought applied and sustained in the first stage of meditation.⁵⁸ He spoke of the seven limbs of wisdom.⁵⁹ Mahāmaggaḷāna entered on the first trance while he was there.⁶⁰ He asked Anuruddha about the rise and fall of things to which the thought of a monk was given.⁶¹ At Jetavana he described the possible scenes witnessed by him at eight hells.⁶² Anuruddha thought of those neglecting the four arisings of mindfulness and the noble path leading to the destruction of suffering.⁶³ He admitted that he had understood the thousandfold world system by his supernatural power.⁶⁴ The Buddha explained to the banker Anāthapiṇḍika fivefold guilty dread (*pañcaverabhayaṇi*). One can master it by avoiding life-slaughter, theft, wrongful action, falsehood, and indulgence in intoxicating drinks.⁶⁵

In the Jeta-grove the Buddha explained to the monks the law of dependent origination.⁶⁶ He gave five reasons for getting

55. *Samyutta*, III, p. 105.

56. *Dīgha*, I, pp. 204ff.

57. *Majjhima*, II, pp. 112ff.

58. *Samyutta*, III, p. 235.

59. *Samyutta*, V, pp. 70ff.

60. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 262-63.

61. *Ibid.*, V, p. 295.

62. *Mahāvastu*, I, 4; I, 27.

63. *Samyutta*, V, 295.

64. *Ibid.*, V, p. 303.

65. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 68-69; Law, *History of Pali Literature*, I, p. 168.

66. *Ibid.*, II, 1ff; vide also *Majjhima*, I, pp. 262ff; *Visuddhimagga*, II, pp. 518-19; *Kathāvatthu*, II, p. 319; *Dīgha*, II, 55ff; *Udāna*, Ch. I; *Samyutta*, II, pp. 262ff; *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 1-204ff; Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. VIII (Kern Institute Publication); Law, *Indological Studies*, II, Ch. III.

rich.⁶⁷ He addressed the monks here to be moderate in eating and vigilant.⁶⁸ According to him *nibbāna* (perfect beatitude) can be attained by one who has deep respect for the Buddha, Norm and the Order.⁶⁹

The Buddha while seated in the midst of the elect at the Jetavanavihāra recognised Uppalavaṇṇā as the foremost of those endowed with the miraculous power.⁷⁰ He gave Khemā first rank for great insight.⁷¹ He assigned the foremost place to Mahāpajāpati Gotamī among experienced nuns.⁷² Kisāgotamī was given by the Master the first place among the weavers of rough raiment.⁷³ Sumana or Subhuti, the younger brother of Anāthapiṇḍika, became the foremost among the monks who cultivated universal amity.⁷⁴

The Buddha told the monks at the Jeta-grove that the form, sound, scent, savour and touch of a man could enslave a woman's heart very much.⁷⁵ He drew the attention of the monks to five hindrances over-spreading the heart and weakening insight.⁷⁶ Here he addressed the monks thus "He who clings to the forms of women, initiated, greedy, enslaved and fettered, shall grieve long, snared by the charm of the forms of women".⁷⁷ The Buddha while at Jetavana said about the perfection of wisdom and about the admission of four female ascetics to religious life.⁷⁸

It was the custom of the monks who kept the rainy season to see the Master. These monks, having kept the rains at the end of the three months, took their bowls and robes and set out for the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika in the Jeta-grove where the Master was. The Master enquired of the monks whether they

67. *Anguttara*, III, 45ff.

68. *Ibid.*, III, p. 300.

69. *Ibid.*, III, p. 330.

70. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, PTS., p. 195.

71. *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. 82.

72. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, p. 141.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

74. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 4.

75. *Anguttara*, I, pp. 2-3.

76. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 63ff.

77. *Ibid.*, III, p. 68.

78. *Jātaka* Nos. 301 and 546.

had passed a comfortable rainy season and did not go short of alms. They answered in the affirmative.⁷⁹

The Lord who was in Jetavana rebuked the monks for mounting on the backs of the cows and touching their privy parts with lustful thoughts, while crossing the river Aciravatī.⁸⁰ He asked them not to do this, otherwise they would be guilty of a grave offence. The Lord asked them not to go in a vehicle. They would be guilty of an offence of wrong-doing, if they used vehicle.⁸¹

Soṇa went to the Master who was staying in the Jeta-grove. Both the Master and Soṇa dwelt in the same lodging. Soṇa at the request of the Master spoke from memory all the eight divisions (*sabbāni aṭṭhakavaggikāṇi*). The Lord was very much pleased after listening to Soṇa's recital.⁸² The Master who was in that grove saw the monks affected by an autumnal disease and allowed them to use five medicines e.g., ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey, and molasses, if accepted at a right time. Even when accepted at a wrong time they were allowed to use the five medicines.⁸³

The Master who was at Jetavana allowed the monks to use all dry or solid food that was fruit. He further told them that they had spent a comfortable rainy season without any trouble regarding food. The monks replied in the affirmative. Five things were also allowed by the Master for the monks: going to families for alms without asking permission, walking for alms not taking the three robes, a group meal, as many robes as are required, and whatever robe-material accrues there, that will be for them.⁸⁴ Visākhā with her own hand served and satisfied the order of monks headed by the Buddha with sumptuous food. She told that she would ask for eight boons (*aṭṭhavarāṇi*) from the Lord. The

79. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, PTS., pp. 157ff.

80. This river flows south-eastwards past the city of Śrāvastī (modern Sāheth-Māheth). It is a tributary of the Sarayū river which has its origin in the Himalayan region (Vide *Papañcasūdanī* II, 586; *Manorathapūraṇī*, II, 757-60; *Suttanipāta Commy.*, 437-39). According to the *Samyutta* (II. 135, Cf. V, 39, 134) this river along with the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū and Mahī flowed, slid and tended to the east. It is a deep river (*Samyutta*, V, 401).

81. *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, pp. 190-91.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 199ff.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 253ff.

Lord later granted eight boons to her.⁸⁵ The Lord while in Jeta's grove asked the monks to carry out a formal act of censure against the monks who were followers of Paṇḍuka and Lohitaka, as they were the makers of strifes, quarrels, etc.⁸⁶ Here the Master allowed five things for monks under probation according to their seniority: religious observance, invitation, cloths for the rains, gift, and food or boiled rice.⁸⁷

The Lord said at Jetavana that a formal act of censure or guidance or banishment or reconciliation or suspension should not be carried out against absent monks.⁸⁸ Whoever should carry out he or she would be guilty of the offence of wrong doing.⁸⁹ The Master said that the small jar and the broom could be accepted by the monks but not the scrubber (*kataka*).⁹⁰

The Buddha while at Jeta's grove told the monks that sins could be removed by scrutiny, restraint, use, endurance, avoidance and culture. An uninstructed everyday man is never freed from birth, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair,⁹¹ as he is in error. An instructed everyday man should understand the mental states to be entertained by him. His mind is well engaged in four noble truths, namely, suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation. He is free from three bonds of individuality. No sins arise in a monk who has endurance and who uses his intellect properly. A monk duly rejects all thoughts of sensual pleasure, malevolence and malice that have already arisen. A monk duly cultivates the factors of enlightenment, namely, investigation of the doctrine, effort, delight, tranquillity, self-concentration and indifference to pleasure and pain based on aloofness, passionlessness, cessation and relinquishment. The monk in whom the sins are gone is said to have all the sins under restraint. He has removed desire, fetters and false pride. He has made an end of suffering.⁹² The Buddha

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 290ff.

86. *Vinaya-Cullavagga*, PTS., pp. 1-2.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 31ff.

88. *tajjanīyam nissayam, pabbājānīyam patisāraṇīyam, ukkhepanīyam*. *Vinaya-Cullavagga*, 73.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 73ff.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

91. These are mentioned as common instances of suffering as generally understood in this world (Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 28).

92. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 6-12.

advised the monks to be partakers of his doctrine and not of the worldly goods.⁹³

The Buddha said to Jānussoṇi who was a brahmin, "it is in purity that I take to a life of solitude in the forests. The consciousness of purity within me has given me strength to live in the forests. Recluses and brahmins living in forests are beset with fear and dread, if they are covetous and pleasure-loving and accordingly corrupt or malevolent or malignant. None of these defects are in me. I shall never change my posture till I can overcome fear and dread. In me a being free from delusion has arisen in the world for the welfare of many, out of compassion towards the world and for the good of gods and men. Forsaking sensual pleasures and evil ways I entered on all the four stages of ecstasy, having reasoning and investigation, joy and happiness caused by seclusion, etc.⁹⁴ Really these are the states generating internal tranquillisation, equanimity, and the purity of concentration of the mind, equanimity and mindfulness. With the celestial eye I saw beings in passing away and reappearing elsewhere. With a steadfast mind I acquired the knowledge of the uprooting of desires. I well understood suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation.⁹⁵ When I am free from the depravities of sensual pleasures, of continuing existence and of ignorance, knowledge of my deliverance has come. I am convinced of the fact that rebirth is no more; the highest life has been

93. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 12-13.

94. In the first stage of meditation reasoning (*vitakka*), investigation (*vicāra*), joy (*pīti*), happiness (*sukha*), and concentration (*ekaggatā*) are present. In the second stage the first two are eliminated. In the third the first three are eliminated leaving *sukha* (happiness) and *ekaggatā* (concentration). In the fourth stage *sukha* is replaced by *upekkhā* (indifference to pleasure and pain) and there remain two elements namely, *upekkhā* and *ekaggatā*. There is not much difference between these two sets of meditation. In the second stage of the first set of meditation reasoning and investigation disappear simultaneously; but in the second set they disappear one after another, thus giving opportunity for another stage. The third, fourth and fifth stages of the second set of meditation correspond to the second, third and fourth stages of the first set. (For further details, vide my *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 38).

95. Cf. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 426ff. The Lord taught suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation, as they are profitable and fundamental to higher life.

lived by me, and my task is done. The solitary life has been lived by me because therein I see a two-fold good: I see my own welfare here and now and I cherish compassion towards those that have come after".⁹⁶

The Lord while at Jeta's grove advised the monks to regulate their lives according to precepts. They should be restrained and endowed with good manners. They should fulfil the whole code of virtue, calm his mind internally, and cultivate the stage of meditation.⁹⁷

While he was here the Master addressed the monks thus, "When a man's mind is impure, there is the obstacle to bliss and when his mind is pure, bliss is expected to come. Avarice, injustice, contentiousness, hatred, anger, enmity, hypocrisy, jealousy, selfishness, envy, deceit, treachery, insensibility, clamour, pride, arrogance, sensual enjoyment and indolence are the impurities of the mind (*cittassa upakkilesā*).⁹⁸ Removing all these impurities a monk comes to full faith in the Enlightened One. Realising that a monk has attained full faith in the Enlightened One, his doctrine and his confraternity, he has obtained knowledge of meaning, of norm and of joy leading to the norm. The four quarters of the world are pervaded by his mind with thoughts of love, compassion, joy and equanimity".⁹⁹

While the Lord was there Mahācunda came to see him. He told him thus, "The application of right wisdom is all that is necessary to get rid of false views arising in this world. A monk who is free from pleasures of senses and wrong states of consciousness, has attained the first stage of meditation with all its joy and satisfaction. It is a state generating internal solitude but not divorced from reasoning and investigation. A monk who rising above reasoning and investigation, has attained the second stage of meditation, which generates rapt concentration above all

96. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 17-24.

97. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 33-36.

98.*Abhiijjhāvisamalobho* *byāpādo* *kodho* *upanāho* *makkho* *palāso* *issā* *macchariyam* *māyā* *sāṭṭheyyam* *thambho* *sārambho* *māṇo* *atimāno* *mado* *pamādo* (*Majjhima*, I, pp. 36-37).

99. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 37-40.

reasoning and investigation. A monk who being indifferent to pleasure and passion has attained the third stage of meditation with equanimity, mindfulness and happiness. He attains the fourth stage of meditation by removing joys and sorrows felt before. He must be harmless. He must follow the noble eight-fold path. He must be humble minded and free from doubts, anger, enmity, hypocrisy, jealousy, etc".¹⁰⁰

The Buddha further addressed the monks thus, "The four states of mind are that we believe in the Teacher, in his doctrine, have fulfilled the code of virtue and love all our fellow believers. To answer rightly it is the goal of a man without passion, hatred, delusion, desire and attachment. There are two speculative ideas of eternalism and of annihilationism. Those who know the real nature of the rise and fall of these two speculative ideas, are free from passion, hatred, delusion, desire and attachment. They will be free from birth, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation and pain, grief and despair. A truth-finder, an elect, an All Enlightened One, understands attachments. Attachments come from craving, which comes from feeling. Feeling comes from contact which comes from six abodes of senses, which come from name and form. Name and form come from consciousness. Consciousness arises from *saṃkhāras*¹⁰¹ or confections or conditions precedent which come from ignorance. When ignorance is dispelled and knowledge arises in a monk, he attaches himself no longer to sensual plea-

100. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 40-46.

101. It is a term of varying but consistent and intelligible meaning. It denotes the making ready or complete something for an end. Hence it has no exclusive application to the psychical sphere. *Samkhāras* may be divided as often between those of the body, speech or thought. Expiration and inspiration are *saṃkhāras* (*Samyutta*, IV, 293; *Vibhaṅga* 135). They are one of the *khandhas* which constitute the individual of Buddhism. They appear side by side with the material form (*rūpa*) or body, feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*) and intellect or consciousness (*viññāna*) and there is no room here for the concept of ideas; rather they are the dispositions leading to rebirth precisely parallel to the *saṃkhāras*, which in the Sāṃkhya system represent the predispositions of the individual resulting from the impressions left by former thoughts and deeds (Law, *Buddhaghosa*, pp. 118-19; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 50-51; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, 2nd Ed. XI; *Visuddhimagga*, Chap. XIV; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 52; S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, p. 96.

tures, or to false doctrine or to assertion of self. Being free from attachment he wins *nirvāṇa* or perfect beatitude.¹⁰²

The Lord while he was in the above grove, spoke to the monks about fivefold pleasures of the senses, namely, (i) forms understood or cognised by the eye, (ii) sounds cognised by the ear, (iii) smell cognised by the nose, (iv) tastes cognised by the tongue, and (v) touch cognised by the body. These are the modes of evil desire that are connected with the five senses (*kāmaguṇā*). Sensual pleasure brings lots of trouble, so the end of sensual pleasure is happiness. To subdue and to overcome all desires and appetite for them is nothing but deliverance from pleasures of sense.¹⁰³

The Lord while living in Jeta's grove told the monks that it was not possible for a monk to show progress in the doctrine and discipline, if the five perverse doubts and absence of faith in the three gems were not given up, and if the five fetters of the mind were not destroyed. The Master further said that a monk had doubts or misgivings about the Master, he had no confidence or faith in him, his mind was not bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance and exertion. It was quite possible for a monk to show progress in the doctrine and discipline, if he had the five obstinacies of the mind¹⁰⁴ abandoned and the five fetters broken off. If a monk felt no doubt about the Master, norm or confraternity, his mind was bent on ardour. A monk developed the four bases of psychic power. Strenuousness itself was a faith. A monk who was endowed with the fifteen factors of exertion, was fit for the attainment of full enlightenment and excellent *nirvāṇa*.¹⁰⁵

The Lord further addressed the monks thus: "A monk dwelling in a forest finds that mindfulness which did not arise before, does not arise; mind not concentrated before is not concentrated; the sins not exhausted before are not destroyed; the excellent *nirvāṇa* not obtained before is not attained; it is difficult to find out the needs of a monk in the forest in the matter of garments, food, bed, and medicines. A monk should ponder over

102. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 64-68.

103. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 84-90.

104. Five mental enslavements (*Pañcacetokhilā*).

105. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 101-04.

this matter that he became a monk not for clothing and the like, but in a forest he is neither getting mindfulness nor concentration of mind nor the attenuation of sins nor the attainment of excellent *nirvāṇa*. Realising this he should quit the forest". The Buddha further said, "A monk dwelling in a forest finds that mindfulness which was not his before, belongs to him now; that concentration of mind which was not his before, is now his; that the sins not extinct before, have now disappeared from him, and that he is now getting the excellent *nibbāna* (Sk. *nirvāṇa*) which he had not won before. But he finds it difficult to satisfy the needs of a monk in the matter of garments, food, bed and medicines in the forest. He should consider that it was not for the latter things that he became a monk. Realising this he should not quit the forest."¹⁰⁶

The Lord addressed the monks thus, "Whatever is thought of sensual pleasures, of hatred and of injury should be put into one category, and whatever is thought of renunciation, non-hatred, and non-hurting, should be placed in another category. The thought of sensual pleasures is destructive of intuitive wisdom and not conducive to *nibbāna*. Sensual pleasures should be got rid of. The thought of hatred and injury does not lead us to *nibbāna*. The thought of renunciation is for growth in intuitive wisdom; it is not associated with distress. It is conducive to *nibbāna*. The noble eightfold path is no doubt the path which is safe, secure, and leading to delight as contrary to the wicked path".¹⁰⁷

The Lord further addressed the monks thus, "A monk who applies himself to lofty thought should from time to time attend to five signs (*pañca-nimittāni*). When bad thoughts arise in a monk associated with desire, hatred and delusion, he should divert his mind to another sign associated with what is right. Though he diverts his mind to the right sign, still the same bad thoughts arise in him. Then he should study the perils these bad thoughts bring. As he studies them, these bad thoughts disappear, so that his mind becomes firm, quiet and concentrated. Even after scrutiny of their perils these bad thoughts still arise, he should ignore them. He should by strength of mind restrain his mind".¹⁰⁸

106. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 104-08. Cf. Vinaya rules relating to a monk's needs in the matter of clothing, food, bed and medicines.

107. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 114-18; cf. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, I, p. 127.

108. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 119-22.

The Lord said "he who loves the Norm prospers and he who hates it suffers. Plain is the weal in life and so suffering is plain".¹⁰⁹

If any monk spoke ill of some nuns, the Elder Moliyaphagga was angry and displeased. This matter was reported to the Buddha who sent for Moliya. When he came, the Lord spoke to him, "if any one in your presence speaks ill of those nuns, you should get rid of worldly desires and worldly thoughts and train yourself thus, 'Your mind will not become perverted and you will not utter an evil speech. Being kindly and compassionate you will dwell with a mind of friendliness and void of hatred'". Then the Lord addressed the monks thus, "you partake of a meal at one session as I do. Partaking of a meal at one session you will have good health, and strength and you will live in comfort. You should get rid of what is unskilled and exert among skilled things. You will surely attain maturity in the doctrine and discipline".

Referring to Vedehikā, a female householder, punishing her slave woman who got up late, the Buddha said thus, "Oh monks, you must speak gently. There are five ways in which the monks may be addressed: (1) in or out of season, (2) truthfully or untruthfully, (3) mildly or harshly, (4) profitably or unprofitably and (5) in love or in hate. Oh monks, your task should be to preserve your mind unmoved, never to utter ill word but always to abide in compassion and goodwill with no hatred in your mind".¹¹⁰

The Lord further said thus, "the states of mind declared to be the stumbling blocks are really stumbling blocks to one indulging in them. The pleasures of sense give little satisfaction and much ill and much tribulation. Fools have failed to grasp the diverse aspects of the doctrine, conducive to their lasting suffering. No one can possibly indulge in the pleasures of sense without harbouring sensuality in him or without perceiving it and thinking about it. Weariness leads him to passionlessness and passionlessness to deliverance".

109. For further details vide *Suttanipāta*, Uragavagga, vs. 91-115—"Dhammakāmo bhavaṃ hoti, dhammadessī parābhavo."

110. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 123-29.

"Those who have thrown off the five worldly fetters will be sent to higher regions for good. They have also removed passion, hatred and delusion and they will make an end of suffering. They have entered the stream of sanctification by throwing off the three fetters. They are destined to win the fullest enlightenment. Those who have faith in me and love for me have heaven as their destiny".¹¹¹

The Buddha said to Kumārakassapa, giving the example of an ant-hill that the brahmin typifies the truth-finder, one who has attained the highest stage of sanctification, and all enlightened. The sage is a monk under training. His tool is noble wisdom. His digging is perseverance in effort. The bar signifies ignorance. The strain represents the five obstacles. The cleaver indicates the five pleasures of sense. The joint typifies delights of passion. The cobra is the symbol of a monk in whom depravities are no more.¹¹²

The Buddha points out that by passing beyond perception of visible forms, by ceasing from perception of sense reactions, and by not paying attention to perception of diversified impressions, a monk enters into and abides in the place of the infinity of space. By passing beyond the plane of infinity of space he enters into and abides in the plane of infinity of consciousness. By passing beyond the plane of infinity of consciousness he enters into and abides in the plane of naught. By passing beyond the plane of naught he enters into and abides in the plane of neither perception nor non-perception. By passing beyond the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, he enters into and abides in the plane where feeling and perception cease and where the sins are exhausted because he gets vision from wisdom. Such a monk is said to have crossed over the worldly entanglement.¹¹³

Some monks were anxious to hear a discourse on the doctrine by the Master who fulfilled their wishes. In the hermitage of the brahmin Rammaka the monks were present discussing about the doctrine. The Lord went there and said thus, "Oh monks, there are two searches (*pariyesanā*): the noble (*ariya*) and the ignoble (*anariya*). A man being subject to rebirth, pursues what

111. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 130-42. Cf. *Vinaya-Cullavagga*, P.T.S., II, pp. 25ff.

112. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 144-45.

113. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 159-60.

is no less subject thereto. He being subject to disease, death, sorrow, and impurity, pursues what is no less subject thereto. This is all about the ignoble quest. As to the noble quest, a man who being subject to re-birth, decay, disease, death, sorrow, and impurity, sees peril in what is subject thereto and so pursues after the consummate peace of *nirvāṇa*, which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity. This is the noble quest. I have obtained the doctrine which is profound, recondite, hard to comprehend, serene, excellent, abstruse, and only to be perceived by the learned. Oh monks, I surveyed the world with the eye of enlightenment. The thought came to me that there were five monks who had served me so well in my struggle to attain *bodhi* or enlightenment. I succeeded in convincing the five monks. In course of receiving my teaching and instruction they being subject to rebirth, decay, disease, death, sorrow, and impurity, saw peril in what is subject thereto. So they sought after the consummate peace of *nirvāṇa*. There arose in them the conviction that their deliverance was now assured. Oh monks, fivefold are the pleasures of sense, visible shapes are apparent to the eye; sounds apparent to the ear, odours apparent to the nostrils, tastes apparent to the tongue; touch apparent to the body; all of them are pleasant, agreeable and delightful and all of them are bound up with passion and lust".¹¹⁴

The Lord spoke thus, "a truth-finder, an elect, or an all-enlightened one, preaches his doctrine which is good at the beginning, in the middle and at the end. He abstains from reviling people. He sedulously avoids hurting. He takes but one meal a day; he avoids dancing, singing and music; he never takes part in bribery or cheating. He refuses to accept gold or silver coins. He controls the sense-faculties and he is a master of noble mindfulness. He never cherishes spiteful thoughts and he is free from doubts. His heart is delivered from the sins of sensual pleasures, and ignorance".

The Lord has laid down that whosoever sees the chain of causation sees the doctrine, and whosoever sees the doctrine sees the chain of causation. It is the chain of causation that entails all that makes up the five attachments. The origin of suffering is the desire for and the resort to these five attachments. The

114. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 161-75.

cessation of suffering is the avoidance of all such desires and appetites.¹¹⁵

The Lord addressed the monks thus, "it is not possible for a monk endowed with eleven qualities to show progress in the doctrine and discipline. He is ignorant of the form. He does not really understand that each form consists of four chief elements. He has no eye for marks because he does not really comprehend what marks the doings of the fool and what marks the doings of the wise. Instead of discarding sensual pleasures and wrong states of mind, he indulges in them. He has no real understanding of mindfulness in its fourfold display".¹¹⁶

The Lord said thus, "Whatever form of consciousness arises from an assignable condition, it is known by the name of that condition. If the eye and visible shapes condition consciousness, it is called visual consciousness, and so on with the senses and objects of hearing, smelling, tasting, touching and minding. There are four sustenances which either maintain existing organisms or help those seeking birth. First of these is material sustenance, contact is the second, meditation is the third, and perception is the fourth. The derivation, origin, birth and production of all the four sustenances lie in carving, which arises from feeling, which arises from contact, which arises from sensory domains, which arise from name and form, which arise from consciousness which arises from confections, which arise from ignorance. From the cessation of delight comes the cessation of attachment, from the cessation of attachment comes the cessation of existence, from the cessation of existence comes the cessation of birth, from the cessation of birth, old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, suffering, and despair are destroyed. Thus there is the cessation of the entire mass of ill. Oh monks, you realise emancipation due to the destruction of desire".¹¹⁷

The Lord told the monks about the four ways of professing a doctrine.¹¹⁸ The Lord addressed the monks thus, "Generally the will and pleasure of the people are decreasing in what is undesirable, disagreeable and unpleasant, and are increasing in

115. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 185-91.

116. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 220-24.

117. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 257-71.

118. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 305-09.

what is desirable, agreeable and pleasant. An uninstructed layman fails to cultivate and foster what he should. An instructed disciple of the noble, who is trained and versed in the noble doctrine, knows what things should be followed and what not".¹¹⁹ The Lord while staying in Jeta's garden further addressed the monks thus: "An enquiring monk who searches the hearts of others ought to study the truth-finder in respect of the two conditions. By pursuing his study still further he comes to know that in a truth-finder these conditions alone occur, which are wholly pure. The truth-finder himself should be asked whether in him the conditions which come through sight and hearing occur in a corrupt form, in a mixed form or in entire purity. He will answer that the conditions occur always in entire purity".¹²⁰

The Lord said "I have specified two classes of feelings.¹²¹ I have enunciated the doctrine accordingly. Those who refuse to accept from others correct statements, must be expected to live in quarrels, and those who accept from others correct statements, are expected to live in amity. Five in number are the pleasures of sense. I do not agree with any person who holds that this is the highest pleasure".¹²²

The Lord said to Rāhula "If you think of love, compassion, joy and indifference, malevolence, annoyance and discontent will pass away."¹²³ He instructed him in the eradication of sins.¹²⁴

The Lord spoke to the monks about the five bonds which bind men to the lower life. An instructed disciple of the noble who is trained in the noble doctrine, has a mind beset and obsessed by no delusions about personality and the rest of the five bonds; he knows the real escape therefrom. Without first treading the path for getting rid of these five bonds,¹²⁵ it is impossible for a

119. *Ibid.*, I, 309 ff.

120. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 318 ff.

121. *Samyutta*, IV, pp. 224 ff.

122. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 397 ff.

123. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 421 ff.

124. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 278 ff.

125. They are as follows: false view of individuality (*Sakkāyaditthi*), doubt (*vicikicchā*), affectation of rites (*sīlabbataparāṃsā*), *kāmacchanda* (desire for sensual pleasures) and *byāpāda* (malevolence).

PRINCE JETA'S GROVE IN ANCIENT INDIA 363

man to know or discern or to get rid of them. A monk by aloofness from all ties and by removing wrong states of consciousness, becomes free from the pleasures of sense and wrong states of consciousness. He purges his mind of all mental phenomena and destroys cravings. He destroys the five bonds¹²⁶ (*pañca orambhāgiyāni samyojanāni*).

When the Lord was in Jeta's grove a wanderer named Vacchagotta came to him and asked him thus "Do you hold that the world is eternal, non-eternal, finite and infinite? Are life and body identical or distinct? Does the truth-finder pass or not pass to another existence after death in this world?" The answer was in the negative. The Lord said "all forms, feelings, perceptions, mental coefficients or complexes,¹²⁷ consciousness,—everything which denotes a truth-finder has passed away."¹²⁸

In Jeta's grove the Lord was met by the wanderer named Vekhanassa. The Lord said, "visible shapes, sounds, odours, tastes and touch make up pleasures of sense. Pleasures of sense build up sensuous pleasure culminating in that refinement of pleasure, which is the highest of all. The monks who are *arahats* (the elect) in whom desires are extinct, who have greatly lived, whose task is done, who have cast off their burden, who have won their weal, whose bonds are broken, have won deliverance by utter knowledge."¹²⁹

A young Brahmin Subha came to the Lord while he was in Jeta's grove. The Lord said, "I condemn wrong conduct alike in the pilgrim and in the householder. With wrong conduct he can neither attain to the true system nor to the doctrine. With right conduct everybody can succeed. My view is qualified and not absolute. A busy life may be a failure and may bear little fruit or it may be a success or bear much fruit. A monk dwells with radiant thoughts of love pervading the whole world."¹³⁰

126. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 432 ff.

127. The latest rendering by Mrs. Rhys Davids is synergies. *Saṅkhāra* may be rendered as confections of mind having the characteristic of composing the function of combining and the manifestation of being busy. (For a detailed treatment vide Law, *Buddhaghosa*, pp. 118-20).

128. *Majjhima*. I. pp. 483 ff.; cf. *Samyutta*, III. 257; IV. 401.

129. *Majjhima*, II, pp. 40 ff.; Cf. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 19.

130. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 197 ff.

The Lord addressed the monks thus, "Some monks and brahmins have made a number of assertions about futurity. Some hold that self is conscious and free from malady after death. Some hold that it is unconscious and free from malady after death. Some hold that it is neither conscious nor unconscious, though free from malady after death. Some make known destruction and annihilation of a being. Some assert *nirvāṇa* in this world. Those monks and brahmins, who make known that self is conscious and free from malady after death, affirm that this conscious self has a visible shape or that it has no visible shape or that it has both or that it has neither. They affirm that its consciousness is either unified or diversified, limited or immeasurable. The truth-finder is familiar with each of their various theories about consciousness after death. It is asserted that the self and the world are eternal, are not eternal, are both eternal and not eternal, are neither eternal nor not eternal, are endless. A monk or a brahmin develops and enters on the joy of solitude. Another recluse or brahmin who is free from all views about past and future, develops and dwells in indifference which knows neither pleasure nor pain and feels it to be excellent or good. When this indifference vanishes, immaterial bliss arises. When this bliss passes away, indifference arises once more. Knowing well his vision the truth-finder observes that this monk conceives that *nirvāṇa* is only a salutary path to tread. It is in the perfect way of utter peace that the truth-finder has won full enlightenment and has thought out the true nature of the origin, destruction, advantage, disadvantage and the outcome of the six abodes of contact."¹³¹

Puṇṇa¹³² came to the Lord while he was at Jetavana. The Lord said to him thus, "There are forms of which sight is conscious, there are sounds of which hearing is conscious, there are odours of which smell is conscious, there are savours of which taste is conscious, there are impressions of which touch is conscious, and there are mental objects of which the mind is conscious,—all of them agreeable and desirable, attractive and pleasant, are bound up with lusts and exciting to passion. If a monk welcomes any of these, he will be delighted."¹³³

131. *Majjhima*, II, pp. 228 ff.

132. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the man*, pp. 112-13.

133. *Majjhima*, III, pp. 267 ff.

The Lord, while in Jeta's grove, spoke to the attentive monks about six internal senses, six external senses, six groups of consciousness, six groups of contact, six groups of feelings and six groups of desire.¹³⁴

The Lord, while he was in Jeta's grove, informed the monks that he would instruct them in the meaning of the six great senses, namely, the sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the sense of smelling, the sense of taste, the sense of touch, and the sense of comprehending. Right view, right resolve, right effort, right exertion, right mindfulness and right concentration mark the man whose life is purified. The noble eightfold path¹³⁵ proceeds to the fulfilment of meditation.¹³⁶

134. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 280 ff.

135. It is the way pointed out by the Buddha for escape from the misery of existence. It has eight parts or divisions, e.g., right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right living, right exertion, right recollection and right meditation.

136. *Majjhima*, III, pp. 287 ff.; Cf. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. V. J. 15

Was the Congress A Child of Russo-phobia ?

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,
*Professor and Head of the Department of History,
 Lucknow University.*

It is indeed curious that there is yet no satisfactory answer to the question as to why actually the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. It would be wrong to assume that the Congress appeared as a sudden efflorescence. It would be equally misleading to assume, as many are inclined to assume, that the Congress was ushered in as a freedom movement. It is true that the Congress constituted a visible embodiment of the national awakening that came over India as a result of the impact of Western civilisation on Indian thought. It was thus in a way a fulfilment of the forces which British rule itself had set in motion. But, when one examines the various theories which have been advanced to explain the actual inception of the Congress, one finds that not one of them furnishes a convincing explanation. This creates the suspicion that the real object behind the foundation of the Congress could not be publicly acknowledged by its British promoter, Mr. A. O. Hume.

In the history of British rule in India, there occurs no greater paradox than the fact that the Congress which has successfully fought for India's independence for more than six decades owed its origin and initial progress to the enterprise of a British ex-Secretary to the Government of India in the Home and Revenue Departments, Mr. Hume. The considerations which impelled Mr. Hume and his co-adjutors are not clear. We have it on the authority of an ex-President of the Congress, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, that Mr. Hume at first had intended to bring together leading Indian politicians once a year to discuss questions of social interest only. In other words, the Congress was intended to have been just a social conference. It is a pity that our historians have so far paid little attention to the considerations which forced Mr. Hume to transform the Congress into a political body. To average Englishmen in the last century, the idea of an all-India national organisation might well have sounded fantastic, if not positively

dangerous. Yet, it is a fact that to a small group of farsighted Britishers the idea seemed desirable that Indian leaders should be organised for the benefit of England as much as of India.

There is no doubt about the fact that Mr. Hume was a liberal statesman and that he had little faith in the doctrine of "the whiteman's burden"—the gospel of the white bureaucracy to which he had himself belonged. He was one of those rare "White Babus" who thought it essential in the interest of the British Empire itself to direct the Indian political aspirations into constitutional channels. But, it was certainly not India's freedom or home-rule to which Mr. Hume could have looked forward. He and his collaborators sought in fact to strengthen rather than undermine the foundations of the British Empire. If they pleaded for reforms, they desired no snapping of the existing ties between England and India, but only asked for the loosening of those ties so as to make the connection both durable and popular.

An inquiry into the available evidence leads one to suppose that Mr. Hume's real originality lay not so much in the propounding of the idea of an Indian National Congress, for the Indian Association of Calcutta, founded in 1876, had already arranged for the Indian National Conference in 1883 at the instance of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, but that his achievement was the by-passing of the aforesaid Indian National Conference and the formation of an admittedly loyalist organisation apart from, and independent of the existing body. It seemed, as if Mr. Hume was out to sabotage the Indian National Conference sponsored by "a dismissed Government servant," Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, and controlled by "Babus from Bengal". The student of Indian history is entitled to ask why a parallel body with an identical programme had to be brought into existence, even though the National Conference was going to hold an all-India session at Calcutta in the Christmas week of 1885—the same fateful week which saw the birth of the Congress at Bombay.

It is regrettable that not much contemporary evidence is available which might elucidate the inside story of the inception of the Congress. But, the scrappy details which may be gleaned from authoritative records give us some clues to the real motives of Mr. Hume, the father of the Congress and its first General Secretary. A study of this evidence serves to show that the Congress

was founded in fact as a precautionary move against an apprehended Russian invasion of India. Mr. Hume and his friends were afraid that at a time when discontent was growing among the educated Indians through the activities of the Indian Association the rapid progress of the Russians in Central Asia might give rise to obvious complications. The steady advance of the Russians inspired the European mind all over India with open alarm so much so that in the eighties of the last century a Russian attack on India was supposed to be imminent. These fears were aggravated by the fact that much of Russia's conduct seemed unfriendly from the time of Lord Northbrooke onwards. In February, 1875, even the Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury, warned the Governor-General, Northbrooke :

"I agree with you in thinking that an immediate Russian advance upon India is a chimera. But I am by no means sure that an attempt on their part to throw the Afghans upon us is so improbable."

It is well-known that it was the Russian intrigues in Kabul which upset the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, and finally led to the Second Afghan War. Lytton later admitted this in so many words:

"I affirm that the real and the only cause of the Afghan War was an intrigue of long duration between Sher Ali and the Russian authorities in Central Asia, an intrigue leading to an alliance between them for objects which, if successfully carried out, would have broken to pieces the Empire of British India."

The notorious Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton was an avowed attempt to gag the Indian Press at a time when the safety of the Indian Empire was seriously threatened by the events in Central Asia. The Viceroy himself declared that the vernacular papers of Bengal had begun "to inculcate combination on the part of the native subjects for the purpose of putting an end to the British Raj." "Not content with misrepresenting the Government and maligning the character of the ruling race in every possible way and on every possible occasion," he alleged, "these mischievous scribblers have of late been preaching open sedition." The Afghan War itself evoked no enthusiasm among the educated Indians, and, on the contrary, occasioned strong criticisms in the Indian Press on the score of financial strain the War imposed upon

India, for it was well-known that the War cost the Indian tax-payer £21,000,000. The Indians' dislike to an anti-Russian policy was thus becoming a matter of deep concern to the watchful Britishers who realised the need for building up a strong home front in India through some loyalist organisation. If, therefore, Mr. Hume decided to sponsor the Congress movement, the object is intelligible indeed.

That mere repressive measures such as those that had been introduced by Lord Lytton could not create a loyal public opinion in India was emphasised by that liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon, through his radical reformist policy. Ripon referred to the grave implications of Indian discontent in these significant words:

"A movement has begun which will advance with greater rapidity and force every year. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of government and specially despotic government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind; to move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still—and the problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress so as to direct it into a right course and prevent it from becoming a source of serious political danger".

Ripon was more explicit when he warned the Secretary of State in these words:

".....as the Russians approach our frontiers more nearly, they may try to stir up discontent and trouble by intrigues carried on within our dominions, and the real question, therefore, is how can such intrigue be best met and defeated".

Ripon's words indicate that the official mind in India was on the look-out for some means whereby Indian agitation could be directed "into a right course" and Russians might be prevented from fomenting intrigues in India. Bearing this in mind, one can readily infer why the Congress owed its birth to the initiative of Mr. Hume, and, what is still more interesting, to the secret encouragement of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. The Viceroy, it appears, had stipulated that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress must not be made public. That is why the Viceroy's personal share in the scheme was not known for a long time. The matter received publicity for the first time in 1898, when the first President of the Congress, Mr. Bonnerji

WAS THE CONGRESS A CHILD OF RUSSO-PHOBIA? 371

pointedly referred to it in one of his published writings. There is a further corroboration of this matter in a published statement of Sir William Wedderburn, another ex-President. Thus, two Congress Presidents have borne testimony to the surprising fact that the Congress came into being at the instance of a British Viceroy. Evidently, the Congress was meant to be the long-awaited counter-poise to possible Russian intrigue in India. The growing indications of political discontent culminating in the country-wide propaganda started by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and his Indian Association, and also the Ilbert Bill episode which stirred up bitter racial feelings in India convinced Mr. Hume and the Viceroys like Ripon and Dufferin that unless the Indian agitation was diverted into constitutional channels, there was the obvious danger that this might serve as a direct inducement to Russia in her ambitious designs. The potential conspirators and disloyalists could be prevented from becoming a tool of Russia, only if a pro-British Indian organisation was created with the support of the Indian public opinion.

It is worthy of note that Sir William Wedderburn later explicitly corroborated the fact that the foundation of the Congress was a move to safeguard India against the menace of Russian invasion. According to him the Russian authorities in Central Asia depended for success in all their schemes for the invasion of India "on a hoped-for—rising of the native population". In the course of his presidential address at the fifth session of the Congress held at Bombay in 1889, Sir William Wedderburn made a statement which has so far escaped the attention of historians. This statement reveals that in 1885 when the Congress was founded in all haste, the Russians were planning or at least pretending to plan an attack in the hope that the Indians might rebel against the British Government. Wedderburn suggested that the birth of the Congress discouraged the Russian designs. It may be pointed out that he mentioned this to emphasise the utility of the Congress.

"In 1885," he said, "they (Russians) appear to have put this idea to the test by a pretended advance. Had this move been followed by any signs of sympathy, or even by an ominous silence of expectancy throughout India, Russia would have felt our position weakened. But India does not treat England's difficulty as her opportunity. On the contrary, there went up on all sides a

patriotic cry calling on all to join with men and money and make a common cause against the common foe".

As was expected by the sponsors, the Congress became in its early years a platform for anti-Russian and pro-British propaganda. A few instances of such propaganda may be cited here. The first President, Mr. Bonnerji, asserted in 1885 that there were "no more thoroughly loyal" well-wishers of the British Government than the Congress leaders. The second President, Mr. Naoroji warmly eulogised the character of British rule, and said in the course of his speech in 1886, "Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone (Cheers). The third President, Mr. Tyabji, went one step further and openly decried Russian designs on India. He warned the Congress session of 1887 that if India came under Russia, the people would have "nothing but a haughty and despotic government, whose chief glory would consist in vast military organisation, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits". This remark was greeted with loud applause. The fourth President, Mr. Yule, likewise emphasised in 1888 the beneficent character of British rule and hoped for an enduring connection between "the two extreme branches of the Aryan race". The fifth President, Wedderburn, as has already been mentioned, went out of his way to preach pro-British and anti-Russian sentiments. He cautioned his audience in 1889 not to exchange "the rule of England, the freest and the most enlightened country in the world, for that of Russia which is one of the most barbarous and retrograde". The sixth President Mr. Mehta, declared in 1890:

"I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilising principles of English culture and English civilisation".

Another President, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, declared with his usual oratorical flourish:

"I have heard of this Russian invasion since the days of my childhood. The Russians have not come. If they do come, they will find the multitudinous races and peoples of India united as one man ready to die for the Sovereign".

Mr. Sankaran Nair, the President for 1897, dilated on the blessings of British rule, and warned his listeners that if British rule ever declined, there would be "anarchy, war and rapine".

WAS THE CONGRESS A CHILD OF RUSSO-PHOBIA? 373

He added significantly, "And we have Russia and France waiting for their opportunities".

These Presidential pronouncements would go to establish the fact that the Congress was originally intended to be a bulwark of British rule in India. The early leaders fulfilled this cherished expectation by making an ostentatious exhibition of their unswerving loyalty to the British sense of justice in unequivocal terms, and even boasted that they were not seditionists. They repeatedly proclaimed year after year that they aimed at making the bonds between England and India "a blessing to themselves and the whole world". Such flamboyant expression of loyalty must have at times proved embarrassing to those for whom it was meant. It was clear, however, to all concerned that the Congress was ushered into existence to mobilise the public opinion in favour of the British connection, sing the praise of Pax Britannica and counteract the possibility of Russian intrigue in India.

Strange as it might seem, the old loyalist Congress worked up later to its own transformation, and, like the legendary Phoenix burnt itself into ashes in Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement whence to be re-born as the spearhead of India's freedom movement. The story of this transformation forms one of the most stirring chapters in Modern Indian History.

Kotah Succession Affairs, 1820-1838

BY

DR. HIRA LAL GUPTA, M.A., D.PHIL.

Head of the Department of History, University of Saugar

The history of British relations with Kotah is peculiarly interesting. An offshoot of Bundi, Kotah, in the early part of the 19th century, was ruled over by Maha Rao Ummeid Singh and his able, talented and powerful minister, Raj Rana Zalim Singh, who emerged as a saviour of the state from the Maratha depredations.¹ During their time Kotah was taken under British protection on December 25, 1817, and was declared a tributary state.² As a reward for fidelity and active help rendered by the Raj Rana to the British Government in the suppression of the *Pindaris* in 1817, he was recognised as an irremovable administrator of Kotah and his office was declared hereditary on February 20, 1818, by a supplementary article of the former treaty.³ The recognition of this vested interest and its perpetuation in the same family reduced the importance of the ruling dynasty, curtailed the sovereign power of the ruling princes and left them with only a titular authority. This article, therefore, became a source of trouble, annoyance and dissensions in the state after the deaths of Maha Rao Ummeid Singh, the titular sovereign, in 1820, and Raj Rana Zalim Singh, the actual ruler, in 1824.

Maha Rao Kishore Singh, successor to the titular sovereignty, considered the grant of real power to the minister by a treaty stipulation as a measure full of mischief and quite humiliating to his dynasty. He found his own status highly inconvenient to himself and attempted to re-establish his political ascendancy by securing administrative functions from the old Raj Rana Zalim Singh by force. This occasioned British interference in the internal affairs of Kotah to afford effective security to the guaranteed

1. Aitchison, C.U.: *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. IV, p. 70.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-76.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

interests of the administrator and to solve the dispute for power. British troops, sent to the help of the Raj Rana, defeated the royal forces, foiled the natural ambition of the Maha Rao and compelled him to recognise the perpetual supremacy of his minister, his heirs and successors in the administration and management of the state, in return for an annual maintenance allowance of Rs. 1,64,000 by a treaty forced on him on November 22, 1821, by Captain Tod.⁴ All his advisers, and supporters were dislodged, dismissed and expelled from Kotah. Prominent among such persons were his uncle Govardhan Das, some other members of the royal stock and three prominent Muslim grandees of the state. He was deprived of the power to maintain any troops beyond a small number of guards, well-disposed towards the administrator.⁵ To avoid future disputes, ten articles were drawn up by Captain Tod on February 7, 1822, for the observance of the Maha Rao and the Raj Rana, and the provisions for the maintenance of the Maha Rao and his successors were detailed.⁶ Thus the fate of his dynasty was sealed and that of Zalim Singh was held high. Under these adverse circumstances the Maha Rao, gradually developed 'weakness, indecision and changeableness' in his character and insensitiveness to public welfare.

Raj Rana Zalim Singh expired in 1824. He was succeeded by Madho Singh whose unfitness for the hereditary office of administrator proved to be a matter of great notoriety.⁷ By the supplementary clause of the former treaty the office of administrator legally belonged to him and he actually received the undisputed charge of administration. But 'indolence and simplicity' were the chief traits of his character and he was amenable to the influence of interested advisers.⁸ Not being a chip of the old block he found the task difficult for him. Under him the administration of the stage degenerated and became slack. This was a fit occasion for the Maha Rao to assert his authority to rule his ancestral state. But once defeated in his legitimate purpose and bound by the consequent humiliating treaty, Maha Rao Kishore

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

8. A letter from Major J. Caulfield, Political Agent, Harowtee, to Resident at Delhi, December 17, 1827.

Singh had no moral courage to try another bid for power. He also lacked self-confidence to succeed in his attempt against the wishes of the paramount power. He, therefore, remained a helpless spectator of the maladministration in his state without any alternative. Although he felt great anguish in his heart and fretted and fumed within himself, he did not intervene in the affairs, for fear of inviting trouble once again. Thus the new Raj Rana enjoyed unchallenged supremacy as *de facto* arbiter of the state of Kotah. The relations between the Maha Rao and the Raj Rana remained apparently cordial but not so in reality.

In August 1825, Maha Rao Kishore Singh's only son and heir to the titular throne, Maharaj Kunwar, expired. This made him very melancholy and despondent. Thoughts for the future of his state engaged his serious attention. He, therefore, invited Major J. Caulfield, Political Agent at Harowtee, who paid him a private visit.⁹ At the interview the depressed Maha Rao handed over a letter to him and broached the subject of future succession to his state after him. To make succession free of complications he expressed his desire to nominate his nephew Ram Singh, as his adopted son and heir to his *gaddi* in the event of his demise without leaving behind a legitimate male issue and requested him to get British recognition for his proposal so that the projected arrangement could become secure and permanent.¹⁰ He had already made his intention known to Captain Tod previous to his leaving Nathdwara for Kotah.¹¹ But Caulfield declined to have any conversation on the subject of so serious importance on the plea of his ignorance of the usages and law of inheritance of Rajwara and most particularly due to Ram Singh being the son of Prithvi Singh, the deceased brother of the Maha Rao, who was killed fighting against Zalim Singh and the British troops in 1821.¹² Upon this the Maha Rao exclaimed that after his death the *gaddi* would be Ram Singh's by right of inheritance and that it would be impossible to contemplate the succession of his brother, Bishan Singh, who was expelled from Kotah.¹³ On Caulfield's enquiry

9. A letter from Caulfield to G. Swinton, Chief Secretary to the Government, August 27, 1825.

10. Translation of a letter from Maha Rao Kishore Singh.

11. A letter from Caulfield to Swinton, August 27, 1825.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

if his act of adoption would not be contrary to the law and custom, the Maha Rao replied that it would be contrary to law but fully authorised by custom.¹⁴

On return to his office, Caulfield scrutinized the records and found a copy of a letter from Captain Tod to the Secretary to the Government, dated October 8, 1821, in which he had expressed contradictory opinions about Ram Singh. On the one hand he mentioned that it was impossible to admit his claims to succession which he feared would be an evil of considerable magnitude, as he might consider it his primary duty and a most sacred obligation of a Rajput to avenge his father's death. On the other hand he styled him as a stupid boy who 'excites no interest or fear.' Caulfield felt that the law of inheritance was decidedly in favour of Ram Singh who was by adoption heir to the *gaddi* and the British Government was bound by treaty to guarantee his succession. Hindu Law permitted every issueless man possessing property the right to adopt a child and recognised every such child's right to become his legitimate heir, to the exclusion of his nearest kin.¹⁵

Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, held almost similar views. He was not in favour of opposing the wish of the Maha Rao as it might make him as well as Ram Singh and the faction opposed to British interests hostile to British power. His apprehensions were as follows:

'By opposition we shall disgust the Maha Rao, and make a certain enemy of Ram Singh, who will become the head of a faction, ready to take part against us on all possible occasions, and to excite disturbance on every opportunity. Whenever we interfere for or against the personal interests of individuals in any foreign state; whenever we uphold one as a supposed friend or persecute another as an actual or anticipated enemy to our interests, we become suspect in that state and draw upon ourselves the hatred and hostile feeling of all whom we either directly oppose or indirectly injure by our patronage of another. Every petty intrigue, then, seems to affect us, and our interference be-

14. A letter from Caulfield to Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi, February 11, 1826.

15. A letter from Caulfield to Swinton, August 27, 1825.

comes incessant. This is a state of things to which we ought not voluntarily to bring ourselves, without a clear necessity in support of some indisputable right or indispensable obligation!¹⁶

Holding these convictions, Metcalfe suggested that actual adoption would settle the question of right for ever and put all probable controversies and disputes to rest for ever. It would avoid the source of future trouble and prevent the repetition of the Bharatpur episode in which Durjan Sal justified his usurpation on 'the intention of Randhir Singh to adopt him, which, there was reason to believe, did exist'.

If Ram Singh was brought up in certain expectations and if they were not allowed to be fulfilled, he might become a second rallying centre of disaffection against British rule.¹⁷ Metcalfe did not subscribe to the apprehensions entertained by Captain Tod and was inclined to imagine that fears of Ram Singh's hostility would be more probable from his exclusion from the *gaddi* than from his acknowledged succession, and even if any trouble would occur, the British power would be more justly exercised in rectifying wrong at that time than it would be in opposing a lawful right of the adopted son. He felt convinced that without formal adoption Ram Singh's claims would be inferior to those of his elder uncle Bishan Singh. Hence he was not in favour of the grant of formal sanction to the irregular nomination of a conditional successor. With regard to the question of the relative rights of a nephew and a brother, he suggested that it should be settled in conformity with the Hindu Law or the established customs of Rajwara.¹⁸

Before taking any decision on this issue the Governor General-in-Council asked for more information on the subject which Major Caulfield supplied after thorough enquiries. He found that Bishan Singh would legally be the heir presumptive of the *Raj* after the death of Maha Rao Kishore Singh without a male issue and the claims of Ram Singh would be only next to him, if he also died without a male issue.¹⁹ But exclusions of such claims were effected in the past and could be effected even in the existing case by

16. A letter from Metcalfe to Swinton, November 6, 1825.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. A letter from Caulfield to Metcalfe, January 20, 1826.

recourse to affiliation and formal adoption of Ram Singh, without violating the customs of Rajwara and the state of Kotah.²⁰ However, without advocating this opinion for adoption, he simply wrote that 'if it appeared to the Resident that law and custom relating to succession in Rajwara were in a state of collision and were so confounded and intermingled as to form a labyrinth, perplexing and vexatious, affording no precedent in any one case as did not violate or contradict in another instance, he advised him to refuse to countenance the exclusion of the heir presumptive on any plea not in conformity with the Dharmasastra, the credenda of the Hindus upon all questions connected with inheritance.'²¹

When Maha Rao Kishore Singh received no encouragement to fulfil his desire of adopting Ram Singh till September 20, 1826, he wrote to Major Caulfield: 'I shall never rest till I have adopted Ram Singh. I may by your favour have issue; if not, my affections are placed upon Ram Singh. If the British Government is aware of my fidelity, it will grant my request. The Government have constituted me the owner of the throne, and I will adopt whom I please. Bishan Singh has no ground for objection.....I have right upon my side, and the Government will satisfy me'.²²

The Governor General-in-Council observed that since Maha Rao Kishore Singh had not formally adopted his nephew, his brother Bishan Singh would be the next heir to the Raj unless the Maha Rao, in exercise of his right to adopt a son and successor in conformity with the injunctions of Hindu Law, chose to effect an adoption.²³ He assured all concerned that the British Government would not object to the adoption of Ram Singh on the ground of his father's conduct but made it quite clear that the adopted son would not be permitted to succeed to the prejudice of the heir in the direct line, if it was against law and custom. He enquired if Ram Singh had exceeded legal age for adoption and wanted to ascertain the right of a son born subsequent to adoption, in accordance with law, local customs and past precedents of Kotah.²⁴

20. A letter from Caulfield to Metcalfe, February 11, 1826.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Translation of a letter from Maha Rao Kishore Singh to Major Caulfield, September 20, 1826.

23. Extract from Bengal Political consultation, November 17, 1826. No. 10.

24. *Ibid.*

The Maha Rao was informed that the Governor General's silence on the proposed issue was due not to any want of friendly feeling and consideration but largely to his keen desire to take a decision after full enquiries, if the fulfilment of his intention would be in conformity with the rules and principles of law which must guide the decisions of the British authorities on such issues.²⁵

E. M. Gordon, the Acting Political Agent, supplied to Metcalfe additional information on the points raised by the Governor General-in-Council, and commenting on that information he suggested to him to recommend to the Governor General to grant the request of the Maha Rao to adopt his nephew.²⁶ On a reference of the issue to the legal experts, a select *panchayat* of *pundits*, he obtained and forwarded to the Resident three important conclusions unanimously drawn after a deep probe into the legal aspect of the claims of Maha Rao to exercise free and unfettered right of adoption and the expediency of granting or refusing his request: Firstly, that a prince who may not have any legitimate sons can adopt his nephew, the son of his deceased brother, to the exclusion of the claims of a brother senior to the deceased. Secondly, that this right of a prince without sons to adopt a successor is undoubted and the age of the person whom he proposed to adopt will not in the slightest degree affect his right of adoption. And thirdly, that should a son be born to the prince subsequently to the adoption of a nephew, the right of the latter to the *gaddi* will cease, but he will be entitled to a suitable provision from the state.²⁷

On the strength of these suggestions Metcalfe expressed his categorical opinion that the Maha Rao of Kotah had a right to adopt his nephew and more particularly so when he admitted that if a son would be born to him he would be acknowledged his legitimate successor and the adopted son would forfeit his claim and would retire on a suitable provision.²⁸

25. *Ibid.*

26. A letter from E. M. Gordon, Acting Political Agent at Harowtee, to Metcalfe, January 5, 1827.

27. *Ibid.*

28. A letter from Metcalfe to Deputy Secretary A. Stirling, January 5, 1827.

After many abortive and vexatious endeavours Major Caulfield tactfully brought all parties together and made them realize the need of evincing 'reciprocal disposition to conciliate confidence and friendship' which, he thought, would work as an effective security for the well-being of the state.²⁹ As a result of it the Maha Rao brought to completion the long meditated arrangement for the adoption of Kunwar Ram Singh.³⁰

On December 7, 1827, Maha Rao Kishore Singh entered into an agreement with Raj Rana Madho Singh in the presence of Major Caulfield that in the event of the birth of a male issue to him he would succeed to the *gaddi* but failing that Ram Singh, his nephew and adopted son, would succeed and enjoy the rank and privileges of Maha Rao. This agreement was also signed by the Political Agent³¹ who felt convinced that it would prove a permanent source of amity and good will and serve to dissipate the embers of that animosity which had so long prevailed in the bosoms of several parties, whose factious intrigues had greatly impaired the prosperity of the principality of Kotah.³² The Governor General-in-Council accepted this provisional arrangement.³³

At this stage, when his cherished object was achieved, Maha Rao Kishore Singh breathed his last on July 20, 1828.³⁴ In conformity with the agreed arrangement, Ram Singh was proclaimed as Maha Rao of Kotah on the next day.³⁵ On August 1, 1828, his elevation to the *gaddi* was formalized in the presence of the assembled chiefs, officers, dependents of the state, principal inhabitants of the town and the Acting Political Agent. On that occasion the Maha Rao and the Raj Rana presented *nazars* of 101 and 21 gold *muhars* respectively to the Political Agent for the

29. A letter from Caulfield to the Resident at Delhi, December, 17, 1827.

30. A letter from Edward Colebrooke, Resident at Delhi, to Stirling, December 18, 1827.

31. Translation of an agreement between the Maha Rao and the Maha Rana of Kotah, December 7, 1827.

32. A letter from Caulfield to the Resident at Delhi, December 17, 1827.

33. A letter from Swinton to the Resident at Delhi, January 4, 1828.

34. A letter from W. Hislop, Acting Political Agent at Harowtee, to the Resident at Delhi, July 22, 1828.

35. A letter from Hislop to the Resident at Delhi, July 22, 1828.

Governor General.³⁶ Although the Raj Rana had accepted the adoption of Ram Singh with great reluctance, yet he consoled the death of the deceased Maha Rao and joined in the festivities connected with the ceremonial installation of the new titular sovereign.³⁷ His conduct and demeanour were termed as liberal, considerate and praiseworthy and were very much appreciated by the Governor General-in-Council who granted recognition to the new succession and sanctioned the proposal for the presentation of a *khil-ut* of investiture to the new Maha Rao, composed of the same number and description of articles as were given to the late Maha Rao in 1820.³⁸

In this case of succession the paramount power conceded the wish of the Maha Rao of Kotah to adopt his nephew as his son and successor to his ancestral *gaddi* in supersession of the better claims of his brother. The Raj Rana was not happy with this measure but he was persuaded to reconcile himself and to accept it. This succession was supported on the plea of customary sanction and apparently due to fidelity of the state and faithful adherence of Maha Rao Kishore Singh to the opium arrangements in Malwa and Rajputana.

After the death of Raj Rana Madho Singh, when his son and successor Madan Singh became the administrator of Kotah, dispute between the Maha Rao and the Raj Rana broke out afresh in 1834. For some time the situation became so tense that danger of a popular uprising for the expulsion of the minister seemed imminent. The situation became so hot for him that he had to relinquish the administration of Kotah guaranteed to his grandfather, his heirs and successors by the supplementary article of the Treaty of Delhi. The British Government, therefore, resolved to dismember the state and to create a new principality of Jhalawar for Madan Singh, his heirs and successors. With this end in view seventeen *parganas*, yielding an annual revenue of twelve lakhs of rupees, were made over to him by a new treaty with Kotah signed on April 10, 1838.³⁹

36. A letter from Hislop to the Resident at Delhi, August 2, 1828.

37. *Ibid.*

38. A letter from Swinton to the Resident at Delhi, September 13, 1828; Extract Political Letter from Bengal, July 3, 1828.

39. Aitchison, C.U.: *A collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. IV, pp. 83-85.

The old supplementary treaty was repealed. To the Maha Rao of Kotah was restored the power of administering his state but he had to agree to maintain an auxiliary force known as the 'Kotah Contingent', commanded by British officers, at the cost not exceeding three lakhs of rupees annually.⁴⁰ This treaty proved to be a great financial liability on the state and the existence of the subsidiary force looked quite dishonourable to the Maha Rao who had to accept it not without much reluctance and under severe warning. On the establishment of Raj Rana Madan Singh at Jhalawar under the title of Maharaj Rana, a treaty was concluded with him on April 8, 1838 by which the new state acknowledged British supremacy and was made a tributary state,⁴¹ exactly like all other states of Rajputana.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-92.

Some Historical Aspects of Feudalism in Ancient India (DOWN TO THE 14TH CENTURY A.D.)

(Based mainly on the epigraphic sources)

BY

PROF. RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY,
Vice-Principal and Head of the Department of History,
G. D. College, Begusarai (Bihar)

I

The social and economic history of India is yet to be written on scientific lines. There are numerous problems which have not yet been clearly expounded and whose clear enunciation will go a long way in solving some of the most basic issues of our socio-economic history. While we have several short or long monographs on social, economic, and other aspects of our history, there is hardly one, on the history of Feudalism in ancient India. Only recently few articles have been written on the subject, dealing mainly with the growth and development of Feudalism. The notable contributions on the subject are :—

- (1) D. D. Kosambi—*An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay-1957)—chapters 9 and 10 on Feudalism. (Review of this book by me in *G. D. College Bulletin* No. 4 and by Dr. R. S. Sharma in "*Enquiry*"—No. 1.)
- (2) D. D. Kosambi—"Feudalism in Kashmir" in the *Sārdha-śatābdī* Volume (Bombay).
- (3) D. D. Kosambi—Review of Antonova's work in Russian in *ABORI*—XXXVI. 258-269.
- (4) D. D. Kosambi—*Feudal Trade Charters* (is being published in *JESHO*) which he very kindly allowed me to use. Here Kosambi has thrown some new light on some important trade charters of ancient India, and also on the *Śreṇīs* and guilds. While translating the charter of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa afresh (of 592 A.D.) he has shown that the members of the guild were exempted from ordinary

feudal dues. The tailor, weaver, shoemaker are to supply the royal household, each according to the nature of his work, at half the rates prevalent over the countryside. The blacksmith, sawyer, barber, potter and the like are to be put to *corvee* labour. The royal privilege of paying a lower price for craftsmen's work is characteristically feudal and was later claimed by the barons as well.

- (5) K. A. Antonova—*K-Voprusu-O-Razvitti Feodalizma-Indii* in the *Vostokovedeniya*—III (1952)—PP. 23-32 (Moscow).
- (6) E. M. Medvedev—*The problem of landownership in North India in the 6th—7th centuries*— in the *Problem Bos-tokovedeniya* (Moscow)—No. 1 of 1959.
- (7) R. S. Sharma—“Origins of Feudalism” in India in the *JESHO*—I. PP. 297-328 and now incorporated in his book “Some aspects of political ideas and Institutions in ancient India (Delhi—1959).
- (8) Bhupendra Nath Datta—*Studies in Indian Social Polity* (Calcutta—1944).
- (9) K. M. Ashraff—*Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan* (1200-1500 A.D.) Calcutta—1935.
- (10) K. S. Shelvanker—*Problems of India* (Penguin—1940).
- (11) K. J. Ashrafian—*K Boprosu Ob Agrarnom Stroe V Delii-sreksultanate*—XII—XIV century A.D. in “India” (Moscow—1959).
- (12) R. K. Choudhary—*Some aspects of Land System in ancient India* (down to 6th century A.D.) (a paper submitted to the 22nd session of the Indian History Congress, Gauhati).

Writers on Indian Feudalism have always tried to draw a comparison between Indian and European types. It may be mentioned here that though there may be some scope for comparison between the two systems, there is hardly any valid ground to suggest that similar circumstances were there for the growth of Feudalism in India and the West. There are certain common factors, no doubt, but they do not furnish any ground for similar development. The conditions in India were altogether different. Hence any attempt to draw an analogy between the two is bound to end in confusion

with no definite results whatsoever. It must be borne in mind that the character of Indian Feudalism was decidedly different from its European counterpart and by no stretch of imagination can we find all the remnants of the Western system in India. Certain broad features of the western system can be seen here such as the granting of cultivated land, emergence of a self-sufficient local economy, the paucity of coins, the retrogression of trade and decentralisation of administration (*JESHO*—I. 327). These broad features are common in almost all the societies where Feudalism had come to stay. It must be pointed out at the outset that Feudalism did not develop in the same way, here, all over the country. It must be further made clear that the materials at our disposal do not suffice for a complete analysis.

Though there are references to the grants of lands and villages in the Buddhist literature, there is nothing to warrant the acceptance of development of Feudalism during that period. The establishment of the Mauryan empire was a big achievement in ancient India. The Mauryan state was virtually a monopolist. Merchants had no control over local production and trade and they were dominated by salaried royal official. Though feudalism had not taken root during the period, Kautilya refers to *āyudhiya* (Lords supplying troops). Here we have the earliest example of *Jāgīr*. These lands were granted by the king on condition of the performance of military service. The private settlement was not only protected but encouraged during this period. "*Ātithya*" of Kautilya (*AS*—II. 7) has been interpreted as "lands granted to judicial officers for the purpose of alms-giving and such other pious acts."

II

We start with the assumption that with the development of absolute power, the king extended his absolute proprietary right over all lands within the state. Sharma, in his analysis, has intentionally avoided the pertinent question about the ownership of land in ancient India. To me, it seems that any study of feudalism without reference to the question of ownership of land cannot be complete and, therefore, I have started with the above assumption. The king became the owner of the soil and ruled by divine right.¹

1. Cf. my Paper—"Some aspects of Land system"; cf. R. K. Choudhary (Edited)—*G. D. College Bulletin* No. 4—an article by Dr. R. C. P. Singh—"King and Ownership of Land".

Maine has pointed out that feudalism was once at work in India.² He is perfectly right in his assertion that feudalisation in western sense was, in fact, never completed in India.³ The scholars, all over India, have used the term 'feudalism' with utmost liberty but certainly without assigning any definite meaning to it. The references to the *Māghavanas* and *Mahākulas* indicate the existence of wealthy classes in the earliest period. They were not the feudal classes. There are instances of oppressive taxes in the *Jātakas*.⁴ *Gāma-bhojakas* of the *Jātakas* have been taken to be the royal collectors, local magistrates and judges. Local nobles were granted lands and Rhys Davids, therefore, describes *Rāja-bhogga* as a form of tenure. He could occupy the position of a baron or a tenant.⁵ *Bhogagāma* was conferred for rendering of services either to the State or to the individual and it is said in the *Jātakas*⁶ that it was conferred upon a barber. They do not seem to have enjoyed any proprietary rights over land. There were some landlords who got their lands cultivated by slaves and hired slaves or labourers.⁷ Intermediaries in land were known. The Mauryan State did not provide any scope for the growth of feudalism, though Kautilya refers to villages supplying soldiers and thus enjoying freedom from taxation.⁸ The Hathigumpha inscription and the Nasik cave inscriptions are silent about the feudatories. The Bharhut Inscription refers to the name of a feudatory Dhanabhuti.⁹ The Sātavāhana records give us the earliest example of the administrative rights being given to the Buddhist monks.¹⁰ The use of the term "Gumika" in the Sātavāhana inscription is significant and deserves consideration. (*EI*—XIV, 153-55). Manu uses the word "*Gulma*" in connection with the policing of the village colonies. Kosambi infers that their function was to maintain law and order (*AISIH*—277). The aborigines were controlled by a *Gulma*. This was an important

2. H. S. Maine—*Village Communities in the East & West*, pp. 158-59.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Jātaka* II. 240; IV. 224; V. 98.

5. *CHI.*, I. 159.

6. *Jātaka*, I. 38. The practice is still in vogue in villages of Bihar where low-caste peoples (or *Sūdras* as they are called) serve on this system.

7. *Ibid.*, III. 293; II. 181; IV. 276; *Sutta-nipāta*, I. 4.

8. *AS*, II. 35.

9. Barua and Sinha—*Bharhut Inscriptions*, Bk. 1, p. 29.

10. D. C. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, pp. 188, 192, 194-5.

development in the military usage to keep down the village colonists.

III

The land-grants in ancient India created a class of land-owners under the king. The socio-economic position of the various ranks under a king stands graded in the following manner :—

- (a) *Mahāsāmāntādhīpati* (EI—V. 215; CIB—22, 32, 34, 40, 45, 46, 62, 86, 114).
- (b) *Mahāsāmānta* (EI—XV. 303-4; CII—III. 293).
- (c) *Mahāmāṇḍalika* (IB—III. 150; JBORS—V. CIB—114).—indicating a vassal chief or the lord of a division of a State.
- (d) *Sāmānta* (SII—III. Part III, No. 89, p. 22. Here a person received a feudatory throne; CIB—10; 16).
- (e) *Māṇḍalika* (EI—XXI. 51).
- (f) *Maṇḍalapati* (IB—No. 1).
- (g) *Maṇḍaleśwara* (EI—V. 239; CIB—119).
- (h) *Bhūktipati* (IB—III. No. XVI).
- (i) *Bhogapati* (GL—No. 1).
- (j) *Bhogika* (IA—V. p. 144).
- (k) *Mahābhogapati* (IB—III, XVI).
- (l) *Mahābhogika* (Ibid. Nos. ii; vii-ix).
- (m) *Bhojaka* (EI—I. 45; CIB. 32—refers to Bhojaka Suryamitra; Bhojaka Haṇśamitra; Bhojaka Rṣimitra and Bhojaka Dirghamitra).
- (n) *Kuṭumbi* (CII—III. No. 46; GL—No. 6)).
- (o) *Kṣetrakara* (IB—III. No. 3).
- (p) *Karṣaka-Kṣetrapa* (GL—No. 6, 11).

The above list gives us an idea about various types of persons attached to the land. *Bhojaka* was possibly was free holder and *Karṣaka-Kṣetrapa* indicated peasant householders. Some peasants also worked on contract basis and the system ensured him a definite share of produce. Some scholars are in favour of translating *karṣaka* as landless-labourers. "*Karṣaka-Karṣayatah*" may mean "let him cultivate or cause to be cultivated". The Bihar Inscriptions refer to a number of feudal heirarchical order and some minor feudal chiefs (CIB—32). Besides the usual feudal designations, *Gaulmika*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Pramatri*, etc., are also found in abundance in the Inscriptions of Bihar (CIB—12, 40, 45, 62, 86,

114; 32). *Kumārāmātya* has been frequently mentioned on the Vaiśālī seals. *Kumārāmātya* was possibly entrusted with the district administration. Seal No. 22 has "*Tīrakumārāmātyādhikaraṇa*"; Seal No. 200 has "*Vaiśālinām kuṇḍe kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya*". The use of the word "*Pādiya*" has been interpreted in different ways by different scholars. The term "*Pādānudhyāta*" indicates the relation of the feudatory or an official to his suzerain. The Amauna plate of Mahārāja Nandan (GE—232) refers to *deva-guru-pādānudhyāta*. *Khaṇḍapāla* and *Mahākaṭuka* occur in the Panchosh copper plate of Saṅgrāmagupta (CIB—114). *Mahākaṭuka* is possibly derived *kaṭukas*. Order of the *kaṭukas* had been organised with a chief at its head or more probably the *kaṭuka* himself had been raised with a higher designation to the status of other first class officers. (Cf. the *Rāmaganj* grant of Iśwara-goshe). *Mahākaṭuka* may mean an officer entrusted with the administration of criminal justice who misused his power to make his name a bye-word for oppression in olden times. The word "*kaṭuka*" has been used by Bāṇa in that sense. *Khaṇḍapāla* is a military officer of nearly the same status as the *Prāntapāla* and *Koṭṭapāla*.¹¹

In India, the complexities of political system did not enable the king or the overlord to create the heirarchical order of the Western concept. The land grants are mostly religious in character and only a few of them are secular as such. Secular grants in most cases, belong to the late medieval period. In certain medieval inscriptions, awards of land for distinguished military service were made. Some sort of billeting system was in vogue and the villagers had to make necessary provisions for the royal officials and troops, camping in or marching through their locality.¹² Even in the Gupta period, the villages had to pay forced contribution of supplies to royal troops and officials when they passed through the villages.¹³ Kauṭilya has provided for a tax known as *Śenābhakta*.¹⁴ The villages had to furnish cattle in relays for transport.¹⁵ Supply-

11. U. N. Ghoshal—*Beginning of Indian Histriography*, p. 190-193.

12. *Śikshā*, (January 1958), p. 156.

13. *CII.*, III, p. 92, fn. 2.

14. *Aś*, II. 15.

15. Dikshitar—*Gupta Polity*, p. 171-72; cf. *The Basim plates of Vakataka King Viṇḍhyasakti* suggested that the people of the villages were under obligation to help officials camping in the village. (*EI.*, XXVI. 153-56).

ing flowers and milk to the royal officers on tour was one of their important obligations. The villages could be subjected to forced labour for military purposes. Such contributions, realised and consumed locally by royal troops and officers, tended to set them up as intermediaries.

Records dealing with acts of valour:

We shall, here, take, first of all, into consideration records dealing with the acts of valour and award for distinguished military service. One of the ancient undated Tamil inscriptions at Tirukkalukkunram refers to a military man who reduced to dust the old city of Vātāpī for his master Narasimhavarman.¹⁶ The military commander Virasiṃha has been glorified in the *Udayapur Inscription* of Aparājita of V.S. 718.¹⁷ Even a Brāhmaṇa like Pradoṣaśarman could rise to the dignity of a *Mahasāmanta* by the strength of his own arms.¹⁸ The *Dudhapani Rock Inscription* of Udayamāna is a typical evidence of the growth of feudalism in India. Here the inhabitants, on the return of Udayamāna to the village, with the approval of the king, request him to become their *Rājā*. At the request of the inhabitants of two other villages, he sent his brothers, Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna, over *Nābhuti-śaṇḍaka* and *Chingota* (Verses 20-24).¹⁹ This inscription is important for more than one reason. It definitely suggests that king was the overlord, Udayamāna himself was the lord and his two brothers were subordinate to him. The whole arrangements could be finalised only after the approval of the king was obtained. Here we see that the people *commended* themselves to a merchant prince who afforded them protection by meeting on their behalf a demand made by their king for a due or service of uncertain character. After this, and as a result of this service, the merchants became their kings with the approval of the overlord. Whether *commendation* of the Western type was prevalent here or not, in this case an example of *commendation* is evident. Nārada's evidence, in support of his argument, (cf. Sharma—*JESHO*. I. 310) here does

16. *EI.*, II. 277; cf. Sekkilar's—*Periyapurāṇam* (Madras 1870), Part II, p. 316; verse 6.

17. *EI.*, IV, p. 30.

18. *EI.*, XV, p. 301ff.

19. *EI.*, II, p. 343ff; cf. *CIB*—S.V.—*Dudhāpāṇi Rock Inscription*.

not bear out the truth.²⁰ *Avalagaka* (*avalagana*) of this inscription, according to Kielhorn, means presents or supplies. If this meaning be accepted, it would be an instance of miscellaneous contributions from the villagers already met with in the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Smṛtis*.²¹ From the point of view of Feudalism, this inscription is the most important source.

The valour of Sarvalokāśraya and the royal splendour are praised in the Chendallur plates.²² The valiant fight, put in by Gaṇaśarman, earned for him some grant. This was made in recognition of his prowess and unquestioned loyalty to his master as is evident from a record of 888 A.D. of Kṛṣṇa II.²³ Another record of the 9th-10th century describes the valour of a soldier and recounts his exploits. He was devoted to his master.²⁴ A record of Vajrahasta III (Śaka 982 = 1060 A.D.) alludes to some deeds of valour.²⁵ The epithet "*svapurūṣaparitoṣitā*" implies that the donee had earned the grant by dint of his labour. A record of Śaka 872 of Kṛṣṇa III says that it was in approbation of the valorous deed of Būtaga that Kṛṣṇa III gave to him the districts. He, in his turn, recognised the valour of another hero and granted him land.²⁶ Amma I raised a distinguished warrior Vemarāja by name to the position of a village lord by placing the village under his sole control. Except the fixed tribute of eight *gadyāṇakas* (gold coins), he was exempted from all taxes and revenue. The record contains some interesting details about Vemarāja who is praised for his heroism and loyalty. It was this devotion on the part of Vemarāja that particularly pleased Amma I.²⁷ Three other records of Amma I do not record donations to the *Brāhmaṇas* but in every

20. Cf. *Nārada*, X. 405-7; *Viṣṇu*—LXIII. 1; Rockhill—*The Life of Buddha*, pp. 6-7; 211-224; cf. R. K. Choudhary—*Siddhārtha* (in Hindi).

21. Cf. U. N. Ghoshal—*Contributions to the History of Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 230-31. Cf. A. L. Basham—*The Glory that was Ind.*

22. *EI.*, III, p. 237; cf. *EI.*, IX, p. 2—where Balavarman and Avani-varman II are said to have made their mark in fighting.

23. *EI.*, XIII. 189; cf. Bhandarkar's *List No.* 1914.

24. *EI.*, XXIX, p. 18ff.

25. *EI.*, XXXI, p. 306c—*The Mangalla grant of Amma II* (*EI.*, XXXI. 308), refers to an eminent chief who rendered great services to a Chālukya King.

26. *EI.*, II, p. 168-69.

27. *EI.*, XVII, p. 141ff. Here we have to bear in mind that all his grants were made to captains.

one of them a person of military rank is so honoured. Since he was all along at war with his own kinsmen or external enemies (like the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*), he deliberately pursued a policy of encouraging men of military profession by showing favours to them.²⁸ He gave the village Drujjalla to a warrior.²⁹ Two Ganjam records relate to the gifts made to the captains.³⁰

Sometimes temples were erected in memory of the fighting commanders.³¹ From the Chalukya inscriptions of 1111, it appears that the Brāhmaṇas held important military assignments.³² Brāhmaṇa *Senāpati* Ajoyapāla received gifts from the Chaṇḍellas.³³ Top-ranking Brāhmaṇa officials, civil and military, are found in the list of donees. The *Semra plates* of Parmārideva mention Ajoyapāla as one of the donees, while a record of Rāmachandra Yādava of Devagiri mentions the gift to a Brāhmaṇa minister, Puruṣottama.³⁴ Madanapāla Śarmā was granted a village by Parmārideva.³⁵ The general phrase, used in these grants, seems to indicate that it was the ownership of the soil itself that was transferred to the donee, and not merely the right of collecting the revenue. A majority of these phrases occur in the post-Gupta records and sometimes they contain unusual expression—"sa karuka panka vaniga vastvyam"—in the Charkari plate³⁶ may be an allusion to the practice of artisans working for the State for specified periods³⁷ and to the special taxes payable by mercantile establishments.³⁸ The gift land was transferred in absolute ownership. He could cultivate it himself or get it cultivated by others (*karṣayatāh*). His right to alienate property was admitted

28. Cf. *EI.*, V. 131ff; *SII—I.* 36ff; *Annual Report of the South Indian Epigraphy* (1923-24), pp. 10, 98.

29. *EI.*, V. 131.

30. *EI.*, XXIII. 68-9; 141-43. We learn about a reward for services in war to the general who defeated the interventionist attempts of Parakramabāhu of Ceylon. (Cf., *EI.*, XXII. 86-92).

31. *EI.*, XXIX, p. 62ff.

32. *ASIAR*, 1936-37, p. 99.

33. *EI.*, IV. 153ff.

34. *EI.*, XXV. 199ff.

35. *IA.*, XXV. 250-208.

36. *EI.*, XX. 131.

37. *Manu*—VII. 138; *Sūkra* IV. 232.

38. *Sūkra*, IV. 240.

and he could dispose it off as he liked.³⁹ In this connection, it should be borne in mind that in certain medieval inscriptions, which record the award of land for distinguished military service, the phrase suggestive of the donee's right to alienate the gift land and of the perpetual character of the grant have been omitted.⁴⁰ The absence of such specific phrases in such grants is indicative of the fact that these awards were in the nature of life grants with a limited interest only, corresponding to *akṣayanīvi* grants of an earlier age.⁴¹ The entry of the regular and irregular forces was banned into it.⁴² Sometimes special levies were imposed upon the villagers to meet the cost of the visiting royal officials.⁴³

Ranaka Rāmadeva made a grant of a village to an officer as a reward for some heroic deed on his part.⁴⁴ Grant of land in recognition of military service is recorded in a grant of Rajādhirāja II (*EI-XXI* 192). The *Kamauli plate* of Singara Vatsarāja (V. S. 1191) relates that a certain Kamalapāla acquired for himself a *raja-paṭṭi* or a royal fillet. His sons and grandsons were an object of reverence by princes (*EI-IV*. 130). The *Pithapuram inscription* of Prthviswara (c. 1186-87 A.D.) records the bestowal of some districts in return for brave services (*ibid.*, p. 49 ff). The whole inscription is important for the study of the development of feudalism and feudal idea. Verse 17 says that Prince Kudiavarman II rendered assistance for a long time on the battlefield. Verse 18 says that the King Vimalāditya, being pleased by his assistance bestowed on him a pair of districts. Verse 32 says that the grandson of Kudiavarman II, following the commands of Virachoda, Vedula II, defeated in the battle the Pandya king together with a troop of vassals. Being pleased, Virachoda assigned one half of his throne to him (verse 33). This record is an evidence of the fact that brave feudatories served and fought for the master, who, in his turn, rewarded them for their chivalry.

The military tendencies of the royal priests are indicated in the *Amoda plates* of Jaggalladeva (Cheḍi year 912) where the

39. *EI.*, XVI. 14; In one of the grants 72 proprietary rights have been shown—cf. *The Cochin Plates of Bhaskar Ravivarman*, (*EI.*, II. 69).

40. *EI.*, XVI. 272ff; XX. 132ff.

41. *CII.* III, pp. 118, 122; *EI.*, IV. 169; X. 48 etc.

42. *CII.*, III. 96; *EI.*, IV. 157.

43. Cf. *IA.*, XIV. 318.

44. *EI.*, XXIII. 142.

grant is an exception in the sense that it was made by way of thanksgiving on an escape from a great calamity, when the donor had almost lost his kingdom in a battle against local rebellious aboriginal chiefs.⁴⁵ Chivalry, being the flower of feudalism, was exclaimed and praised. A record of Śāka 1034 definitely states that the chivalry of Jaggadeva had made him famous and far-famed and his fame was sung day and night.⁴⁶ Still more significant is the record referring to the death of certain warriors who lost their lives fighting on behalf of Yajvapalla Gopāla against Chandella monarch Viravarman.⁴⁷ In these records the warriors claim to have obtained victory in battle. Viravarman is said to have been accompanied by his vassals. The *Dāhi* CP of Viravarman records the grant of a village to a Brāhmana Balbhadra for his distinguished bravery.⁴⁸ His feudatories, who died fighting for him, are mentioned in a number of inscriptions.⁴⁹ Memorial pillars were erected to perpetuate their acts of valour.⁵⁰ Even the elephant-chief was given the right to rule the city.⁵¹ The *charkari* plate of Chaṇḍella Viravarmadeva (of V.S. 1311) records the grant of a village to a non-Brāhmana Rauta in recognition of his valour.⁵² Another Chaṇḍella record of V.S. 1261, records the grant of villages to Rauta Samanta who was killed in a battle with *Turuṣka*. The object of the grant is the bestowal of villages by way of maintenance for the death on the battlefield. The grant was evidently made for distinguished military service.⁵³ Rauta Pape and Vaseka were killed fighting and they were made the ornament of princely families, besides being otherwise awarded.⁵⁴ The *Chirva* (Udai-pur) inscriptions of Guhila Samarasimha (V.S. 1330) is a specific instance of the grant made in recognition of distinguished military

45. EI., XIX. 210.

46. EI., XXVI. 182.

47. EI., XXXI. 326.

48. ASIAR, XXXI. 74ff.

49. EI., XXXI. 325ff. In inscription No. 4, there is reference to *Sati*.

50. *Ibid.*

51. EI., V. 143ff.—Cf. EI., IV. 315. The *Dirghasi* insc. cf. Vanaspati (Śāka 997) suggests that *Māṇḍalika* Vanaspati was in the service of *Rājārāja* of the Gaṅga dynasty and was possibly the Commander-in-chief as the inscription refers to his victory over the Choḍa King.

52. Bhandarkar's List No. 1914.

53. EI., XVI. 273; cf. EI., XVII. 293.

54. EI., XXXI. 70ff.

service.⁵⁵ Sub-infeudation is evident from a number of records (EI-X.41). Predominance of military officers is evident from inscriptions (EI-VII. 161). Military achievements have been recorded in the inscription with hyperbolic expressions (EI-III. 200 ff.).

In obtaining the possession of, and governing the, ancestral property Katyavema rendered invaluable help to his master (*Śaka* 1333) and in return for his services, he rendered the gift of eastern country of which Rājamahendranagari was the capital.⁵⁶ Cattle-lifting seems to have been a common feature in the 14th century and there are various inscriptional evidences to show that those killed in fighting for their masters were amply rewarded.⁵⁷ Sometimes military services earned for one political status in the feudal set-up.⁵⁸ A record of Yadava Singhana and his feudatory Soideva refers to the bravery, prowess and chivalry of the feudatory. Here the paramount lord and the feudatory are mentioned. Hemadideva, the feudatory, ruled over 1600 villages.⁵⁹

IV

Feudatories : —

In some of the inscriptions, history of the feudatories is mentioned. Some inscriptions refer to a family of officers. A Chālukya record refers to a chief who is described as the right hand man of Goggi-Bhaṭṭara. He bears the name *Ujenipisacha*, a title probably acquired by him as a result of terrorising campaign that he must have undertaken against Ujjain. He showed his prowess which earned for him the said title as well as the fiefdom of *Eruva-Visaya*.⁶⁰ Sometimes the chieftains also granted lands.⁶¹ The Poona plates of the Vakataka Queen Prabhavatigupta (C. 4th century A.D.) refer to the village conferred to a community of *Chāturvidyas*.⁶² The Bhavanagar plates of Dharasena III (Val-

55. Bhandarkar's List No. 579; No. 380 for the erection of a memorial pillar.

56. EI, IV. 319.

57. EI, XXXI. 325ff.

58. EI, XXX. 87ff.

59. EI, I. 339ff.

60. EI, XXIX. 160ff.

61. EI, III. 183, cf. *The Dhulia Plates of Karkarāja*. The plates of Balavarman of Vallabha Samvat 574 record the grant of land by *māhāsamanta*.

62. EI, XV. 43.

labhi Samvat 304) refer to the military camp (Khetaka—prad-vāra) from which the grant was issued. The property, thus granted, consists of the following : —

- (a) 100 *pādāvartas* of land called Kolika, ploughed by Kuṭumba Gomiyaka—
- (b) A plough field of Kuṭumbi Kaparadiyaka.
- (c) Irrigation well dug by Kuṭumba Kapardiya.
- (d) Kuṭumba-Nāgilaka.

This is an important document in the sense that the king not only gave away the property to another but also created an intermediary interest between himself and the peasants in matters of the enjoyment of revenues accruing out of the produce of the lands. These persons, referred to in the above grant, seem to have been associated with the land for a considerable period.⁶³ In the *Maliya inscription* of Dharasena II, there is a reference to the creation of an intermediary interest between the suzerain lord and the cultivator of the soil. The Brāhmanas profited most by the development of the feudal system. It was no mean achievement for them to have shown their martial qualities, in times of need, for their masters. *Pradoṣaśarman* could rise to the position of a *mahāsāmanta* by his prowess and strength of arm.⁶⁴

Occasionally awards were also made for a piece of advice or religious help in warding off the evils. As a reward for advice, given in the matter of the defeat of an enemy, the king granted a village to a Brāhmana.⁶⁵ As a remuneration for having warded off the evil influence of Saturn, another king granted a village.⁶⁶ This record further refers to a vassal of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king.

63. *El.*, XXI. 181ff.

64. *El.*, XV. pp. 305; 321—Here in the Tipperah CP., the land was given in the forest region. The land belonged to the king who was a *Sāmanta*. From this record, it is evident that the right of possession and enjoyment of land by the strength of tenure descended in heirarchical way.

Also cf.—*The Chandravalli tank Inscription of the Kadambas* (C. 4th Century A.D.). It refers to the development of feudal ideas—Vide G. M. Morales—“*The Kadambakula*”; *ASIAR*—1929, p. 50.

65. *El.*, V. 123.

66. *El.*, IV. 333.

Another grant refers to an award made by way of thanksgiving for an escape from a great calamity.⁶⁷

The plates of Avanivarman II (V.S. 956) record a grant of land by *Mahāsāmanta* Avanivarman II. He granted land, as a feudatory of Mahendrapāla, and with the approval of illustrious Dhi-lika, possibly an *antapāla* or frontier guard. Both Balavarman⁶⁸ and Avanivarman II had made their mark in fighting and had secured the status of feudatories in recognition of their services. Here we find a good element of feudalism in the sense that these feudatories were created by the supreme lord and the feudatories also created under them smaller chiefs by granting land but that was done with the approval of the supreme lord.⁶⁹ A very good account of a *Mahāsāmanta* has been preserved in a Rāṣtrakūṭa grant of Kṛṣṇa II of Śaka 832. It gives an account of *Māhāsāmanta* Prachāṇḍa. He held the fief from Kṛṣṇa II, originally acquired by his father Dhavalappa who had received them as a reward for his bravery and loyalty. Prachāṇḍa was a very powerful *Sāmanta* and he had under him a *Daṇḍanāyaka*, named Chandragupta: Dhavalappa conquered all his enemies and restored the territory to his master. Prachāṇḍa was a very powerful *Sāmanta*. This grant says that all the villages belonged to the king and thereby indicates king's ownership in land. We have already referred to a Ganga Feudatory Buṭuga,⁷¹ a feudatory of Govinda III, named Govindaraja from a record of Śaka 735.⁷² The feudatory had under him a *Mahāsāmanta* named Buddhavaras of the Saulkika family. It was this subordinate of Govindaraja who made the grant. The Feudatories sometimes transferred their allegiance generally with the change of masters. The Yādavas were the feudatories of the Rāṣtrakutas and after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Chālukyas in 973 A.D.; the Yadavas transferred

67. *El.*, XIX. 210.

68. *El.*, IX. 1ff.

69. From the Pāṭṭiakela grant of Maharaya Shivarāj, we learn that as a feudatory, he made a grant of Land (cf. *El.*, IX. 286ff.).

70. *El.*, I. 52ff.

71. *El.*, II. 169. In the *Madhuban CP.* of Harṣa, we find Harṣa addressing the great feudal barons and the *dūtaka* is a *Mahāsāmanta* Skandagupta who held the office of *Pramatri* (cf. *El.*, I. 727-4).

72. *El.*, II. 54.

their allegiance to the Chālukyas.⁷³ *Pramatri* of the *Madhuban* CP seemed to have been an important official in those days. *Prāmatri* indicated some important feudal position. The office is mentioned in more than one record.⁷⁴

The feudatories had also their own dependents. An inscription of the time of Vikramaditya VI (Śaka—1008) says that *Mahāsāmanta* Raṇaka Dhaḍiadeva had under him *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vasudeva as his dependent.⁷⁵ This very record further shows that one *Mahāsāmanta* could sell his land to another. The *prasastis* of feudatories were also composed along with their overlords. The *Panhera Inscription* of the time of Jayasimhadeva of Malwa (V.S.—1116) is a *prasasti* of the Parmāra kings of Mālwa and their subordinate rulers.⁷⁶ Another Parmāra record refers to a feudatory Suraditya who was helpful to Bhojadeva in making his rule firm by slaughtering the enemy warriors in battle. The record does not contain the usual Parmāra relief, *Garuda*, as the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhoja. Similarly the *Kalvaṇa plates*,⁷⁷ issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhoja, do not contain the usual *Garuda* and snake seal of the Parmāras.⁷⁸ The very fact that an ordinary feudatory chief dares make a grant of land without referring the matter to his suzerain shows that the power of the Parmāras of Malwa had weakened considerably at the time of the issue of the grant. Possibly this feudatory had issued the grant during the period of anarchy.⁷⁹ We have a record which preserves the official *prasasti* of the family of *Maṇḍaleswara*.⁸⁰ *Mahāsāmantas* specialised in different arts and crafts. While some of them were appointed as governors, some specialised in the training of horses. Sometimes they made grants to the *Mahājanas*.⁸¹

73. *Ibid.*, 212ff.—The *Samagamner* CP. of Yadava Bhīllama II of Śaka 922.

74. *EI.*, I. 92ff; *CIB.*, 40, 45.

75. *EI.*, II. 305ff. In line 42 of the *Tigunḍi plates* of the same king, it is said (*EI.*, II. 311) that only after purchase his rights as chieftain were established.

76. *EI.*, XXI. 42ff.

77. *EI.*, XI. 157-59.

78. *JIH.*, VI. 226.

79. *EI.*, XIX. 70ff. A record of the year 1058 refer to small chiefs and nobles dwelling at Khajuraho (cf. *EI.*, I. 148).

80. *EI.*, XV. 107; cf. The *Panchobh* CP of *Samgrāmagupta*, (*CIB.*, 114).

81. *EI.*, XIII. 178, 185, 184.

The *Terahi (Gwalior) memorial tablet* insc.⁸² of *Mahāsāmantādhīpatis* Gunarāja and Uṇḍabhaṭṭa (C. 10th century A.D.) record that there took place a fight between the two in which Chāṇḍiyana, the *Koṭṭapāla*, and a follower of Gunarāja was killed. The testimony of the *Sāmanta* was taken at the time of determining boundary. The feudatories were consulted on account of their being owners of adjacent lands who had intimate knowledge of all the boundary marks. Whenever any dispute arose, the *Sāmantas* were requisitioned to give evidence and determine the boundaries in accordance with such original marks as were prevalent then. It is not unlikely that these *Sāmantas* were furnished in writing with a detailed description of the boundary marks.⁸³ The *Rewa plates* of Trailokyavarman (*Kalachuri* era 963) record a deed of mortgage.⁸⁴ An inscription of Śaka 932 records the nature of a lease concerning some estates.⁸⁵ An undated India office inscription of Vijayarājadeva (C. 12th century A.D.) refers to a *prasāda-paṭṭaka* or document of favour.⁸⁶ The *Gahadwāla Cps* refer to a number of feudatories.⁸⁷ Maharāja Prthvivarmadeva attached himself to the whole circle of feudatories.⁸⁸

The *Sāmantas* seem to have played an important part in reconstruction works. We learn from the *Pratapgarh Rock Insc.* of Pratāpa (V.S.—1279)⁸⁹ that Pratāpa was a descendant of Japilā-nayaka or Mahānāyaka Pratapadhavala whose well-known *Tara-chandi Rock Inscription* is dated in V.S. 1225,⁹⁰ of whom there is another short inscription of the same year recording the construction of a road by him at Phulwariya, probably a name of a part of Rohtasgarh⁹¹ and whose name is given in a short inscription on the rock near Tutrahi Falls.⁹² These local chiefs seem to have paid

82. Bhandarkar's *List* No. 43; *IA.*, XVII. 202.

83. *EI.*, XXIV. 29ff. Manu, Yājñavalkya and Vignēśwara have shown the importance of the *Sāmantas*.

84. *EI.*, XXV. 23.

85. *EI.*, XV. 76.

86. *EI.*, II 312.

87. *EI.*, IV. 97ff.

88. *EI.*, IV. 199ff.

89. *PASB.*, 1876, p. 111; *EI.*, IV. 310ff.

90. *IA.*, XIX. 184; No. 143; also No. 126.

91. Martin, *Eastern India*, I. 450.

92. *I.G.F.*, "Tilouthu".

more attention to the means of communication in their respective areas. A dated CP grant from Sundarban (Bengal) of Śaka 1118 (first document to be dated in the Śaka era) records the power of a *Sāmanta* who is said to have been hostile to the suzerain ruler.⁹³ The *Sāmanta* is described as meditating on a *Mahāmāṇḍalika*. It appears that the *Sāmanta* in this case was subordinate to *Mahāmāṇḍalika*. Some scholars think that Dhavala *Sāmantakarāja* of this C.P. may have been connected with the feudatories of Japila.⁹⁴ Sometimes the rights of administration were also conferred upon with specific details. From the *Kottayam plate* of *Vīra-Rāghava*,⁹⁵ (C. 14th century A.D.), it appears that the sources of income available to the grantee as lord of the city were enumerated and the limit within which his authority was to extend was defined. In the south, the vassals are known to have ruled the districts. Once a chief of the district is mentioned as a king in one of the Chola inscriptions of Śaka 875.⁹⁶ In Śaka 1299, a servant is known to have made a grant.⁹⁷

A general commanding the cavalry held the post of a chief minister and an inscription eulogises him.⁹⁸ We learn from a record of Jajjaladeva (*Chedi era*—866) that he received presents from the chiefs of the *maṇḍalas* of Dakṣiṇakośala, Andhra, Khimidi, Vairāgara, Lañjika, Bhānara, Talahari, Daṇḍakapur, Naṇḍavali and Kukkuṭṭa.⁹⁹ These chiefs were the feudatories of Jajjaladeva. The feudatories of the Yādavas ruled over 1600 villages.¹⁰⁰ Sometimes the feudatories deputed their dependents to fight on their behalf. The feudatory of a Ganga king is said to have sent his general against the *Bāṇa* king *Bānarasa*.¹⁰¹ The high ranks, military exploits and eminence of the *Mahāsāmantas* have also been

93. *IHQ.*, XI. 324ff.

94. *Ibid.*, 327.

95. *EI.*, IV. 290ff.

96. *EI.*, VII. 136.

97. *EI.*, II. 287.

98. *IHQ.*, IX. 283ff.

99. *EI.*, I. 32ff.

100. *Ibid.*, I. 339ff:—Cf. *EI.*, IV. 309 mentions *Mahāsāmanta* Viṣṇurāma. Cf. Kielhorn—*List* No. 163—records the grant of a *Mahāmāṇḍaleśwara* in V.S. 1231.

101. *EI.*, XI. 233-4; *EI.*, XII. 141 refers to feudatory rulers. *EI.*, XII. 292 refers to a number of *Mahāsāmantas* ruling between 1024-1129 A.D.

recorded in the inscriptions.¹⁰² *Puruṣottamadeva* was a feudatory of Ganga king Bhānudeva II.¹⁰³ *Malayasimha* was a feudatory of Kalachuri Vijayasimha.¹⁰⁴

Indirect references to serfs and jagirs are found in inscriptions. The Pallava grant of Sivaskandavarman refers to serfs and forced labour (*EI*—I. Pp. 4-9). The *Pithapuram plates* of Virachōḍa assign twelve shares for the maintenance of village officers. Of the three donees mentioned in the plates, the second was a military officer (*EI*—V. 71 ff.). This is a clear example of *Jagir*. The *Batihagarh stone inscription* (*Śaka* 1385) records that a local Muhammadan ruler Jallālikhoja caused a *Gomaṭha* to be made in the town of Baṭihādīm. Jallaluddin was appointed as his representative by Hisammuddin. Jallaludin appointed his servant Dhanan as manager of the institution.¹⁰⁵ The vassals seem to have appointed their own servants. The *Kadaladi plates* of Achyutarāya is a typical land grant and is dated in the *Śaka* 1451. The villages, here, are given in perpetuity as *sarva-mānya* to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants and also the rights of property therein. The grant is given as '*eka-bhogya*' which implies exclusive ownership of the property and the rights over it by a single individual. The grant was made to Rāmachandra Dikshit who divided the land among the Brāhmaṇas. The rights over property were reserved by the owners—the donees being allowed only the enjoyments of fruits accruing from the land.¹⁰⁶

There is yet another grant of 1142 A.D. which mentions that the whole people of the town of Dhātopa tendered a document to the effect that they should be in duty bound to find out, by means of *chaudika system*, whatever was lost by, or snatched away from a *Bhāta*, *Bhaṭṭaputra*, *Dauvārika*, *Kārpaṭika*, *Vanijjaraka* and others on their way.¹⁰⁷ The people themselves took initiative in protecting themselves. The *Kolhapur plates* of *Silāhāra Gaṇḍārāditya* (*Śaka* 1037) record the grant of two villages to his vassal

102. *EI*, XV. 85, 94, 96, 107, Bhandarkar's *List*. No. 2014.

103. *Ibid.*, No. 2013.

104. *Ibid.* No. 2033.

105. *EI*, XII. 44. Cf.—*Ibid.*, 61-62 where it is said that the frightened lords made submission by offering presents profusely.

106. *EI*, XIV. 313.

107. *EI*, IX. 159; *EI*, XI. 39ff.

Nolamba. The condition of the grant is described thus¹⁰⁸—If the *Nārgāvundās* of the place were to serve actively, they would not get anything in cash towards their maintenance or delay from the donee except *kōḍeveṇa*, i.e., they must maintain themselves with the dues of *kōḍeveṇa* which they would get in their capacity of *Nārgāvundās* and if they did not wish to continue in their office, they would not get their *kōḍeveṇa* even. This is a clear example of the system of *jāgīr*. For the maintenance of a hospital in a temple institution, the physician was paid annually 90 *kalams* of paddy and eight *kāsu* in addition to a grant of land.¹⁰⁹

V

The five *Dāmodarpur CPs*¹¹⁰ are not like ordinary royal grants of land nor are they like *Prasastis*. They are records of immense importance. They are peculiar kinds of saledeeds in which we get the state confirmation of the land sale. These purchases were made with a view to free donations thereof to temples or *Brāhmaṇas*. The sale rate was calculated in coins. Plate No. 1 of the time of Kumāragupta (443-444 A.D.) states that a *Brāhmaṇa* made an application before the local government for a permanent grant to him according to *Nividharma* of one *kulyavāpya* of untilled land for the convenient performance of his *agnihotra* sacrifice. He paid the price at the usual rate of three *dināras* for each *kulyavāpya*. His prayer was granted by the local government of *Koṭivarṣa Viṣaya* which was being carried on by Kumārāmātya Vetravarman, appointed to this responsible post by *Uparika Chiratadatta*, the head of *Puṇḍravardhanabhukti*. Before the grant was made, the record-keepers were consulted in determining the title of the land. Plate No. 2 refers to the purchase of a waste land for the maintenance of *Pancha-mahāyajñās*. Plate No. 3 refers to the purchase of some uncultivated lands to provide residence for some prominent *Brāhmaṇas*. The chief inhabitants of the village were informed by the *Mahattaras*, the *aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa*, the *grāmikas*

108. *EI.*, XXVII. 179.

109. *EI.*, XXI. 220.

110. *EI.*, XV. 113ff.—Cf. *EI.*, XXI. 83ff. During the Mauryan period, *Puṇḍranagar* seems to have been under the control of a *Mahāmātra*. When there was famine, the *Mahāmātra* was instructed to relieve the distress which he did by advancing loans and distributing paddy.

and others. Plate No. 4 refers to the purchase of land to erect temples.

Chitradatta, Vetravarman and others seem to have enjoyed similar status as enjoyed by emperor's own feudatory *nṛpa* Bandhuvvarman, who in the Gupta era 118 (= 437-438 A.D.) wielded a combined authority both as a ruler of Mālwa and as governor of the city of Daśapur. Surasmichandra was another important feudatory of the Gupta period ruling between Yamuna and Narmadā. In the Baigram CP of the G.E. 128, we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers as mentioned in the Dāmodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5. The Gunaigar plate of Mahārāja Vainyagupta in G.E. 188 records a grant of land at the instance of vassal Rudradatta (cf. Bhandarkar's List No. 2038). The Bengal grants were results of sale transactions effected individually and carried immunity from taxes only, while the central Indian grants provided administrative immunities as well. Pulindabhaṭṭa after getting the land as a mark of favour, granted it to priest Kumāraśvāmin for which act he obtained the sanction of Mahārāja Sarvanātha (CII—III. 31). This indicates how the process of subinfeudation was coming into vogue. Sharma has compared the granting of cultivated land to feudal practice in medieval Europe (JESHO—I. 316). Sharma's inference should be read along with Kosambi's conclusions (AISIH—IX-X Chapters). The recipients in the Bengal grants are the Brāhmaṇas and their number was limited. These donees always remained faithful to the donors in times of needs. Grants were given to the Brāhmaṇas with the specific purpose of securing merits. Kosambi suggests that this disguised a real purpose in the productive basis. The Brāhmaṇa was an essential adjunct of the State in reducing the mechanism of violence. His preaching of submission reduced the local administrative cost. Immigration, often at the invitation, gave him the knowledge of distant markets (Kosambi—*op cit.* 291; Brāhmaṇas were generally invited from Kolānches—cf. the Bargaon CP of Vighrahapala III and Panchobh CP of Sangrāmagupta—CIB for text). The Niddhanpur CPs indicate that the lands granted as revenue-free became liable to renewal of taxation on account of the loss of charter. In the absence of proof, the lands lapsed back into the royal treasury. Hence a re-issue of the charter was necessary by Bhāskaravarman (EI—XIX. 121; 245-6). The Tipperah CP of Lokanath (C. 650 A.D.) suggests that a king named Jīva-

dhārāṇa made over to Lokanātha his own Viṣaya and army without engaging in further battle (EI—XV. 301 ff; for Baigram CP—see EI—XXI. 78 ff).

From the Bengal grants, it appears that some definite procedure was followed in connection with the sale of land. The main stages were :—

- (i) Presentation of application for the purchase of land by intending purchasers to the local officer of the king, the local *adhikaraṇas* and the people of the locality;
- (ii) verification of the statements made in the application by record-keepers;
- (iii) sanction of sale and grant on the recommendation of the record-keepers with the concurrence of the local people;
- (iv) delivery of possession of the land to the grantees on payment of the sale price;
- (v) notification of the grant by the head of the local administration for information and guidance (EI—XXXI. 61).

These documents are immensely important for the study of the development of feudalism in India. The districts contributed to the enjoyment of governor either by supplying cavalry and infantry or by defraying the cost of their maintenance.¹¹¹ Even the village headmen were growing semi-feudal during this period. *Āyuktaka* is mentioned in some inscriptions. They were village officials living upon the share of the agricultural produce of the village concerned.¹¹² The *Sāmantas* and *Mahāsāmantas* came to hold imperial offices from the sixth century A.D. onwards.¹¹³ The exact nature of the feudal obligations towards the king cannot be definitely stated but it appears that in the seventh century the feudal obligations included the duty of providing troops for the lord. We learn from the *Aihole inscriptions* of Pulakesin II, that Harṣa's army was equipped with the hosts supplied by his vassals (Verse 5). The feudal militia seems to have developed by this time and the overlord had to depend on his feudatories for the

111. D. C. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, p. 338; cf. EI., XV. 144.

112. CII, IV. 6, 1.2; 7, 11.2-4.

113. EI., I. 67; IV. 208.

supply of troops. It is from the last decade of the sixth century A.D., that the *Rājās*, the *Sāmantas* took the place of *Uparika* and *Kumārāmātya* (CII—IV., intr. cxli). Administrative decentralisation through *Sāmantas* accelerated the conversion of communal property into feudal property. Local chieftains turned into barons and the same was the case with the high officials. Had the local potentates been not so powerful, Arjuna's aduacity to assert independence in Tirhut after Harṣa's death would have been an improbability (TM—198 ff; cf. my article in *JBRs*—1952, p. 356 ff). *Harṣacharita* refers to the outlying provinces of Harṣa and also to the *Sāmantas* and *Mahāsāmantas*. Both Mādhavagupta and Arjuna were Harṣa's vassals in Bihar (my *History of Bihar*, p. 77). The *Sāmantas* and *Mahāsāmantas* seem to have grown stronger with the decentralisation of the administrative authority.

(To be continued)

Kandhārapura

BY

D. C. SIRCAR, Ootacamund

The Sanskrit name Kṛishṇa was often modified in South India as Kandara, Kandāra, Kandhara, Kandhāra, Kanhara, Kanhāra, Kannara and Kannāra.¹ Sometimes the same name is found in the joint form Kṛishṇa-Kandhara or Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra.² The Prakrit name Kannara was also sometimes re-Sanskritised as Karna.³ The earliest use of such a Prakrit form of the name is to be found in that of Kandara who was the founder of the Ānanda dynasty of Kandrapura in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh and flourished in the fourth century A.D.⁴

The founder of the Raṭṭa dynasty of Saundatti in the Belgaum District is stated to have been raised to the position of a feudatory chieftain by a king named Kṛishṇa who has been identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III (939-68 A.D.).⁵ An inscription of 1218 A.D. represents the said Raṭṭas as the descendants of the same Kṛishṇa called Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra, while another record of 1209 A.D.(?) from Haṇṇikeri near Sampgaon in the Belgaum District of Mysore mentions the same king as Kṛishṇa-Kandhara and represents him as *Kandhāra-pura-var-ādhiśvara*, 'the supreme lord of Kandhārapura, the best of the cities'.

The Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas had their capital at Mānyakheṭa, modern Mālkheḍ in the Gulbarga District of the former Hyderabad

1. Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 244, 334, 410 (note 1), 468, 526, etc. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Ml. 19; Vol. VII, SK. 197 (Intr., p. 27) and 198 (Intr., p. 36); Hl. 17; Vol. III, Sa. 119; Vol. X, Bg. 43; Vol. XI, Dg. 13. A similar form of the name was Kāhnura (cf. Ray, *DHNI*, pp. 340, 565).

2. *Bomb. Gaz.*, op.cit., pp. 419, 508, 556; *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 241.

3. Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 122.

4. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 55ff.

5. Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, op.cit., pp. 550, 556; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 216ff. (Nos. 3-4); *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 240ff.

State, now in Mysore. But they did not represent themselves as the lord of 'Mānyakhēṭa, the best of cities'. Like the Rattas of Saundatti, the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas were sometimes represented as the lords of the city of Lattalūra, Lattalūr or Lattanūr, which was claimed to have been the original home of the family and has been identified with modern Lātūr in the Osmanabad District of the former Hyderabad State. The representation of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, who had his capital at Mānyakhēṭa,⁷ as the lord of Kandhārapura in the Hanṇikeri inscription without reference either to his capital or to the original home of the Rāshtrakūṭa family is interesting to note. It appears that Kṛishṇa III had a secondary capital at Kandhārapura, built by and named after himself or either of his two predecessors who bore the same name.

Fleet was not inclined to attach any importance to the mention of Kṛishṇa III in the said epigraph as the Lord of Kandhārapura. He draws our attention to the fact that it is an isolated instance and says, "I know of no place that can be identified with an ancient Kandhārapura or Kṛishṇapura. The name may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛishṇapura derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Chālukhya king Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III is said to have effected the burning of the city of Kṛishṇa II *Kṛishṇa-puradahana*; see *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 02, note 26)."⁸ But this attitude appears to be rather hypercritical. Since the Rattas of Saundatti, who were used to represent themselves as the lords of the city of Lattalūra, could have represented their ancestor as *Mānyakhēṭa-pura-var-ādhīśvara* if they wanted to avoid *Lattalūra-pura-var-ādhīśvara*, it is difficult to understand why they should have preferred to bring in the name of an imaginary city. In our opinion, the specific mention of Kṛishṇa III as the lord of Kandhārapura scarcely raises any reasonable doubt about the existence of a city called Kandhārapura apparently built by and named after a Rāshtrakūṭa monarch named Kṛishṇa.

Fleet's attitude seems to have been influenced by the fact that he had no knowledge of the existence of a city called Kandhāra which could be ascribed to the Rāshtrakūṭa period. It

6. *Bomb. Gaz.*, op.cit., pp. 384, 387; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 220.

7. *Bomb. Gaz.*, op.cit., p. 419.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 384, note 4.

therefore appears that he would have modified his opinion on the subject if he had any knowledge of the town of Kandhār (also spelt Qandhar and Kandahār) the headquarters of the Qandhar Sharif Taluk of the Nanded District of the former Hyderabad State, now in Bombay and of the remains therein of dilapidated structures ascribable to the Rāshtrakūṭa age. This place, which appears to be none other than the city of Kandhāra of the Haṇṇikeri inscription, lies about twentyfive miles to the south of Nanded and a hundred miles to the north of Mālkhed.

Sometime ago, Mr. G. Bhattacharya, one of the Epigraphical Assistants of my office, visited Kandhār and copied a fragmentary Rāshtrakūṭa inscription engraved on a broken pillar lying in the locality called Bahādurpur in the suburbs of the town. The inscription is written in the North Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. The extant parts of the record contain only the beginning of the Rāshtrakūṭa genealogy down to Kṛishṇa I (756-75 A.D.) and mentions a number of shrines that existed at the place when the inscription was set up about the tenth century probably during the reign of Kṛishṇa III. We are publishing the Bahādurpur (Kandhār) inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

One of the deities worshipped at Kandhār about the tenth century A.D. bore the name Gojjiga-Somanātha. Since Gojjiga is a well-known name of Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda IV (929-33 A.D.), the deity may have been named after that monarch. If such was the case, the city of Kandhāra seems to have existed before the days of Kṛishṇa III. But whether Kṛishṇapura burnt by Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III is the same as this Kandhārapura is difficult to say without further evidence.

Obituary

It is with deep sorrow that we record the sad demise of Dr. John Matthai, Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University at the Tata Memorial Hospital in Bombay on 2nd November, 1959.

Dr. John Matthai was born in Trichur in Kerala on January 10, 1886. He was educated at the Madras Christian College. After taking the law degree, he worked as a junior to one of the leading criminal lawyers in Madras for a period of four years. Then he proceeded to England for higher studies in Economics. He joined the London School of Economics and Political Science where he studied under Prof. Sidney Webb. From London, he went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he further specialised in Economics. After his return from England, he was appointed Assistant Registrar of Cooperative Societies in Madras which post he held from 1918 to 1920.

Dr. John Matthai next joined the Indian Educational Service in 1920. He was Professor of Economics in the Presidency College, Madras, from 1920 to 1925, a Chair which he held in combination with the corresponding Chair in the Madras University. He was nominated a member of the Madras Legislative Council.

In 1925 he was appointed a member of the Indian Tariff Board in which capacity he served for a period of six years 1925-1931. He then became the President of the Indian Tariff Board. After three years (1934) he was elevated to the post of the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, which office he continued to occupy for five years. In this capacity he was nominated a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

After leaving Government service Dr. John Matthai joined the House of the Tatas. He served that house in various capacities for fifteen years. He was responsible for organising the Tata Chemicals and afterwards he was transferred to the Tata Iron and Steel Company as a Director in 1944. Dr. John Matthai was a Cabinet Minister in the first National Government for nearly four years, first as Minister of Railways (1946-47) and then as Minister of Finance (1948-1950). After resigning from the Government, he again became a Director of the Tatas. He was the

Chairman of the Taxation Enquiry Commission in 1953. Later he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay in March 1955 and was subsequently made a member of the University Grants Commission. When the State Bank of India was formed, Dr. Matthai was appointed as Chairman of the Board of Directors. He held this office till August, 1956. He then became the Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University in 1958 and continued to be in that post till 31st October, 1959.

It was during his Vice-Chancellorship that the 21st session of the Indian History Congress was held in Trivandrum in December 1958, under the auspices of the University of Kerala. It was attended by a record number of delegates from all over India. The session was a complete success due to the inspiring guidance of the Vice-Chancellor. Dr. John Matthai was the author of publications like *Village Government in British India*, *Agricultural Co-operation in India*, *Excise and Liquor Control*, etc.

In recognition of the meritorious services rendered by Dr. John Matthai in multifarious fields, the President of India awarded him the title of "Padma Vibhushan".

Reviews

CEYLON IN THE XVIITH CENTURY: "An Historical Relation of Ceylon" by Robert Knox is issued in a new edition, which constitutes the Vol. VI (Nos. 1-4), (priced at Rs. 10/-), of the Ceylon Historical Journal issued for the period from July 1956 to April 1957.

This new edition consists of the text of the first edition of 1681 together with the introductory pages of the Autobiography written by Knox in June 1696, carefully edited with an illuminating introduction and with an important Bibliography, very useful for the student requiring guidance on the further reading on Knox, towards the end. It is also pretty well indexed. This edition is a faithful copy of the text of 1681, Ryan being followed where modernising the text was found necessary. Owing to retaining exactly the spelling of Knox but amending his punctuation for the sake of syntax, the text, while being easily intelligible to the modern reader, has yet retained something of the seventeenth century flavour. All the original illustrations and the map in the 1681 edition, a facsimile of the title page of the first edition, and the portrait of Knox (engraved by Richard White for the proposed second edition in 1695) are reproduced in the present edition, the six pages of the manuscript dealing with Knox's early life appearing before the text of the book in order to provide the reader with the necessary background about the author. And also there are marginal references to the folios of the original edition.

The book is divided into four parts, the first three dealing with the country and the last one containing the personal story of Knox from his capture to his escape. In the parts describing Ceylon, Knox deals with a variety of subjects like the country's geography, agriculture, natural history, the person of King Rajasingha II, the organisation of his Court, the administration, political history, society, religion, social history, economics, laws, learning—to mention only a few important ones. After giving a general view of the sea-coast, Knox leads the reader into the country by the Watches and through the Thorney Gates and then round upon the Mountains that encompass and fortify the whole Kingdom and then by the way to the top of Hommalet or Adam's Peak. From thence

he descends with the reader and shows him their chief Cities and Towns and then takes the reader into the country. There he acquaints him with their Husbandry and then entertains him with Fruits, Flowers, Herbs, Roots, Plants, and Trees, and by the way shelters him from the scorching sun and the drenching rain with a fan made of the Talipat—Leaf. Then he shows the reader their Beasts, Birds, Fish, Serpents, Insects, and last of all their commodities. From thence he takes the reader to the Court, shows him the King in the Several Estates of his life, and acquaints him with his way of Government, Revenues, Treasures, Officers, Governors, Military Strength, Wars, and by the way entertains him with an account of the late Rebellion against the King. After this, he brings the reader to get acquainted with the Inhabitants themselves, and here you may know their different Humours, Ranks, and Qualities. Then he takes the reader to visit their Temples, their Priests, and to see the Foppery of their Priests, their Religious Opinions, their Practices both in their Worship and their Festivals. Afterwards he takes the reader to their Houses and acquaints him with their Conversation and Entertainment, and gets the reader see their Houswifery, Furniture, Finery, and understand how they bring up and dispose of their children in Marriage and in what employment and Recreations they pass their time. Then he acquaints the reader with their Language, Learning, and Laws, and—if the reader may please—with their Magick and Juggling, and last of all their Diseases, Sickness, Death, and the Manner of their Burial. After this he gives a full account of the Reason of his own Going to and Detainment in the Island of Ceylon and the Kingdom of Conde—Uda, and of all the various Conditions and Accidents that befell him there during his “Nineteen years and an Halfs abode” among them and by what ways and means at last he made his escape and returned safely home to England in September 1686. In short, Knox gives a very clear and comprehensive picture of the life in the seventeenth century Ceylon in a style that is gripping in its literary grace and in a manner that is most interesting. As regards the comprehensiveness, the book, when first published, indeed in those days passed for such a complete record on Ceylon that Hooke, who wrote the Preface to the book, said that it was as if “Captain Knox who though he could bring away nothing almost upon his Back or in his Purse, did yet Transport the whole Kingdom of Conde—Uda in his Head” an observation not inapplicable even today!

Besides the comprehensiveness, another outstanding merit of the book lies in the fact that it is a most accurate and reliable record on the seventeenth century Ceylon, its reliability depending upon factors viz. (1) the absence of any prejudice in Knox, (2) Knox's twenty years' long sojourn in Ceylon with unrivalled opportunities for the first-hand study of the country, and (3) the reason that prompted Knox to write the book. The reason for Knox in writing the book was only his own satisfaction and his own personal ends with no intention at all to publish it or to sell it. He had no reason to be tempted to furnish his account with lies or half truths as it was not meant for others but only for himself. He had no need to conceal anything or no temptation to justify his actions, because the account was not meant for anyone else except himself. The lack of any temptation for Knox to record anything else than the exact truth is best expressed by Hooke who says, "I believe at least all that love Truth will be pleas'd, for from what little conversation I had with him I conceive him to be no way prejudiced or biassed by interest, affection or hatred, fear or hopes, or the vainglory of telling strange things, so as to make him swerve from the truth of Matter of fact". As regards the unprejudiced nature of Knox's account, a comparison of this book with some other documents on Ceylon will make that much clearer. For example, the Mahavamsa and Queyroz's *Conquista de Ceilao* are the two source books on the pre-seventeenth century Ceylon; and the memoirs of the Governors are the best source material on the Dutch period in the history of Ceylon. But all these three important documents have heavily suffered in their historical value because of their writers' definite intention to advocate a particular cause, in the Mahavamsa the cause of Theravadisam of the Mahavihara, in the *Conquista de Ceilao* the cause of Catholicism, and in the Memoirs of the Governors the cause of justifying their Governorships of the Company's possessions in Ceylon, being advocated. Knox had no such bias.

Certainly Knox's knowledge of the country was very vast and deep. He has always aimed at being more sincere than sensational; and his honesty is absolutely unquestionable. However, one or two factual errors are found in his book. In the third chapter of the second part of the book, on the page 73 of the present edition, Knox says that Rajasingha II poisoned his only son after the Great Rebellion. This is unacceptable in view of the fact

that on Rajasingha's death in 1687 his son succeeded him as Vimala Dharma II. But Knox is to be excused for this error, because he was misled into the belief by the false news intentionally circulated by Rajasingha. On noting the unsuccessful attempt of placing his son on the throne by the rebels during the Great Rebellion he intentionally circulated the news that he had poisoned his son with the idea of preventing the recurrence of trouble in future. Of his error Knox says, "I think that I need not doubt of any reader pardon that I have incerted a lye, for if they themselves had bin upon the place they might as safely have bin deceived as myself." This is sufficiently revealing about his sincerity and honesty. Another point, which would appear to be like an error, is that Knox makes no mention of the Tooth Relic in his book and his description of the Kandy Perahera is one of a ceremony to honour the four devales. But here too Knox has to be excused, because the Tooth Relic was hidden by Rajasingha's father Senerat, and was revealed only during the reign of Rajasingha's son Vimala Dharma Suriya II, and received, fifty years later, a place in the Perahera only during the time of Kirti Sri Rajasingha. There are also found a few misinterpretations. But the reason seems to be that what has caused the few misinterpretations is not any deliberate attempt to give the incorrect information but only that he made an attempt to interpret the Sinhalese customs in terms of the European customs and the attempt did lead sometimes to the procrustean results. Hence here too Knox's failures have to be excused.

Besides its worth as a historical record, this book has a great literary value. This book is a travelogue, a story of travel and adventure, on the line of the great tradition of the literature of travel and adventure, commencing with Hakluyt and Purchas; and it has inspired the great literary work in this tradition, viz., Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. As it was suited to the taste of the readers of those days, and as it was not meant for any one class of readers but catered to the needs of a large variety of readers appealing to the entire reading public, it was very popular all over Europe in those days. This book had an interest and a lesson for every reader in those days. In the words of Hooke, "most readers, though of very different gusts, may find somewhat very pleasant to their Pallat. The stateman, Divine, Physitian, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanick, Husbandman, may select something for their

entertainment. The Philosopher and the Historian much more." That instant and great popularity of this book among the English and the European readers resulted in a second reprint of the English edition in the author's life-time and in the Dutch, German, and French translations within a few years of its first publication. But the taste of the reading public changed and the book has been virtually forgotten. During such a long time of the last two and half centuries it was seen in only two complete English reprints. With the publication of this edition it is hoped that "this edition will create some interest among scholars in Knox and his writings, and possibly lead to a definitive edition in which his autobiography, his manuscript notes for a second edition and some of his correspondence can be included. If the present work could only point out the need for such a 'definitive' publication being undertaken soon, it would have served one of its major purposes."

This book, though the first in fact to be written on Ceylon in the English language, is still valuable for several reasons, the most important reason being that this book, being an accurate, unprejudiced, honest, sincere, and comprehensive account, is a valued and dependable model source book for the socio-economic history of the seventeenth century Ceylon. Besides, in itself this book is an interesting reading of an exciting narrative told in a style that is graceful and gripping.

R. B. JOSHI

REVISTA DE HISTORIA DE AMERICA (Nro. 43—1957, Nro. 44—1957, Nro. 45—1958, Nro. 46—1958).

These four volumes of the Revista De Historia De America, an earlier number of which has been reviewed in this journal before, have all its usual features containing the rich and valued material, which will be interesting to the students of the "Americanistic Studies". In the contents of these four big volumes besides the usual features there are the following articles: Vol. Nro. 43-57: G. Freyre: O Portugal no tropico americano; A. J. Lacombe: Fontes para o estudo de Historia de Brasil; N. L. D. S. Lima: La Tercera America; J. T. Revello; Un documento relative al orfebre Jose Boqui; R. S. Castro: Jose Joaquin de Mora y la Constitucion de 1828; J. B. Benitez: La Revolucion paraguayana del 15 de mayo de

1811; P. Chaunu: *Amerique et Conjoncture*; Vol. Nro. 44-57; R. Donoso: *Autenticidad de las Noticias Secretas de America*; J. Houdaille: *Les francais et les afrancesados en Amerique Centrale, 1700-1810*; R. J. Shafer: *Ideas and work of the colonial economic societies, 1781-1820*; Ph. L. Astuto: *Eugenio Espejo, a man of enlightenment in Eucador*; Vol. Nro. 45-58; C. Verlinden; *Santa Maria la Antigua del Darien, premiere "vill" coloniale de la Terre Ferme Americaine*; R. A. Molina: *Las primeras navegaciones del Rio de la Plata despues de la fundacion de Juan de Garay*; R. B. Knox: *Notes on the identity of Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara and some members of his family*; R. Levillier: *La justicia de bautismo de America*; J. T. Revello: *Un contrabandista del siglo XVII en el Rio de la Plata*; I. A. Leonard: *Informe de Don Carles de Siguenza y Gongora sobre el castillo de San Juan de Ulua*; R. Piccirilli: *En torno a Jose de Mora y la Constitucion de Chile de 1828*, Vol. Nro. 46-58; R. B. McCornack: *Juarez and Latin America*; J. C. Shields: *Sonora y los frances*; E. C. Rodrigues: *Chinese labour migration into Latin America in the nineteenth century*; C. M. Rama: *El movimiento obrero y social uruguay y el Presidente Batlle*; R. Donoso: *En torno a la personalidad de Miguel Lustania 1759-1827*; E. Romero: *El sentimiento liberal peruano y su apoyo a Mexico durante la intervencion francesa*; R. S. Castro: *Coordinacion cronologica del reportorio historico chileno*. All these articles are learned and valued contributions. However, it is not possible to treat in detail each one of them here.

It may be added that the Indian historians, at a time when they are engaged on their monumental scheme of "A Comprehensive History of India" may find interesting the news, that their American counterparts are also engaged on a comprehensive monumental "History of America" project which, along with an appraisal of the project by the U.S.A.—Historian R. F. Nicols, is given under the section "Noticias" of the Vol. Nro. 43-57.

R. B. JOSHI

THE PERSONALITY OF INDIA: Pre and Proto-Historic Foundation of India and Pakistan (Second Edition), by Benapudi Subbarao, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Archaeology, M. S. University of Baroda, with a Foreword by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, M. S. University Archaeology Series

No. 3, Faculty of Arts, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1958. Pp. XVI + 193. Price Rs. 20/-.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler in his foreword to the first edition of this book said : "This essay by my friend Subbarao is a brave and constructive attempt to set prehistoric and protohistoric India upon the map. A dozen years ago it could not have been written : a dozen years hence it will have to be rewritten, preferably by Dr. Subbarao himself." But within sixteen months after the release of the first edition in 1956, Dr. Subbarao has placed before us the second edition of the book which has been thoroughly revised and considerably enlarged in the light of the suggestions in reviews and opinions from his professional colleagues, and also his further study and research and examination of new material that has come to light on the subject.

While in the First Edition there were eight chapters, in the present one there are nine chapters. The second chapter in the book which was called "Geographic Factors in Indian Archaeology" in the first edition is now called "Regions and Regionalism", and describes in it the historic aspects of regionalism. It is shown that owing to geographical factors the centripetal and the centrifugal forces have been operating one against the other all through the history of the country which have made the politician and the practical administrator recognise region and regionalism through necessity, for 'India is a large cell not with one nucleus but several', (p. 35). Discussing the nature of the terms used in studies in the pre-historic archaeology of India Subba Rao reiterates that since Indian sequence does not fit into any mould European or African, we must discover our own pattern by intensive stratigraphic studies of more localities and rely less on typology", (p. 39). Referring to the difficulties in Indian Chronology he recognised that it is absolutely in a fluid state and requires constant revision for some time, (p. 43). He emphasises the urgent need for a consideration between the North Indian and South Indian archaeological chronology. He thinks that there is need for a slight downward revision of the Brahmagiri chronology to reconcile the evidence from the north and south, which would enable us to place the Megaliths in the Pre-Mauryan period without upsetting the Roman Datum' and urges the need to conduct one or two large scale excavations in the central Deccan to verify

and corroborate the sequence of Sanganakallu, Brahmagiri, Maski and Pikihal, (p. 49).

In chapter V Dr. Subbarao, reviews the main succession of Early, Middle and Late Stone Industries and examines their stratigraphic and typological relation. Though the broad outlines of the Early Stone Age in India are clear enough, their exact chronology and Stratigraphy await further investigation, and for unravelling the complexities of Indian pre-history much patience is needed. Dr. Subbarao emphasises the need for further investigation of the age and character of the blade and burin industry which seems to have flourished in the limestone areas of the Karnataka and Andhra. With regard to the geometric microlithic industry, the neolithic or polished stone industry and the fine chalcolithic blade industry there appears to have been differential distribution in space and in some of the areas even in time (p. 69). Dr. Subbarao is inclined to postulate that a widespread microlithic industry in India was replaced or was succeeded by either the Neolithic or the Chalcolithic in more favourable environments. In a study of the problems of this kind he discredits the examination of typological evidence alone and says "we have had enough of typology and we should make fresh collection under closely observed conditions and fix them in relation to the local culture sequence or the sequence in the region concerned primarily, (p. 76). He feels that the Neolithic culture lasted for a considerable time in the Deccan, preceding the introduction of metals at the beginning of the first millenium B.C., (p. 81). There are two distinct traditions in the Indian Neolithic and its later survivals, one of them being the result of infiltration from S. E. Asia

The next chapter is devoted to a description of the material culture of India during the proto-historic and early historic periods in the light of some sixty stratigraphic excavations. The greatest challenge to the Indian archaeologist is to explain the origin of the great urban civilization of Harappa. Dr. Subbarao feels that the relation of Mohenjodaro and Harappa to the upland communities "of the pre-Harappa period cannot be specified and that at present it appears to us like Minerva born in a panoply", (p. 95). He agrees with the views of Wheeler, Piggot and Childe that the cemetery H., people were responsible for the destruction of Harappa, but is not prepared to accept that they were the Aryans in the present stage of our knowledge, (p. 98). Again he is not

prepared to accept the view that the use of iron was earlier in the South. On the other hand he says that the evidence tends to show that iron and Black and Red ware came together into South India, (p. 121). He is not prepared to agree with Professor Haimendorf's Dravidian-Megalithic equation and pleads for a proper study of the Megalithic remains in the north, before anything definite is said about South Indian Megaliths, (p. 122).

Dr. Subbarao feels that not much can be said about the pre- and proto-history of the Tamil country since very little systematic exploration has been carried out in this region. The pre-Megalithic phase in this part of the country is still obscure. Evidence of a Neolithic culture south of the Kaveri is not available. The author says that it requires investigation whether the microlithic culture based on a primitive hunting economy survived till it was displaced by the Megalithic folk, (p. 124).

There are two appendices at the end of the book. One of them attempts a discussion of the correlation between the archaeological and traditional evidence with regard to the proto-history of the country, and points out the difficulties in reconciling them. The other is on the problem of the Black and Red ware.

Dr. Subbarao deserves our congratulations and gratitude on this publication, the first systematic and comprehensive study on the pre- and proto-history of India in which he has raised many interesting and complicated questions and given much food for thought to scholars in the field. The value and usefulness of the work are very much enhanced by a number of illustrations, diagrams, charts and a good bibliography.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

EARLY CHAUHAN DYNASTIES (A study of Chauhan Political History, Chauhan Political Institutions and Life in the Chauhan Dominions from C. 800 to 1316 A.D.), by Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt., Reader in History, Delhi University, with a Foreword by Sardar K. M. Panikkar. Published by S. Chand & Co., Delhi, Jullundur, Lucknow, 1959, pp. xxvii + 364, price Rs. 20/.

The mediaeval history of India is characterised by the struggle of a number of Hindu kingdoms to defend India's freedom against Islam's fight for political domination in the country. In
J. 22

such heroic and determined resistance some of the leading Hindu dynasties in Rajasthan, Central India and Bundelkhand played a noble part. Not much is known of these dynasties. For a long time our knowledge of the events of the period was largely based on the chronicles of the Muslim court annalists. But the gradually accumulating material in the shape of inscriptions and local accounts bearing on the struggle for saving India from Muslim conquest has made it necessary and possible to rewrite the history of the period with particular reference to the dynasties that played a large part in the struggle. Among the dynasties that had a large share in the defence of the country against the invaders the Chauhans were one, about whom a full history has been long overdue. The present book under review by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma which was approved for the award of the D.Litt. Degree by the University of Agra supplies this desideratum. This scholarly publication gives a detailed and full account of the Chauhan dynasties and the political and social institutions under them based on an objective study of all available material, literary, epigraphical and archaeological.

The book is divided into two parts, the first one (Chapters I to XX) dealing with the political history of the Chauhans and the second (Chapters XXI to XXVI) dealing with the administrative and social history under them.

The origin of the Chauhans is shrouded in mystery like the origins of many dynasties. After an examination of all the evidence and views on the subject Dr. Dasharatha Sharma thinks that they were originally Brahmans who like the Pallavas, Kadambas and the Guhilas were either forced or induced by the prevailing conditions to give up their priestly calling and enter the Kshatriya fold, (p. 10). Their original habitat appears to have been the Jangaladesa extending approximately from Pushkar in the south to Harsha in the north, (p. 11). The Chauhans come into the political horizon about the middle of the eighth century in Bhrigukachha (Broach) as feudatories of the imperial Pratihara dynasty and helping it against the Muslims. Though they are not heard there for four centuries thereafter, they are found ruling over parts of Gujerat from Broach later. But the Chauhans of Sapadalaksha or Jangaladesa seem to be better known in the history of North India. One of the early rulers of the dynasty, Durlabharāja I appears to have helped the Pratihara king Vatsaraja

in his conquest of the Gauda country under Dharmapāla, (pp. 24-6). But the greatest of the early dynasty was Vighraharāja who was even able to conquer Mūlarāja, the strong ruler of Gujarat. Ajayarāja, a later member of the dynasty, was the founder of the city of Ajayameru, the later Ajmer. Arnorāja was another great ruler who extended his kingdom in the Malva and Hiriyana region and inflicted a defeat on the Ghaznavies. Vighraharāja captured Delhi and Hansi and thereby not only put an end to Tomara independence, but also became an all-India power. His reign was a golden age for Sapadalaksha when art, religion and literature received patronage. Prithvirāja III was the last great ruler of the dynasty. As a general and patron of letters he was great, but his policy was suicidal to his kingdom. He made enemies of all his neighbours even in the face of the Muslims, and lost their sympathy and support at the hour of trial. His policy particularly against the Gahadavalas and Gujarat was most ill-advised and betrayed his lack of political sagacity. Though the account of Prithvirāja's abduction of, and marriage with, Samyogita of the Gahadavala family is set in romantic surroundings, Dr. Dasharatha Sharma is inclined to believe the main part of the story, (pp. 96-99).

There were three other important branches of the Chauhans, namely those of Ranthambhor, Nadol and Jalor. Hammira was easily the most important of the Chauhan rulers of Ranthambhor who put an end to his life to save himself from his Muslim enemies, after fighting to the last. Jayasimha of Nadol lost his life in the course of the brave resistance he put up against Qutbuddin Aibak. Again Kanhadadeva fell fighting against the Muslims after his feudatories sacrificed their lives and the members of the harem consigned themselves to the flames of Jauhar, (p. 169). Really the whole account, with all the anecdotes and episodes is very thrilling and leaves on the reader the indelible impression that the Chauhans rulers were great men in spite of their imprudence and faults.

The administrative system under the Chauhans was practically the same as the one that obtained in many other kingdoms in north India during the period. In local administration the *Pancakulas* had an important part. Dr. Dasharatha Sharma thinks that they were "a committee of five, an institution which has come down to us from Mauryan or perhaps even pre-Mauryan times",

(p. 204). He feels that the State might have had some share in the constitution of the committee and that it might have acted on behalf of the adult members of the village, and discharged various functions. It may be noted that the *Pancakulas* are mentioned in some inscriptions of contemporary dynasties as associated with the central and provincial administration also. The term *dasabandha* is taken as an incometax. On the whole the military organisation under the Chauhans was weak, particularly because of the large irregular forces. Jainism was in a flourishing condition under the Chauhans. Hinduism was equally strong. Śaivism in some form or other found the greatest acceptance. Saktism and the cult of Sun worship were also popular. The period of the Chauhans was one of literary activity in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa though in course of time Prakrit was gradually displaced by either Sanskrit or Apabhramsa or the Vernacular of the people. The earliest specimens of Hindi belong to this period. Among the subjects studied were Agama, Philosophy, Kavya, Nataka, Alankara, Lexicography, etc. There were a number of *Vidyamathas*.

Thus the book contains a full account of the Chauhans and their times, and is indispensable to any student of the mediaeval history of India. It is fully documented and contains genealogical tables of the Chauhan dynasties and their contemporaries, a good bibliography and a useful index.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

STONE AGE INDUSTRIES OF THE BOMBAY AND SATARA DISTRICTS (M. S. University Archaeology Series No. 4) by S. C. Malik, B.Sc.(Hons.), M.Sc., Dip. in Archaeology (London), Lecturer in Archaeology, M. S. University of Baroda. Published by the Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda. Baroda, 1959. Price Rs. 10 : 50nP.

Intensive study of the prehistory of particular regions based on exploration and excavation is necessary before any generalisation is made for the whole country. This monograph by S. C. Malik under review is a critical study of the Stone Age industries of the two districts of Bombay and Satara which are rich in them. It is divided into seven sections. The first three of them are introductory and they are devoted to an examination of the geological and geographical characteristics of the area which have influenced the development of stone industries in it in the

prehistoric period. On the whole the collections are from thirty three sites. The types of tools taken up for study are those of the 'Middle Stone Age' industries and the Microlithic industries.

Mr. Malik says that the 'Middle Stone Age' or the 'Flake-blade-scraper' industry was an intervening stage "which was homotaxial to the stage in the Stone Age sequence of the European and African continents". "The Bombay flake-blade-scraper industries have used an inferior variety of jasper and chert, while the Narmada and Godavari valley industries have used the same materials, but of a very fine quality" (p. 43). The age of the industry was the late-upper pleistocene or early Holocene. The 'Middle Stone Age' industries, developed typologically into the non-geometric microlithic industries with the changing conditions of climate. The microlithic cultures that survived late into the historical period gradually disappeared on account of the transcontinental diffusion of traits and ideas.

One will agree with the author when he says that "this tentative conclusion, can, of course be proved only by excavation, i.e. in a stratigraphical context and by further intensive work in other parts of India". This interesting monograph must stimulate similar studies relating to the prehistory of other parts of the country.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

THE HISTORY OF THE GAHADAVALA DYNASTY by Roma Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil. with a Foreword by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Published by Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, Calcutta, 1959, pp. xvi + 284. Price Rs. 15/-.

This book under review, originally a thesis approved by the University of Calcutta in 1952 for the D.Phil. Degree, deals with the history of the Gahadavala dynasty which like the Chauhans played an important role in the history of North India at a critical period, when the Muslims who had already obtained a firm footing in India by the occupation of the Punjab were trying to expand their dominions in the country. This dynasty came to power about 1089 and ruled till about the middle of the 13th century. During its palmy days the Gahadavala kingdom extended over a large area from the region round about modern Delhi to the district of Patna and from the foot of the Himalayas to the south bank of the Yamuna. Vārāṇasi was the capital of the kingdom

for the best part of its history, though during certain periods Kanyakubja also seems to have served as its capital. Dr. Miss Niyogi has given in this book a full, detailed and reliable account of the history of this important dynasty based on a study of all the available material.

The book contains eight chapters, the first five dealing with the political history of the dynasty and the next three dealing with geographical data and the administrative and social conditions under the Gahadavalas. In the first chapter Miss Niyogi discusses the political history of the Antarvedi and Vārānasi region before the rise of the Gahadavalas and shows that it was in the hands of the Pratihāras, the Candrātreyas, and the Kaḷacūris. The statement on p. 15 that Tailapa II was the last of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is obviously a mistake. In the second chapter the origin of the Gahadavalas is discussed and the view is expressed that they belonged to a separate clan. Their early history is not clearly known. The first well-known member of the dynasty was Chandradeva, who starting from the Vārānasi—Ayodhya region took advantage of the disturbed political condition of the period and occupied the country between Indrasthānīya (Delhi) and Kāśī (p. 42). He brought under his control Kanyākubja or Mahodaya the capital of Harṣa and the imperial Pratihāras. The second ruler Madanapāla had to suffer defeat at the hands of the army of Ghazni Sultan Masud III but was saved by his son Gōvindacandra. On the whole Madanapāla, in spite of his wars with his neighbours, was able to retain his kingdom intact. Gōvindacandra was easily the greatest king of his dynasty as also of his time. 'His extensive conquests and wide diplomatic relations made the Gahadavala dynasty for the time being the most important factor in the field of North Indian politics'. His arms probably reached the Himalayas on the north and penetrated beyond the Yamunā in the Kaḷacūri dominion in the south. He had diplomatic relations with a number of contemporary powers including the Cōḷas in the south. The last great ruler of the dynasty was Jayaccandra who succeeded Vijayacandra. He was the great rival of Prthvīrāja the Chauhan king. Miss Niyogi discredits the romantic story of the marriage between Samyogitā, the daughter of Jayaccandra and Prthvīrāja III, since 'it is not corroborated by any authentic evidence' (p. 107), though as noticed in the previous review Dr. Dasharatha Sharma after an examination of the whole evidence is inclined to accept the account

in spite of its romantic setting. Jayaccandra fought a great battle at Candwar against Mahmud of Ghor 1193 and was killed in the battle. Miss. Niyogi rejects the statements made in some bardic accounts that he instigated Mahmud of Ghor to destroy Pr̥thvirāja (p. 112). Though Jayaccandra was killed in the battle his empire continued for a few decades more till it was finally conquered by the Muslims.

Chapter VII deals with the Gahadavala administrative system. The empire was divided into *Viṣaya*, *Pathaka*, *Paṭṭala* and *Grāma*. The queen enjoyed many prerogatives and large powers. Town administration seems to have been under the control of special officers appointed for the purpose. The king's share and other taxes connected with land appear to have been realised in kind. Miss Niyogi is inclined to take the *Daśavanda* as some sort of a grant of land to persons for repairing or digging a tank on condition of paying a part of the produce (p. 170). A fair idea of the socio-religious ideal of the period may be gathered from the contemporary Dharmaśāstra digest *Kṛtyakalpataru* by Lakṣmīdara, the *Mahāsandhivigraha* of Govindacandra. The Gahadavala kings were worshippers of Viṣṇu, but patronised Saivism also. Buddhism and Islam were also in a flourishing condition (p. 199-200). Kumāradevi, the queen of Govindacandra was herself a Buddhist.

The book contains two appendices, one dealing with the place of Kanyākubja and Vārāṇasi in the history of the Gahadavalas, and the other a descriptive list of Gahadavala inscriptions besides a genealogical table, bibliography and an index. A map showing the extent of the Gahadavala empire and the important places in it could have been given in the book. On the whole, Dr. Miss Niyogi deserves our congratulations on this publication which is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Gahadavalas.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

ON BIHAR (STUDIES IN HISTORY AND CULTURE) Ganesh Datta College Bulletin Series No. 4, Jayaswal Archaeological Historical Society and Museum, Ganesh Datta College, Begusarai, 1959. Edited by Radhakrishna Chaudhary.

This fourth number of the G. D. College Bulletin Series contains sixteen articles contributed by scholars on some of the

aspects of the history and culture of Bihar. In a short review it may not be possible to mention the merits of all the articles in detail. But mention must be made of a few of them which in their own way have contributed to knowledge. The number opens with the reprint of an article on the *Rasikajīvana* of Gadadhara Bhaṭṭa by P. K. Gode contributed originally to an early volume of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona. He thinks that the work must have been composed after A.D. 1650. Dr. A. S. Altekar sketches in an interesting and informative article the life of one Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan pilgrim who visited Bihar in the 13th century. Dr. K. K. Datta reviews in a paper the British military operations in Shahabad between April and June 1858. Prof. Askari gives us in a short paper some gleanings from Malfuz of the 17th century Shuttari Saint of Jandaha. One gets a fair idea of the history of vernacular education in Monghyr district in mid-19th century from the pen of Dr. K. K. Basu. Dr. D. C. Sircar studies an inscription engraved on a vessel. It is said to mention a king, Āryaviśākamitra. It is dated in the year 108 of an unspecified era. The author thinks that the era was the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and that the king belonged to a mitra dynasty of which not much is known. In a stimulating article Adris Banerjee gives an idea of the archaeological potentialities of Bihar. H. R. Ghoshal sketches in a paper the history of the Indigo planters in North Bihar between 1782 and 1942. Dr. B. P. Sinha's paper on the political history Bihar in the 11th and 12th centuries and Dr. R. K. Dikshit's paper on the Chandellas in Bihar are complementary to each other. Dr. Ram Sharan Sharma examines in a paper the main features of the land revenue system in the pre-Mauryan period. Prof. Radhakrishna Chaudhary sketches in an article the history of the relations between Bihar and Nepal between 600 B.C. and 1816 A.D. Dr. Upendra Thakur discusses the place of Rama Gupta in Gupta history and shows that he did not belong to the imperial dynasty. Prof. Akhileshwar Kumar deals in an article with Mustafakhan the leader of the Afghan revolt against Ali Vardi. Dr. R. C. Pratap Singh argues in a paper that in Ancient India the king was the owner of the land and not the private individual. Prof. Arun Kumar Sinha traces in a paper the history of the Chakwars of Begusarai.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

THE EARLY RULERS OF KHAJURAHO by Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil; published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958; pp. 253, with 9 plates and 1 map.

Under the title of *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, Dr. Mitra deals with the history of the Chandella dynasty of Jejākabhukti. Khajuraho, Kalanjar and Mahoba were the most famous strongholds of the Chandella kings. The earliest independent monarch of the family, viz. Dhaṅga who ruled for nearly half a century about the second half of the tenth century, had his headquarters at Khajuraho. But it appears that Kalanjar was the capital of many of the later rulers of the family, though some of them probably had their headquarters at Mahoba.

Out of the 14 chapters of the book under review, the first two deal with such introductory topics as the land of the Chandellas and the origin of the family. In the following eight chapters (Chapters III-X), the political history of the Chandella dynasty has been discussed. Chapters XI-XIV deal with Chandella administration and the social, economic and religious life in the Chandella kingdom as well as the condition of art and architecture under the patronage of the Chandella kings. There are three appendices, one of which contains the summaries of 65 inscriptions of the family. Out of the 20 illustrations on the 9 Plates, one exhibits both sides of 6 coins issued by the Chandella monarchs. The usefulness of the book has been considerably enhanced by the summaries and illustrations as well as by the exhaustive index and the map showing the findspots of Chandella inscriptions.

The author's treatment is fairly exhaustive. We are glad to note that he has taken into consideration the evidence of the Bangla inscriptions regarding the struggle between Chandella Viravarman and the Yajvapāla king Gopāla of Nalapura. These epigraphs were so far ignored by other recent writers on Chandella history. Dr. Mitra had also the advantage of consulting the very recent studies on the Darbat inscription (1075 A.D.) of Kīrtivarman and the Tikamgarh plate (1084 A.D.) of Pratihāra Harirāja, both of which have thrown new light on the history of the age. We congratulate Dr. Mitra in his success in producing an up-to-date history of the Chandellas.

The treatment of the various subjects of discussion by the learned author is generally sober and scholarly. Many of the topics however centre round the interpretation of epigraphical evidence. It is difficult to expect finality in some of these questions

and difference of opinion amongst scholars can scarcely be avoided in all cases. We feel that sometimes Dr. Mitra has taken the statements of official eulogies more literally and seriously than we are inclined to do.

A few instances where we do not entirely agree with the learned author may be cited here. The view that Kanauj did not form a part of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire till the death of Nāgabhaṭa II in 833 A.D. and that Nāgabhaṭa's son and successor Rāmabhadra (833-36 A.D.) was a weak ruler (p. 30) does not appear to be easily reconcilable with the fact that the Bara copper-plate charter was issued by Rāmabhadra's son and successor Bhoja in 836 A.D. from the city of Mahodaya (Kanauj) in respect of the grant of a village in the Kālāñjara *maṇḍala* lying within the Kanya-kubja (Kanauj) *bhukti*. It is stated that the grant, originally made by Maukhari Śarvavarman, received the approval of Nāgabhaṭa II, though its allotment fell into abeyance owing to the fault of one of Rāmabhadra's officers. As regards Dr. Mitra's interpretation of *suhrid* (p. 31), we do not think that the word would be an inappropriate epithet for one's overlord. The comparison of the marriage of an important personage with a suitable bride with the union of celestial couples (p. 34) is a commonplace in Indian literary and epigraphic literature and hardly means anything. We are not inclined to attach any great importance to Chandella Yaśovarman's vain-glorious claim set forth in the stanza *Gauḍa-kṛdā-lat=āsi*, etc. (pp. 43 ff.) nor do we read any special meaning in the epithet *sāvadya* applied in the same verse to the Chedis (p. 39). The language of the stanza describing the extent of Dhaṅga's kingdom in 954 A.D. (pp. 57 ff.) is not clear as to whether the Gwalior region formed a part of it or lay outside its borders. But the Chedi country mentioned in the same context certainly lay outside the Chandella king's dominions. We have no doubt that the verb *tulayañchakāra* (pp. 65-66) was used in the derogatory sense of demonstrating the light weight of a rival by lifting him up figuratively.

The learned author may consider these and other points of this kind when he gets an opportunity of revising the book for the second edition. He may then also try to remove the misprints that are noticed especially in some of the quotations from inscriptions.

We have no hesitation in recommending Dr. Mitra's work to the lovers of early Indian history.

D. C. SIRCAR.

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Ancient India—Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Number 15, 1959, New Delhi.
 1. *Sanur 1950 and 1952 : A Megalithic Site in District Chingleput*, by N. R. Banerjee and K. V. Sundara Rajan.
 2. *The Temples of Khajuraho in Central India*, by Krishna Deva.
 3. *The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan*, by M. N. Deshpande.
 4. *Technical Section : Examination and Preservation of a Painted Stucco Head*, by F. C. Nagpall and O. P. Agrawal.
- II. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Annals of the Vol. XXXIX, Parts I-II, Poona.*
 1. *Power in Ancient India : 2. Kingship and Authority*, by Ronald M. Smith.
 2. *First part of Samudragupta's Prasasti*, by S. V. Sohoni.
 3. *Rewa Stone-Slab Inscription of Vijayasimha Kalacuri*, (dated K. E. 96x-A.D. 1208 to 1212), by S. K. Dikshit.
 4. *Asoka and the Taxila Inscription*, by Radhakrishna Choudhary.
- III. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the, Vol. IX, September, 1959, No. 1.*
 1. *Studies in Jain Inscriptions*, by D. B. Diskalkar.
 2. *The Extent of Kusana Rule in North Bihar*, by Radhakrishna Choudhary.
- IV. *Tamil Culture, Vol. VIII, No. 1, January to March, 1959, Tuticorin.*
 1. *A Dravidian from Spain*, by P. Joseph.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*,
Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*,
Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
15. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review*, Madras.
18. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review*.
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.

Printed by G. Srinivasachari, B.A., at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street,
Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXVIII, Part II August, 1960

Serial No. 113

CONTENTS

A DIARY OF THE PARTITION DAYS—by Ganda Singh ..	241	INDIA'S EARLY POLITICAL IDEAL —by Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	379
THE INFLUENCE OF CLASSICAL POETS ON THE INSCRIPTIONAL POETS—by D. B. Diskalkar ..	285	AKBAR'S CONQUEST OF RAJASTHAN—by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	385
MARATHA—NIZAM RELATIONS: "THE KHAZANA-I-AMIRA" OF GULAM ALI AZAD BILGRAMI—by P. Setu Madhav Rao, M.A., I.A.S. ..	303	AKBAR AND INDIAN NATIONALISM —by Dr. Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. ..	401
THE PROPOSAL OF A FEDERAL RAILWAY AUTHORITY IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935—by Dr. Amba Prasad ..	327	AN EARLY INSCRIPTION AT TIRUCHIRAPALLI—by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.Litt. ..	409
SALIVAHANA-HALA—by O. Ramachandraiya, Ph.D. ..	365	CULTURE—CONTACTS IN SOUTH INDIA—by T. K. Venkataraman, M.A., L.T. ..	413
ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP IN ANCIENT ORISSA—by S. C. De ..	369	THE VIJAYAVADA GROUP OF CAVE TEMPLES—by Dr. M. Rama Rao ..	427
REVIEWS: (1) The History of Civilization of the People of Assam to the Twelfth Century A.D., by P. C. Choudhury; (2) Science and Civilization in China, by Joseph Needham; (3) Jonathan Duncan and Varanasi, by V. A. Narain; (4) The Soma-Hymns of the Rg Veda: A fresh interpretation, Part II (RV. 9-16-50), by S. S. Bhawe; (5) Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya (A Survey of the Triad Society from 1800 to 1900), by L. F. Comber; (6) "The Dipavamsa", edited by Dr. B. C. Law; (7) Landmarks of the Freedom Struggle in Assam, by K. N. Dutt; (8) Ahmed Shah Durrani, by Ganda Singh; (9) A Short History of the Indian National Congress, by M. V. Ramana Rao; (10) Buddha Dhamma (A Higher Affirmation), by G. C. Lall; (11) Hindu Gods and Hidden Mysteries, by Govinda Krishna Pillai; (12) A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts in Munshi Abdul Karim's Collection, by S. S. Husain; (13) Social History of the Muslims in Bengal (down to A.D. 1538), by Abdul Karim ..			
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS ..	447		
OUR EXCHANGES ..	469		
	471		



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Journal of Indian History

CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

1. DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., HON.Y., D.LITT., *Emeritus Professor, University of Lucknow.*
 2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandali, Poona.*
 3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., *College of Indology, Hindu University, Benares.*
 4. PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB, B.A. (OXON), *Professor of History, University of Aligarh.*
 5. PROFESSOR D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., *University of Poona.*
 6. DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON).
 7. A. N. TAMPI, B.A. (OXON), *BARRISTER-AT-LAW, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.*
 8. SURANAD, P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., *Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.*
 9. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., *formerly Principal, University College, Trivandrum.*
 10. DR. YOUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS), *Osmania University.*
 11. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., *University of Lucknow.*
 12. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON), *Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay.*
-

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription: Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-65 Naye Paise

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15

Half page cover : Rs. 8

Full page inside : Rs. 10

Half page inside : Rs. 6

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to :—

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Editor,
Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

JOURNAL *of* INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,

*Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum.*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (OXON.)

*Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.*

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,

*formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.*

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (OXON.)

*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

JOURNAL

INDIAN HISTORY

CONTENTS

A DIARY OF THE PARTITION DAYS—by Ganda Singh ..	241
THE INFLUENCE OF CLASSICAL POETS ON THE INSCRIPTIONAL POETS—by D. B. Diskalkar ..	285
MARATHA—NIZAM RELATIONS: "THE KHAZANA-I-AMIRA" OF GULAM ALI AZAD BILGRAMI—by P. Setu Madhav Rao, M.A., I.A.S. ..	303
THE PROPOSAL OF A FEDERAL RAILWAY AUTHORITY IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935—by Dr. Amba Prasad ..	327
SALIVAHANA-HALA—by O. Ramachandraiya, Ph.D. ..	365
ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP IN ANCIENT ORISSA—by S. C. De ..	369
INDIA'S EARLY POLITICAL IDEAL—by Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	379
AKBAR'S CONQUEST OF RAJASTHAN—by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Lucknow), D.Litt. (Agra) ..	385
AKBAR AND INDIAN NATIONALISM—by Dr. Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. ..	401
AN EARLY INSCRIPTION AT TIRUCHIRAPALLI—by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.Litt. ..	409
CULTURE—CONTACTS IN SOUTH INDIA—by T. K. Venkataraman, M.A., L.T. ..	413
THE VIJAYAVADA GROUP OF CAVE TEMPLES—by Dr. M. Rama Rao ..	427
REVIEWS: (1) The History of Civilization of the People of Assam to the Twelfth Century A.D., by P. C. Choudhury; (2) Science and Civilization in China, by	

CONTENTS

Joseph Needham; (3) Jonathan Duncan and Varanasi, by V. A. Narain; (4) The Soma-hymns of the R̥g Veda: A fresh interpretation, Part II (RV. 9.16-50), by S. S. Bhawe; (5) Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya (A Survey of the Triad Society from 1800 to 1900), by L. F. Comber; (6) "The Dīpavamśa", edited, by Dr. B. C. Law; (7) Landmarks of the Freedom Struggle in Assam, by K. N. Dutt; (8) Ahmed Shah Durrani, by Ganda Singh; (9) A Short History of the Indian National Congress, by M. V. Ramana Rao; (10) Buddha Dhamma (A Higher Affirmation), by G. C. Lall; (11) Hindu Gods and Hidden Mysteries, by Govinda Krishna Pillai; (12) A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts in Munshi Abdul Karim's Collection, by S. S. Husain; (13) Social History of the Muslims in Bengal (Down to A.D. 1538), by Abdul Karim	.. 447
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS	.. 469
OUR EXCHANGES	.. 471

A Diary of the Partition Days

BY

GANDA SINGH

(Continued from *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXVIII,
Part I, No. 112, April 1960)

26 August, 1947

Muslim refugees, helped by local Muslims, attacked non-Muslims at Bahawalnagar, inflicted 445 casualties and looted Hindu shops.

(Other towns affected by Muslim attacks on non-Muslims, being Hasilpur with 348 casualties including 11 Muslims, the city of Bahawalpur with 147 casualties including 21 Muslims and Christians, Mandi Sadiqqanj, Khairpur and Udhampur, with casualties under 1000. (CMG. Nov. 22).

7 September, 1947

Over 100 Sikhs, men, women and children were massacred at the instigation of Mahfuz Hussain, Sub-Inspector Police, in the village of Wanieke Tarar in the district of Gujranwala, according to the statement of L. Sundar Das Narang, dispenser of the place. (Ajit, Dec. 14).

10 September, 1947, Wednesday.

Muslims carried out mass conversion of Hindus and Sikhs, forcible marriages and organised loot in Lilla in Jhelum District and in the surrounding villages of Pind-Dadan Khan Tehsil. The Muslim Pir called Shahzada was responsible for the marriages of a number of Brahmin girls to Muslims. The converted Hindus and Sikhs were made to eat one meal at his house. (Tr. 10-10-1947).

Six or seven thousand people of the *kafilas* were killed at Bhambipur, about 2000 at Mandi Pirmahal and 7000 at Kamalia by Muslim mobs of Pakistan, according to L. Des Raj Puri, Zaildar of Toba Tek Singh. According to him, a *kafila* of Hindus and

Sikhs staying at Chak. No. 301, Gugera Branch, was brought in front of the house of the Toba Tek Singh D.S.P., about 400 women and girls were taken away, people were robbed of their property and then sent to Hindustan in a special train. Muslim goondas seated in the train killed a large number of Hindus and Sikhs and threw them in the Ravi. (Tr. Nov. 18).

27 September, 1947, Saturday.

The Nagpur University has formulated a scheme for giving compulsory military training to all undergraduates of the University. A.P.I. (H.T. 30).

28 September 1947, Sunday.

A British Major, lately of the Indian Signal Corps, was arrested at Bombay and brought to Jubbulpore. A number of fire-arms and ammunition were recovered from his kit.

Another highly placed ex-military officer was also arrested in connection with loss of arms, etc., from Ordnance Depot Chhindwara.

The police have recovered from Jubbulpore a large number of unauthorised arms and ammunition and road mines. (H.T. 30).

A Hindu-Sikh convoy from Sargodha arrived at Lyallpur. (Tr. 9-10-47).

An organised mob of about ten thousand armed Muslims, with army vehicles and civilian buses to carry away looted property and kidnapped women, attacked Mianwali town. Killing and looting continued for several hours. (St. 14).

29 September, 1947, Monday.

Mr. Jethanand Raghmal, a member of the Sind Prov. Congress Committee, told the "Hindustan Times" correspondent at Jodhpur that men, women and children coming from Sind were being subjected to brutal indignities by the over-zealous Pakistan officials who were vying with one another in stripping them of all their valuables. There have been many instances where babies have been deprived of their cradles and feeding bottles. (H.T. 30).

Mr. Sri Prakash, India's High Commissioner, met Mr. Jinnah and requested him for a declaration that Pakistan was not a

theocratic state, nor would it be governed by Islamic laws. This step, Mr. Sri Parkash is reported to have said, was necessary to restore confidence in the minds of the minorities. *U.P.I.* (H.T. 30).

30 September, 1947, Tuesday.

Nawab Akbar Ali Khan, Reis and Zamindar of Pandrawal, a village on the border of Aligarh and Bulandshahr districts, was arrested for collecting all Muslims of the place in his garhi, raising a false alarm of attack by non-Muslims and having in his possession a large quantity of arms and ammunition. (H.T. 4).

The Hindu-Sikh convoy on its way from Lyallpore to Jaranwala was attacked by Muslims. Thirty were killed and 29 wounded. (H.T. 5).

Seven Sikh prisoners after their release from Lahore Central Jail were attacked and murdered by Muslims. (H.T. 5).

1 October, 1947, Wednesday.

Mr. Jai Parkash Narain, speaking at a meeting at Bombay, said that the people of Hyderabad should agitate for the removal of the Nizam from the throne, not because he was a Muslim but because he had betrayed the trust of his people. (*Statesman*, 3).

The Government of the West Bengal have decided to establish Bengali as the official language of the province. (*Statesman*, 3).

The Refugee Camp at the Khalsa College Lyallpur was attacked at night (Oct. 1-2) by a Muslim mob armed with bren-guns and other automatic weapons, with about 600 casualties, 300 being killed. (Tr. 9).

2 October, 1947, Thursday.

A Hindu-Sikh convoy coming from Tandlianwala under the escort of Indian Army troops was attacked by Muslims armed with bren-gun and other fire arms. An Indian Major Ram Singh was killed and some soldiers wounded. (*Statesman*, 3; Tr. 10).

The Arya School Lyallpur Refugees Camp, housing mostly Hindus, was attacked by Muslims, inflicting about 300 casualties and kidnapping 15 girls. (Tr. 9-10-1947).

The number of killed and wounded is reported to be 50 and 40, with 20 girls taken for good, and many more forcibly taken, mis-used and returned. (H.T. 13).

3 October, 1947, Friday.

In response to Sardar Patel's appeal to the Sikh community, they began organising a Volunteer Corps in the East Punjab to ensure the safe passage of Muslim refugees to Pakistan, expecting similar treatment for the Hindu and Sikh emigrants from that dominion. (*Statesman*, 5).

Addressing a gathering at Srinagar, Sheikh Muhammad Abdulla, President of the All-India States People's Conference and Kashmir National Conference, said: "I never believed in the slogan for Pakistan. ... I did not believe in the two nation theory. ... My personal conviction will not stand in the way of Kashmir taking an independent decision in favour of the one or the other dominion. Our choice should be based on the welfare of four million people living in Jammu and Kashmir State." ... About Pakistan he said: "What have four and a half crores of Muslims in India gained through it? I sympathise with them in their plight. Pro-Pakistan elements in India started their 'direct Action' in Noakhali and inflicted sufferings on non-Muslims there. This was followed by revenge in Behar. Later Hindus and Sikhs were killed in N.W.F.P. and West Punjab which was followed by killing of Muslims in East Punjab and Delhi. For all this Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory is responsible." (*Statesman*, 5).

Congress leaders and legislators of Western Pakistan, in the course of a statement issued at Delhi said: The swift and tragic march of events and their climax in Western Pakistan have forced us to realize that in Western Pakistan life, in any sense, has become impossible for the Hindus and Sikhs. The plain fact is that they are not at all wanted there and any attempt on their part, under any material or ideological impulse, to return to their hearths and homes is bound to lead to a repetition of the horrors they have witnessed and experienced. ... There can be no going back. ... Pakistan pales into insignificance before the ineffably barbarous nature of the atrocities perpetrated on them. It is a slur on animals to call the perpetrators beasts." In the end six

suggestions have been made by them for consideration by the Government. (*Hindustan Times*, 4).

Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke appealed to the Shahidi Dal and other Hindu and Sikh organizations to allow the Muslim refugees to proceed safely to Pakistan. (*Punjab*, 5).

Muslim soldiers accompanying a Muslim convoy in camp at Amritsar killed two Sikhs and one Hindu. Five kidnapped Hindu women and a Hindu boy were rescued from their possession. (*H.T.* 7).

4 October, 1947, Saturday.

In a statement, Mr. Syed Nauser Ali, a Nationalist Muslim leader of Bengal, said: "A section of Muslims in the Indian Union has followed a suicidal policy for a long time ... I am afraid, if the Muslims continued the way they have followed so far, the result will be that Muslims will practically cease to exist in the Indian Union." (*H.T.* 5).

Qadian Muslims attacked a Sikh village in the neighbourhood. (*H.T.* 13).

A non-Muslim convoy from Bahawalpur heading for Jodhpur was attacked near Rahimyar Khan on the Bahawalpur-Jaisalmer border by the military escort of Bahawalpur State on the night of the 4th and 5th. The number of casualties is said to have been very heavy—over two thousand—with some 700 girls kidnapped. (*H.T.* 13).

5 October, 1947, Sunday.

To solve the shortage of land and house property left by the Muslims in India for the rehabilitation of Sikhs and Hindus arriving from Pakistan, Master Tara Singh urged upon the Government to arrange for the vacation of Muslim lands and houses in the adjoining parts of the U.P. and Delhi provinces, asking the Muslims of those areas to go to Pakistan and take possession of the extra land and house property left by the Sikhs and Hindus there. (*H.T.* 6).

Accompanied by Miss Jethi Sipahimallani, Mr. Hasan Shahid Suhrawardy and Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman visited Keamari harbour

where they saw for themselves how Hindu and Sikh evacuees were searched and deprived of their valuable belongings. Mr. Suhrawardy said it was silly to subject people bent upon leaving to all that trouble. (*Statesman*, 6).

Government of India refused to recognize the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan, and disagreed with claims of Pakistan to Babariawad and Mongrol, according to a Press communique issued by them. (*H.T.* 6).

Appealing to the Indian Muslims to help the Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan, Mr. Ehtisham Mahmud Ali, M.L.A., U.P., in a statement said, "Notwithstanding the solemn pledges of loyalty given by the League leaders, I make bold to say that a coterie of self-seeking leaders is still playing a double game of keeping one eye on Hindustan and the other on Pakistan. The millennium for which the Muslim rank and file were made the tools of unscrupulous League leaders has turned out to be mirage and the Muslim masses who were fed by them with the gospel of hatred and animosity towards the majority community, find themselves in a state of utter helplessness and are confronted with the grim realities of the situation." (*H.T.* 7).

A Sikh passenger arriving at Karachi from Shikarpur was stabbed. (*Tr.* 9).

6 October, 1947, Monday.

The Government of India in a communique said that they consider "that the stationing of Junagarh forces in Babariawad and Mangrol, both of whom have acceded to the Indian dominion, is an unjustified and provocative act of aggression" and desired these forces to be withdrawn. (*Statesman*, 6).

Jathedar Udham Singh Magoke appealed to the Hindus and Sikhs of the East Panjab to allow safe passage to the outgoing Muslim convoys to avoid retaliation. (*St.* 9).

7 October, 1947, Tuesday.

Mr. Adam Adil of Bombay, in a letter published in the *Hindustan Times*, appealed to the Muslim League leaders not to bother about the Muslims of Hindustan, and said "Will the Jinnahs,

the Zafarullahs, the Noons, the Isphahanis give up their attempt to convert these poor, unprotected, and innocent Muslims in Hindustan into a community of fifth-columnists and allow them in peace to play a worthy role which shall ensure their safety and security? (H.T. 7).

Conference of the representatives of Pakistan and India held at Lahore. The Pakistan Premier requested the Indian ministers not to send to Pakistan Muslims from Delhi and other provinces. The Indian ministers reiterated the policy of the Indian Government that they could not, in the circumstances, force Muslims, who were eager to leave, to stay on against their wishes. They were free to choose. (St. 8).

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan Premier, said at Lahore that he considered any conflict between Pakistan and India suicidal. Continuing he said: "I still consider it a disgrace to Pakistan that in certain parts of West Punjab, the majority should have failed to do their duty to protect the minorities. Nor is the name of the Frontier Province, or for that matter of Beluchistan and Sind, entirely unsullied ... (St. 8).

French Government handed over to India French loges in India with a formal ceremony at Masulipatam.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar justified the retaliation of the Hindus and Sikhs saying in the course of a statement: "When the Government was found weak, was it any wrong that millions of Hindus and Sikhs, prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, rose in arms in East Punjab, in Bharatpur, in Alwar, in Patiala and in Delhi itself and retaliated. If Pandit Nehru and his colleagues are still safe, they owe it to this brave band of Hindus and Sikhs." (H.T. 8).

Pakistan Government justified the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan, and asked the Government to withdraw their troops from the neighbourhood of Junagadh. (St. 9).

In the absence of security and protection for Hindus and Sikhs in Lahore, Dr. C. H. Rice, Principal, Forman Christian College, Lahore, has asked the Hindu and Sikh staff of his College not to return to Lahore to resume their duties. (Tr. 9).

In his reply to a deputation of Karachi businessman, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Pakistan Minister of Finance, said: "I most

categorically assure you that Pakistan is a secular, democratic and not a theocratic State. . . . " (H.T. 9).

The Pakistan Government was reported to have supplied arms and ammunition to Muslim convoys passing through the East Punjab under the pretence of supplying them with wheat which was used as a cover. (*Ajit*, 8).

The Hindu and Sikh population of Makhdumpur, Jodhpur, Rampur and Kach-khu was reported to have been completely wiped out . . . Hindu and Sikh villagers around Khanewal were being attacked. All the young girls of the devastated villages have been kidnapped. (*Tr.* 9).

Reported that a Sikh platoon saved about 6000 Muslim residents of the village of Dhankot, 33 miles from Delhi. (*Tr.* 10).

8 October 1947, Wednesday

Mr. S. K. Abbas, General Secretary of the All-India Shia Conference appealed to the Muslims in general, and Shias in particular, to abstain from cow slaughter on the occasion of the Bakr Id. (H.T. 8).

Daulat Ram, a refugee from Qadian reported that Muslims of Qadian shot four Sikhs going from Qadian to Harchowal. (*Ajit*, 19).

Sikhs and Hindus evacuee train was attacked at Montgomery by Muslims. (C.M. 19).

9 October, 1947, Thursday

The Hyderabad State delegation, headed by the Nawab of Chhattari, arrived at New Delhi to resume negotiations with the Government of India on that State's accession to the Indian dominion. (*St.* 10).

The *Ajit* Amritsar published the gist of a secret circular issued by the Council for Direct Action of the Muslim League (No. 122) calling upon the Muslims to wipe out Hindus and Sikhs from the villages and towns in Pakistan and to take possession of their lands and property. (*Ajit*, 10).

Mr. Charan Singh, the U.P. Parliamentary Secretary, in a statement at Lucknow said that complete exchange of population

or unqualified denunciation of the two-nation theory by the Muslim Leaguers were the only two solutions of the present trouble. Continuing he said, "there is no other middle path; not all the efforts of our Nehrus and Pantas can bring peace to this unfortunate land. If Leaguers believe that they acted rightly in working for the achievement of Pakistan, they must voluntarily pack up for Pakistan today; or circumstances will compel them to do so tomorrow. Whether Pakistan is ready to receive them is none of our business." (HT. 12).

10 October, 1947, Friday.

Baluchi sepoys of the military escort of a Muslim caravan shot 4 Hindus and Sikhs near Jullundur Railway Station and got mixed with their comrades to avoid detection. (Khalsa Sewak, 12).

"Are these murders sanctioned by Islam? Is this butchery allowed by Islamic laws? Is this killing of women and children in accordance with the rules of Shariat? Well, I daresay, these acts are against Islam and Shariat:" wrote Sheikh Akbar Hussain of Ravi Road, Lahore, in a letter published in the C. & M.G. of October 10, 1947.

Anti-Pakistan Day was observed at a mass meeting of Muslims held in Juma Masjid after the Friday prayers. Some of the speakers—staunch supporters of the League—confessed that they had been betrayed and misguided by the wrong leadership of Mr. Jinnah. The policy and creed of the League had been mainly responsible for the bloodshed in the West Punjab and unrest all over the country. . . . They admitted that the atrocities perpetrated on the non-Muslims in the west Punjab were ten times more than what had been done in East Punjab and Delhi against Muslims.

Mr. Ahmad said that Mr. Jinnah, by exploiting the religious sentiments of the Muslims of India, and in alliance with the British had got his objective realised. . . ." (HT. 11).

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, in an interview, said that Pakistan state could only be destroyed by God or by the senseless action of Muslims who were responsible for disturbances in Pakistan. (Tr. 11).

J. 2

According to an official communique, a Muslim mob attacked village Dakala (Karnal), killing 6 Hindus. Muslim villagers round about Swani (Hissar) attacked Hindu villagers, killing 26 and wounding 1. Muslim troops killed some Hindu-Sikh refugees and abducted 4 women and 2 children near Dera Baba Nanak. 9 abducted Muslim girls and 2 children were recovered in Jullundur district. (*Tr.* 11).

Despite the agreement between India and Pakistan, searches of evacuees continue in Sindh. (*HT.* 12).

11 October, 1947, *Saturday*

According to the leading article of the *C. & M. Gazette* of Lahore, dated October 11, 1947, "despite ministerial assurances,—searches of refugees continue, their exploitation has not ceased, and their property is in great jeopardy (not, be it noted, in by-lanes or isolated areas but in the main streets of the busiest towns). Members of minority community are not safe, and even where they are endeavouring to carry on they receive constant and pointed reminders of their insecurity. ... Public has lost confidence in the police as guardians of law and order; and citizens no longer feel that they may have redress at the hands of officers and officials for the misdeeds of rank and file."

Reported that armed looters, more with the desire of looting the property of the Hindus and Sikhs than anything else, were at large in the Frontier province. Officials refused to carry out the orders of the Premier in the interest of Hindus and Sikhs. (*HT.* 12).

Addressing about 1000 Civil, Army, Navy and Air Force Officers of the Pakistan Government at Khalik-Dina Hall, Karachi, advised the Indian Muslims to remain loyal to India. "If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be mass exchange of population, let it be taken up at Governmental plane ..." said Mr. Jinnah. (*St.* 12).

Khan Ghulam Muhmad Khan, a member of the A.-I. Muslim League Council, in the course of a press interview demanded the restoration of King Amanulla to the throne of Afghanistan or the establishment of a democratic state in the country, otherwise "the Frontier Pathans would be forced to recommend to the Pakistan

Government economic blockade of Afghanistan and stoppage of the seasonal influx of five lakh Afghans into the Frontier Province during winter every year.—API (HT. 14).

12 October, 1947, Sunday

"Non-Muslims cannot reconcile themselves to the paper assurances of protection given to them by Pakistan leaders. ... The value of these assurances is writ large on thousands of murders, abductions, forced marriages, burnt houses and maimed children. ... The conclusion is irresistible that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is not prepared to own or face the consequences of decisions to which he has been a willing party," said Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a rejoinder to the Pakistan Premier in reply to the latter's statement. The representatives of the Government of India to the Lahore Conference of October 5, also repudiated the misstatement of the Pakistan Premier. (HT. 12; St. 12).

Arms in large quantities were recovered since October 9 from respectable and well-known families of Patna (Behar). (HT. 13).

Lady Mountbatten concluded her two-day tour in the East Panjab, during which she saw for herself the pitiable state of sufferers coming from Pakistan. At the Indo-Pakistan borders, she complained to the Pakistan authorities of the searches carried on and property snatched by them. She learnt that Muslims from across the Pakistan side made 27 raids and 16 minor attacks on the Indian villages with the help of Pakistan Police, Army and National Guards. (HT. 13).

Large quantity of arms and ammunition recovered from two Muslim zamindars of Shahjahanpur and Tajpur, and gun-powder from Mauza Jalali, Aligarh district. (HT. 13).

Mr. A. G. Khan, Divisional Superintendent of the East India Railway, was arrested at Howrah railway station on his way to Pakistan by the special police of the Government of India and was found in possession of unauthorised Government properties and papers. (CMG. 14; Ajit, 17).

Refuting Mr. Jinnah's allegations, Mr. Girdhari Lal Puri, Deputy Speaker of the Frontier Assembly, in a statement at Bombay said that the Frontier minorities had shown no disloyalty to

their Government while the latter had failed to protect them from the Muslim criminals. (St. 18).

13 October, 1947, Monday

A notice put up by the Muslim University authorities that Pakistan officials were coming to Aligarh to recruit officers for the Pakistan increased the public suspicion regarding the loyalty of the Muslim intelligentsia and caused tension in the locality, strengthening the general demand for the disorganization of the Muslim League. (HT. 14).

Report published that about 500 of a Hindu-Sikh convoy of 2400 refugees bound for the East Panjab had been killed near Jhelum, with a large number wounded. (HT. 14).

General Mohan Singh, Col. Niranjan Singh and Col. Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon announced their intention at New Delhi to organise a volunteer band of workers to be called Desh Sevak Saina. The organization will have no connection with the I.N.A., and will be non-political and non-communal. (CMG. 14).

14 October, 1947, Tuesday

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in public meetings in Peshawar area is asking the Red-Shirts to unite and get ready for any emergency. (CMG. 15).

Four east-bound lorries of Hindus and Sikhs were attacked by Muslims who were repulsed by escort. (CMG. 15).

Mr. H. J. Khandekar, M.L.A., President of the A. I. Depressed Classes League, asked the Harijans not to follow the advice of Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Pakistan Labour Minister, calling upon them to wear a distinguishing green badge with crescent and star, and advised the Harijans to migrate to the Indian dominion at once by whatever means possible. (GMG. 15).

A large quantity of arms, ammunition, stolen railway and other Government property was recovered from Pakistan-bound Muslims at Allahabad Railway Station. Six Muslims including a woman were arrested. (Tr. 14).

Reported that 10,000 to 12,000 are accommodated in Mianwali camp where the day's meal consists of one barley chapati, and a

bit of dry onion. Water is hopelessly scarce; a pitcher of water costs Rs. 50. (St. 14).

Prof. Abdul Majid Khan of Punjab called upon the Muslim Leaguers of India to liquidate the Muslim League of their own accord and join the Congress *en bloc*. He said "Those Muslim Leaguers, who are still in India, should either immediately migrate to Pakistan or give a clear indication of their unswerving loyalty to the Indian dominion. It is the duty of Indian Muslims to repent sincerely of their past anti-rational and anti-national activities and be prepared to defend the freedom of India to the last. (St. 14).

Mr. Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar, the Maharashtra leader, died. He had been suffering from heart trouble for sometime. (HT. 15).

The U.P. Government announced that Hindi in Devanagari script will be the official language of the province. (HT. 14).

15th October, 1947, Wednesday

A refugee Muslim train from Lalamusa was attacked at Shahdara near Lahore by Muslim militarymen, killing ten and wounding as many of Sikhs and Hindus. At Lalamusa itself property of some of the refugees was looted by Muslims. (Tr. 16).

An armed gang of Muslims in military uniforms, armed with two sten-guns, a Bren-gun and revolvers, came in a military truck, overpowered the sentry of the Signals Section near Delhi Civil Secretariat, and took away 27 army revolvers, ten rifles and cartridges. (HT. 17; Tr. 17).

Pakistan Government was reported to have cut off the water supply of the Hindu and Sikh refugee convoys from the canal subjecting them to incredible hardships in their journey from Balloki Headworks and Khem Karan. (HT. 17).

Criticising the aggressive propaganda launched by Pakistan Government against Kashmir giving false news over the radio, a Press Note issued by the Kashmir Government says that "truth is that thousands of people armed with modern weapons from Pakistan are raiding Poonchh territory. Petrol, salt and wheat coming to the State from Rawalpindi have been stopped. Adjoining feu-

datory states are being put up to issue threats of secession, as well as armed intervention in the internal administration of the State. When representations are made to the Pakistan Government, summary denials are wired back. The world will judge whether it is Kashmir or Pakistan that is behaving aggressively towards the other. *API*. (St. 17; HT. 20).

16 October, 1947, Thursday

The West Punjab Police arrested Rai Anwar Khan Kharal, M.L.A., Rai Shahadat Khan, Unionist M.L.A., and Col. Dara (INA), Salar-i-Suba National Guards, Olympic hockey player and a student of the Government College, Lahore, on a charge of abducting non-Muslim women. (*Pakistan Times—Indian News Chronicle*, 18).

Reported that Sikh prisoners in Pakistan Central Jail of Lahore were being subjected to indignities and some of them had been forcibly converted to Muhammadanism. (*Ajit*. 18).

Mr. Abid Ali Jaffarbhoy of Bombay, in the course of his reply to the complaints of Ch. Khaliq-ul-Zaman and other Leaguers issued at Bombay said that "the behaviour of Indian Muslims is not much changed. They still look to Jinnah Saheb for guidance and to Pakistan for protection. They have not liquidated the Muslim League in India. They try to minimise the atrocities on Hindus in Pakistan and exaggerate similar happenings in Hindustan." He suggested that such of the Muslims who sincerely feel that it is not possible for them to become genuinely loyal to the Dominion of India should leave the country immediately.

According to the statement of Mr. Parsram V. Thehramani, M.L.A., "nearly 400 Sikhs were killed in Nawab Shah district of Sindh last month, 20 persons were killed and several injured when a branch line train was derailed between Nawabshah and Mirpur Khas, over 50 Hindus and Sikhs were stabbed in running trains and many were injured when thrown out of trains in one month. Looting, forcible occupation of houses found locked, forcible occupation of lands owned or held by Hindus, and seizure of crops standing thereon, and forcible conversion of Sikhs to Islam, are multiplying day after day. (*Tr*. 17).

17 October, 1947, Friday.

In the course of a statement, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar said at Amritsar, "It is Muslim assassin's dagger, supported by police and military bullets that compelled the Hindus and Sikhs to run away from Pakistan for sheer self-preservation. . . . The Muslim League leaders and the Muslim League Government could never be absolved of the responsibility for utter ruin of Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab. . . . The Muslim League had been working according to a plan and it is sinful to pose the role of injured innocence." Mr. Sachar termed the statement of Mr. Jinnah suggesting "that the tragic migration of the Hindus and Sikhs from the West Punjab was the outcome of a plan hatched to ruin the Pakistan State," as amazing and most outrageous (*Tr.* 18; *INC.* 19).

Reports received from Lahore that those non-Muslims who go to Lahore banks to cash cheques or otherwise draw money from them are stabbed outside the bank precincts as soon as they come out. (*Tr.* 18). This is in spite of the assurances of the Pakistan Government to non-Muslims in general and bank employees in particular.

Report published that Pakistan troops engaged in escorting Muslim refugees to their dominion have been encouraging Muslim refugees to loot the countryside and abduct Hindu and Sikh girls. The troops have been annoying civilians and adopting a threatening attitude towards Indian troops. (*HT.* 18).

A communique of Kashmir Government said that disturbances aided by armed people from Pakistan dominion have been created in Poonch and Mirpur Khas areas and that disturbances were apprehended on the Jammu-Pakistan border. (*INC.* 19).

Muslims from across the Pakistan border raided Mahawa, an Indian village; the attack was successfully repulsed. (*CMG.* 19).

One Sikh was shot dead and 50 or 60 were arrested by Dogra troops guarding Qadian. (*CMG.* 19).

A large number of daggers, spears, knives, airguns, etc., were recovered from the Muslims of five big Muhallas of Aligarh. (*HT.* 20).

18-October, 1947, *Saturday*

Over 11 tons of live and empty cartridges and about 25 maunds of lead pellets were recovered from Muhammad Ismail Cutchhi Seoni, a prominent Muslim Leaguer, member of the local Peace Committee and a cloth merchant of Jubbulpore. (*INC.* 19; *St.* 19; *HT.* 19).

H. E. Sir Chandulal and Lady Trivedi, visited the Darbar Sahib, Amritsar.

Mr. Shammash-ul-Haq, former Deputy Mayor of Calcutta, and R. Muslim in a statement suggested that Muslim minority in the Indian Union should "most emphatically repudiate the two-nation theory and have no allegiance whatsoever to the Muslim League which should be liquidated at once." They appeal to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni and other Muslim leaders to take the lead of the Indian Muslims into their hands. (*CMG.* 19).

Report published of about 260 abducted Hindu and Sikh girls recovered from Pakistani Panjab through the efforts of Miss Mridula Sarabhai. (*HT.* 19).

Hindu and Sikh refugees were searched and deprived of their belongings at Lala Musa by Pakistan military and police. A few girls were kidnapped and handed over to local villagers. (*CMG.* 21).

Giani Kartar Singh, President Shromani Akali Dal, sent a telegram to Mahatma Gandhi saying that the Sikhs should be consulted at the time of talks regarding the settlement of the minorities problem between India and Pakistan in view of some problems peculiar to the Sikhs, particularly with regard to their demand for Nankana Sahib. *UPI* (*HT.* 21). He has asked for conferment on Nanakana Sahib the status of Vatican City in Rome. (*CMG.* 23).

19 October, 1948, *Sunday*

Sardar Partap Singh, Minister, warned the Sikhs, with particular reference to the Maharaja of Patiala, against any schemes or scheme for the establishment of Khalistan. (*Tr.* 20).

According to Sardar Ishar Singh Malhotra, Minister, in a speech at Banga, "the two-nation theory is the root cause of our present trouble and devastation. The originators of the theory would have to take away the Muslims, not only of the East Punjab but from other parts of the Indian Union as well. (Tr. 20).

A Muslim young man was found lurking about with suspicious intentions in the premises of the residence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in New Delhi. On the arrival of a guard on duty, he took to his heels and was ultimately arrested and handed over to Police. He gave his name as Aziz Ahmad belonging to Chak No. 55/21 in the Police jurisdiction of Okara in the West Panjab. (HT. Ajit, 21).

The Council of the Sind Muslim League, Karachi, by a resolution recommended that the constitution of Pakistan should be socialistic. (CMG. 21).

Mr. Autar Narain complained to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan that while the D.C. and S.P. (Jhelum) were co-operating in restoring confidence in the minorities with a view to resettling them in their old homes, petty officials were out to sabotage the movement. He cited the mysterious disappearance of a Sikh woman with two children from a camp and the fact that an evacuee was robbed of Rs. 200 by military picket. (CMG. 21).

14 Hindus and Sikhs were killed and 4 injured in Muslim raid at Dajal in D. G. Khan district. (Tr. 26).

General Mohan Singh, Cols. Niranjana Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh Dhillon announced their decision to organise Desh Sewak Sena, with headquarters at Majitha House, Amritsar. (Tr. 21).

20 October, 1947, Monday

In reply to a deputation of Amritsar traders and industrialists, the East Punjab Governor, Sir Chandulal Trivedi, assured them that the East Punjab Government had no prejudices against Amritsar in the considerations for the selection of capital. (CMG. 21).

The Government of Kashmir have complained to the Governor-General and Premier of Pakistan, in a telegram, about the unfriendly attitude of Pakistan towards Kashmir in not allowing the working of the standstill agreement and creating difficulties. It added, "If unfortunately this request is not heeded, the Kashmir

J. 3

Government fully hopes that the Governor-General and Premier of Pakistan would agree that Kashmir would be justified in asking for friendly assistance.—*Reuter* (CMG. 21).

From one house in Ahmadiya colony in Monghyr (where various kinds of arms and ammunition were recovered), a 248-page manuscript book containing full diagrams and illustrations for the manufacture of various types of fire-arms was discovered. *API*. (Tr. 21).

Mr. Mehar Chand Mahajan declared that "people who wish to sabotage the existing Government (of Kashmir) and substitute a parallel Government of their own will undoubtedly be treated as rebels and, if caught, will share the fate that meets all rebels." (Tr. 21).

Patiala Government categorically refuted the wrongful charges levelled against it by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, West Punjab Minister for Rehabilitation, after his hurried visit to the State and gave detailed information about the Muslims in the various refugee camps in the state. (*HT*. 22).

21 October, 1947, Tuesday.

Mr. Muhammad Sa'adat Ali of Lahore contradicted the "categorical assurance" of the Pakistan Minister regarding "Pakistan is a secular, democratic and not a theocratic state," and said that this assurance "has absolutely no support of the Muslims." Continuing, he writes in his letter published in the C. & M. G. of Lahore, dated October 21, 1947, that "Ever since Mr. Jinnah undertook to fight out our case, he has on occasions without number, proclaimed emphatically that Muslims were determined to set up a state organised and run in accordance with the irresistible dictates of the Islamic *Shariat*. ... They (the Muslims) were promised resurgence of Islam. ... If secularization were our sole aim, India need not have been partitioned, for India undivided would have a much greater power. We raised this storm for partition because we wanted to live as free Muslims and organise a state on Islamic principles...."

Two cannons, one being of American manufacture, two pistols, a cartridge-making machine, a number of daggers and a cart-load of spear-heads were recovered from a Muslim locality at Bareilly,

including the houses of the religious head of a Muslim sect and the *salar* of the Muslim League National Guards. Six persons, including the religious head, were arrested. A.P.I. (C.M.G. 22).

Minister Ishar Singh Majhail announced that living accommodation in East Punjab would be controlled and "rationed."

Pakistan Government denied Kashmir's allegation and threatened of grave consequences of the present policy of the State. (Tr. 22).

Raids from across the border were made on some villages in the Amritsar district. (St. 24).

General Mohan Singh and Col. Niranjan Singh laid the foundation of the Desh Sewak Sena (National Service Corps) at its headquarters at Majitha House, Amritsar, with pledge of service to the country. General Mohan Singh will be the *Senapati* (Commander-in-Chief) and Col. Niranjan Singh as Chief of the Staff. (C.M.G. 23).

22 October, 1947, Wednesday.

Frontier Premier, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, in a broadcast speech at Peshawar, called the supporters of Pathanistan movement enemies of the Muslim nation and Pakistan and told them that they would be treated as such. (C.M.G. 23).

A Panthic Conference held at Patiala at the invitation of Maharaja Yadavindra Singh. Sardar Patil deplored the vilification of the Sikhs by interested propagandists from abroad. He appealed to the Sikhs for support to the Government in maintaining peace in the country like the brave people they are. Maharaja Yadavindra Singh warned his community against cries of Khalistan or Sikhistan. (St. 23; H.T. 23).

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who attended the Panthic Conference, said in the course of his speech that he was gratified at the Sikh response to his appeal for peace, and deplored the vilification of the Sikhs studiously and systematically carried on abroad by interested parties.

A Panthic Darbar, with the Maharaja of Patiala as President, was set up. (St. 23; C.M.G. 24). The Maharaja appealed to his community to maintain their unity.

A Muslim mob attacked the Bombay Mail carrying Hindu and Sikh evacuees to India. (*Tr.* 26).

Over 2,000 tribesmen, armed with rifles, Bren-guns, machine-guns and flares entered Kashmir territory in military trucks at night and burnt Muzaffarabad town and looted it.

Malik Feroze Khan Noon appointed Special Representative of the Qaid-i-Azam, G.G. of Pakistan, with rank of Ambassador, to the Middle East countries of Iraq, Persia, the Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Arabia and Turkey. (*St.* 23).

Resigning from the Muslim League, the Maharajkumar of Mahmudabad said in statement to the Press: "The Muslim League has outlived itself. Let it die its own death. (*H.T.* 23).

A number of Muslim policemen reported to have deserted the Indian Union, escaping into Pakistan with substantial quantities of arms and ammunition. (*H.T.* 23).

23 October, 1947, *Thursday*

According to Prof. Abdul Majid's statement, "it is no secret that but for the solid support of the Muslim League leaders in provinces such as the U.P., Behar and Bombay, Pakistan would never have come into being. ... Therefore, important office-bearers like the Presidents, treasurers, secretaries of provincial, district and city Muslim League branches in India, in order to ensure immediate dissolution of the League, should forthwith migrate to Pakistan. If they do not do so of their own accord, it is the duty of the Government to prevail upon them to quit India. As long as Pakistanis are in this country, ignorant Muslim masses will either again be duped and misled by League leaders or the innocent will continue to suffer for the guilty. (*St.* 23).

A special train carrying Hindu and Sikh refugees coming from Jassar was attacked by a huge Muslim mob. Two thousand of the evacuees are said to have been massacred. According to the version of the West Panjab Pakistan, 30 evacuees were killed, and about 200 injured. 50 Muslim attackers are said to have been killed by military firing. (*C.M.G.* 25; *Tr.* 26).

24 October, 1947, Friday

The Provisional Azad Government set up by some Kashmir Muslims was declared to have been reconstituted with Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Bar-at-Law, as its provisional head, with its headquarters removed to Pulandari in Poonchh. It declared to have established its rule over major portion of the State. (C.M.G. 25).

Captain Lakhanlal Malik stated at Jullundur how shabily he was treated by the Pakistan officials at Jhang and how, at Shalimar (Lahore), on his way to India, he was robbed of his pistol and his party, including womenfolk, were searched and robbed of their cash and jewellery worth three lakhs. (H.T. 26).

25 October, 1947, Saturday

L. Bhim Sen Sachar in the course of a statement to the Press said that the belated efforts of Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Pandit Sunder Lal to stop further migration of Hindus and Sikhs were bound to fail. "This was only possible if Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan can persuade his colleagues in Pakistan Government to restore all abducted Hindu and Sikh girls, hand over all converted Hindus and Sikhs and pay due and proper compensation to the minorities for the huge loss of movable and immovable property sustained by them since March. These constitute the acid-tests of the Pakistan Government's sincerity. Short of this is mere indulgence in platitudes which will take us nowhere." (C.M.G. 26).

A resolution urging dissolution of the Muslim League in India and asking the Government to declare it an unlawful organisation throughout the Dominion was passed at a public meeting in the Jama Masjid Delhi under the presidentship of Mr. Aziz Hasan Baqai. (St. 26).

Reported from Peshawar that "for the first time in Afghanistan's history, non-Muslims, mostly Sikhs, have joined the Afghan Army." "They are said to be part of a few thousand Hindus and Sikhs who recently fled from Pakistan and sought refuge in Kabul. Hitherto non-Muslim Afghan nationals were not admitted to the Afghan Army."—Globe (H.T. 26).

26 October, 1947, Sunday

Dogras and Sikhs accused by Pakistan Government for raids said to have been committed on their side of the border. (C.M.G. 26).

Report published of an inroad made by heavily armed Afridi tribesmen and Muslim National Guards in military trucks from across the Hazara border into Kashmir in support of the Provisional Government aiming at capturing Kashmir and driving out Maharaja Hari Singh and his Dogra rule. (Tr. 27).

27 October, 1947, Monday

In response to the request for accession to the Indian Dominion and appeal for help for the safety of Kashmir from an attack by Afridi tribesmen and Muslim National Guards, the Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten, accepted the accession of Kashmir to India and sent military help to Kashmir to repel the raiders. (C.M.G. 28; St. 28).

In the first conflict between the raiders and the Indian troops, the raiders were routed near Baramula. (C.M.G. 28).

Sheikh Abdulla, the Kashmir leader, appealed to his people to realize "the first duty of every Kashmiri was to defend his motherland against the intruder." (C.M.G. 28; St. 28).

The Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslemin of Hyderabad Deccan launched Direct Action campaign. (Tr. 3).

29 October, 1947, Wednesday

The Frontier Premier, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, in a statement at Peshawar said: "The news that Indian troops have set foot on the soil of Kashmir is not only a challenge to Pakistan, but to the entire Muslim World. . . . I appeal to every Muslim in Pakistan to get ready." (C.M. 30).

According to Kashmir Premier, Mr. Mehar Chand Mahajan, "there is evidence that a former Political Agent in the Tribal areas, a Muslim, had a hand in the organisation of the invasion" of Kashmir by the Muslim Frontier tribesmen with the help of Pakistan soldiers. (C.M. 30).

30 October, 1947, Thursday

It was revealed that Major-General Kiani and Major-General Habib-ur-Rahman of the I.N.A. were commanding the Pakistan forces and irregulars in the invasion of Kashmir. It seems that when Mr. Jinnah learnt that Kashmir had acceded to the Indian Union and Indian troops had been despatched to Srinagar, he issued orders by phone to General Gracey, C-in-C. of Pakistan Army, to move troops towards Kashmir from Murree. A *Daily Telegraph* (London) report says that General Gracey indicated to Mr. Jinnah that moving of troops after Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union would be act of war. Field Marshal Auchinleck flew to Lahore and threatened his resignation as well as of every British Officer from both dominion armies if troops were moved towards Kashmir. Thereupon Mr. Jinnah stayed his hand. (Tr. 31).

Lakha Singh alias Lakhu, of Patti, who taking advantage of the fluid state of political affairs in August, 1947, had grabbed several thousand acres of land and had declared himself *Raja* of Patti, was arrested. (Tr. 31).

Report published of mutiny of troops in Chamba state resulting in the forced resignation of the Diwan, Rai Bahadur Raghubir Singh, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Dina Nath Nayyar. (C.M.G. 31).

31 October, 1947, Friday

Sheikh Abdullah was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. (H.T. Nov. 1).

According to a Pakistan Government Press communique, that Government has refused to recognise the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Dominion saying: "In the opinion of the Government of Pakistan, the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union is based on fraud and violence and as such cannot be recognised." (H.T. Nov. 1).

The Working Committee of the Panthic Darbar under the presidentship of Maharaja Yadavindra Singh of Patiala decided to give "all-out support and help to the Indian Dominion in its endeavour to solve the Kashmir crisis." (C.M.G. Nov. 2).

Gilgit province of Kashmir revolted against the Maharaja of Kashmir. (C.M.G. Nov. 2).

1 November, 1947, *Saturday*

East Punjab Radio at Jullundur started working, with a speech broadcast by the Governor Sir Chandulal Trivedi. (CMG. 1).

Government of India took over the administration of Babriawad and Mangrol states and Indian troops were sent to the territories to help the Government in their task. (Tr. 2).

The Kashmir Premier, Mr. Mehar Chand Mahajan, appealed to the UNO, the United Kingdom, and the Indian princes for help saying, "It is well known to the world that an unprovoked attack has been made on Kashmir by a large number of raiders entering the state from Pakistan". (CMG. 2).

2 November, 1947, *Sunday*

The East Punjab Premier, Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, in the course of his address at the Sri Rana Padam Chand Sanatan Dharm College, Simla, announced that the Punjab Government proposed to impart military training to every boy and girl in the schools and colleges all over the province. He further declared that within six months Hindi and Gurmukhi will become the court languages of the East Punjab. (Tr. 3).

The threatened crisis in the West Punjab resulting from the resignation of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Minister for Refugees, Relief and Rehabilitation, on account of his heated controversy with Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Minister for Industries and Civil Supplies, over the allotment of abandoned factories and commercial shops was averted by the intervention of Mr. Jinnah, leaving the disputed issue to the Department of Mumtaz Daulatana. (St. 4).

24 wagons bound for Pakistan were searched at Lucknow and railway machinery parts, costly saloon cushions, cloth bales, kerosine oil, costly tools and a number of spears were recovered from the luggage booked by Loco and Carriage Wagons Shops officers of the E.I.R. who had opted for Pakistan. (St. 4).

3 November, 1947, *Monday*

After a six-hour engagement Muslim marauders were routed in Badgam area (Kashmir) with about 300 casualties. (HT. 5).

5 November, 1947, Wednesday

That an Azad Pathanistan Government had been set up at Kabul, with Khan Muhammad Yahya Jan as its head, was confirmed by the Afghan Consulate at New Delhi. The Faqir of Ipi was reported to have sent a delegation to Kabul. (CMG. 8).

6 November, 1947, Thursday

Mir Mushtaq Ahmad, Organiser, Anti-Pakistan Front, announced that the first batch of 25 Muslim "satyagrahis" will leave Delhi on November 16 to participate in the Satyagrah movement launched in Hyderabad (Deccan) by the State Congress. (CMG. 8).

7 November, 1947, Friday

A lashkar of Swat tribesmen invaded and occupied Gilgit. (St. 9).

8 November, 1947, Saturday

Baramula recaptured by Indian troops after defeating the raiders in a big fight. (CMG., St., Tr. 9).

Major General Shinghara Singh of the INA died in Amritsar Hospital. (CMG. 9).

Chandernagore, one of the five French provinces in India, became a Free City under a decree published in the French Government's *Journal Officiel*. (Tr. 9).

9 November, 1947, Sunday

Kashmir Premier, Mr. Mehar Chan Mahajan, revealed that he had seized certain documents which prove that the Pakistan Government had been constantly helping the raiders. (Tr. 11)

Government of India took over the control of Junagadh State on an appeal of the Dewan Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto in view of the unanimous request of the State Council, supported by public opinion. (St. 11).

West Bengal Muslims Conference, presided over by Dr. R. Ahmad, questioned the right of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy to call a conference of the Indian Muslims in view of his past political activities "which have wrought havoc in Calcutta and elsewhere and in view of the fact that he owes allegiance to Pakistan". The Conference also expressed the opinion that the Muslim League

J. 4

demand for Pakistan based on "the false and fantastic two-nation theory" had resulted in the division of the country and was solely responsible for the unparalleled calamities and immeasurable sufferings that had befallen the country and its people. (St. 11).

At a conference of the Muslim leaders of India, Mr. Suhrawardy said: "Clearly, unequivocally and without fear, with our hands on our hearts, we can declare that we are loyal citizens of the State and shall remain so, expecting that the state will guarantee our rights". (St. 11).

10 November, 1947, Monday

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was sworn in as the Acting Governor-General of India in place of Lord Louis Mountbatten who left for England. (Tr. 11).

Kashmir Premier, Sheikh Abdulla, told pressmen at Srinagar that "after what has taken place at Baramula, Uri, Pattan and Muzaffarabad and other places, the people of Kashmir may not bother about a referendum". "There may not be referendum at all". He felt convinced of the complicity of Pakistan in the Muslim tribesmen's raid of Kashmir. (CMG. 12).

In view of the urgent representations made by the Tripura state authorities and the Praja Mandal for assistance in meeting the threatened invasion by "Muslim sojourners", assembling on the borders of the State, Indian troops entered the state for the protection of the state which acceded to the Indian Union in August last. (Tr. 12).

11 November, 1947, Tuesday

According to a correspondent of the United Press of America, who visited the Headquarters of Muslim Rebels and Raiders at Palandri, the military operations of the raiders in Kashmir were directed by Officers of the Pakistan Army. (HT. 11).

Kashmir State authorities arrested Ch. Faizulla Khan, the former Deputy Commissioner of Baramula, and some state officials who rendered assistance to the raiders. (Tr. 12).

A band of armed Muslims from the West Punjab raided Mamdot area in the district of Ferozepore and inflicted some casualties. (Tr. 12).

Hindu and Sikh evacuees were attacked at Jhelum Railway Station on the 10th and 11th, and subjected to wholesale loot. (Ajit, 19).

12 November, 1947, Wednesday

Sind Government (Pakistan) banned the migration of Hindu dhobis (washermen) and sweepers from the province. (CMG. 13).

This act of the Sind Government, according to the C. & M.G., "is a serious interference with personal liberty". (CMG. 14).

According to a Lisbon correspondent there was no likelihood of Portugal selling the port of Marmagoa to the Nizam of Hyderabad to enable the state to have a sea port of its own. (CMG. 13).

Indian troops captured Mahura Power House of Kashmir, the main source of electric supply to the valley, in their pursuit of the raiders. (CMG. 13).

It was confirmed that Wali of Swat, a Muslim chieftain of the Pakistan Frontier province, was the main instrument in creating the revolt in Gilgit. (CMG. 13).

13 November, 1947, Thursday

The East Punjab Government decided that all schools and colleges would further continue to remain closed until the end of February, 1948, to provide shelter during winter to ten lakh sufferers arriving from the Pakistan Punjab, in addition to those who have already come. (Tr. 14).

Khan Muhammad Yahiya Jan contradicted the news of the establishment of Azad Pathanistan Government at Kabul. (Tr. 14).

Mr. Bartlam, the European Principal of the Lahore Engineering College, was stabbed to death along with his servant. (CMG. 14).

Government of India officially contradicted the Pakistan Government allegation in their statement of November 11 regarding Indian troops helping the *Azad Junagadh Fauj*. (CMG. 14).

14 November, 1947, *Friday*

Indian troops captured Uri, 63 miles west of Srinagar, on their way to Kohala. (Tr. 15).

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru entered the 59th year of his age. (Tr. 15).

Convention of Indian Muslims held at Delhi passed a resolution advising the "Indian Mussalmans to wind up the Muslim League and all other communal political organisations and join the Indian National Congress which stands for unity, democracy and progress." (Tr. 16).

15 November, 1947, *Saturday*

According to U. P. I. report, "following the withdrawal of state forces garrison from Ralcot, in Poonch district, 30,000 civilians were killed by the raiders. (Tr. 16).

15 prisoners of war and a considerable volume of documents captured by Indian troops were flown to New Delhi for thorough investigation. Kudrat Shah, belonging to the 48th Animal Transport Coy. of Pakistan Army, revealed that the raiders' primary object was to occupy Kashmir and thereafter to proceed to Hindustan. Another prisoner Abdul Haq, a Rawalpindi Police constable, gave out that intensive propaganda had been carried on by priests in mosques in Northern India prior to the invasion of Kashmir. According to him 6,000 persons were recruited in the Rawalpindi camp alone in Pakistan for Kashmir invasion. Among the officers conducting the operations at Baramula were Capt. Rashid Ahmad (INA), Major Khurshid Anwar, Major Aslam and Capt. Azam. (Tr. 16).

17 November, 1947, *Monday*

The first meeting of India's sovereign legislature, the Constituent Assembly of India, opened today, with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as President. Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, President of the old Central Assembly, was elected as Speaker. (Tr. 18).

K. B. Sh. Badr-ud-Din, a former Muslim League M.L.A., was arrested for possession of unlicensed arms. Mortars, bombs, cartridges and gun-powder were recovered from Muslim houses in Agra. (Tr. 18).

Five armed members of the Pakistan Army raided an Indian village Pakiman under the pretext of recovering abducted Muslim girls and were arrested by Indian Police constables. (CMG. 19).

Order of the Maharaja of Faridkot published that Panjabi in Gurmukhi script would be the court language of the Faridkot state and that Urdu would cease to be used from January 1, 1948. (St. 17).

18 November, 1947, Tuesday

Bakhtar, the Afghan News Agency, contradicted the news regarding the employment of Sikhs in the Afghan Army. (CMG. 19).

19 November, 1947, Wednesday

Indian Army troops reached Naushahra and relieved the Kashmir garrison besieged by the raiders for several days. (St. 21).

20 November, 1947, Thursday

Princess Elizabeth, the heir-presumptive to the British throne, and Lieut. Philip Mountbatten, newly created Duke of Edinburgh, were married in the Abbey of Westminster. (CMG. 21).

Hindus and Sikhs not allowed to take their valuables from lockers in Lahore by the Superintendent of Police and District Magistrate of Lahore. (Tr. 23).

21 November, 1947, Friday

Agra City Muslim League was dissolved.

Indian troops established contact with Kashmir troops surrounded at Poonch. (St. 24).

22 November, 1947, Saturday

A refugee train carrying Hindus and Sikhs from Multan, Jalalpur, Shahjahanpur and Ghazipur was attacked by Muslim troops at Jalalpur and Ghazipur with 200 and 100 killed, with 50 girls abducted. (HT. 24).

A bomb exploded in Nainital. Dr. Ilahi, President of Nainital Muslim League, was detained under U.P. Public Safety Ordinance,

while another person was arrested following the recovery of a country-made bomb. *API* (Tr. 24).

Through the bravery of Naik Chet Singh who, in response to the call of the Indian Company Commander for volunteers, led a bayonet charge against the raiders in the early hours of the morning, killed with his bayonet the man behind the mortar that was pouring fire on the Indian soldiers, and captured the mortar. On his way back, with the captured mortar he was sprayed on his back with raiders' bullets. According to the despatch, "Naik Chet Singh was lost but the mortar was captured. Thus ended the battle which gave Uri to India." (*HT*. 28).

23 November, 1947, Sunday

Contradicting the "astounding and utterly unwarranted" allegations of Abdul Qayum Khan, the Pakistan Frontier Premier, against the Patiala State forces, Sardar Hari Ram Sharma, Foreign and Political Minister, Patiala, in a statement said: "I definitely assert that no Patiala soldier has associated himself with or has been involved in any killings in any part of the East Punjab." (*Tr*. 24).

A meeting of the Panthic Darbar with Maharajah Yadavindra Singh of Patiala as President was held at Amritsar. (*Tr*. 25).

24 November, 1947, Monday

In reply to the enquiry of the Government of India, the Pakistan Government replied: "It was quite impossible for the West Punjab Government with its existing resources to make arrangements for the safe passage of Sikh pilgrims to Nankana Sahib from the East Punjab." (*CMG*. 25).

Some stabbing cases took place at Delhi. (*St*. 26).

25 November, 1947, Tuesday.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement in the Constituent Assembly said: "We have sufficient evidence in our possession to demonstrate that the whole business of Kashmir raids both in Jammu provniece and Kashmir proper was deliberately organised by high officials of the Pakistan Government."

26 November, 1947, Wednesday

The besieged Kashmir force garrison at Kotli was relieved by Indian troops. The raiders fled away on the approach of Indian troops. (Tr. 27; St. 28).

27 November, 1947, Thursday

Referring to the Hyderabad-India Agreement, Pir Ilahi Bux, Sind (Pakistan) Education Minister, said at Karachi in a statement: "I would, therefore, advise the people of Hyderabad to reject these humiliating terms forthwith and fight for the real freedom of their country." (CMG. 29).

28 November, 1947, Friday

In a statement referring to the plight of the Harijans in the Hyderabad State, Dr. Ambedkar, Minister for Law, Government of India, said: "In Hyderabad also they are being forcibly converted to Islam in order to increase the strength of the Muslim population there. ... It would be fatal for the scheduled castes, whether in Pakistan or Hyderabad, to put their faith in the Muslims or the Muslim League." (HT. 28).

Extracts from the statements of Muslim raiders captured in Kashmir reveal that high officials of the Pakistan Government were responsible for the plans and mobilization of the Pathan and other Muslim raiders for the invasion of Kashmir and that the Muslims of Kashmir had suffered mostly at the hands of these Muslim raiders. (HT. 29).

The Nizam of Hyderabad signed the Stand-still agreement with the Government of India for one year. The agreement means that the Hyderabad State will be under the Indian Union in the spheres of defence, foreign affairs and communications like any other acceding state, without having the right to send representatives to the Indian Constituent Assembly. The Nizam will be able to send agents-general to foreign countries, working under the direction of the Indian ambassadors. (HT. 29).

29 November, 1947, Saturday

Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, signed the Agreement with the Hyderabad State. (HT. 30).

Master Tara Singh declared at Bombay Akali Party's full support to the Congress in all political matters despite certain differences, which, he considered, were "only of a domestic nature." (St. Dec. 2).

30 November, 1947, Sunday

Sant Gurmukh Singh of Patiala, who had dedicated his life to the service of Sikh Gurdwaras, died at the advance age of 110. (Ajit 4).

Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck relinquished his post as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of India and Pakistan and left for Italy. (Tr. Dec. 1).

1 December, 1947, Monday

News from Srinagar that S. Divendar Singh, C-in-C. of the Punjab Defence Force and a companion of his, a son of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala of Patiala, were arrested in Kashmir. They had gone there with some volunteers to help the people of Kashmir against the raiders. (Ajit, 4).

A train carrying No. 301 Garrison Company of the Indian Army was subjected to continuous sniping by Muslim raiders between Mari Indus and Daudkhel. (H.T. 6).

2 December, 1947, Tuesday

In a statement, published this day, Sardar Kharak Singh called upon the Sikhs to support the national Government and appealed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to give special consideration to the Sikhs who were worst affected by the division of India. (H.T. 2).

3 December, 1947, Wednesday

Mr. Abid Ali Jafferbhoy, Labour Leader of Bombay, in a statement said: "The Muslim League and its leaders have already done tremendous harm to the Muslims. Never before such a large bulk of people were in such a great peril. . . . Such of the Muslims who want to go to Pakistan can do so but they must not behave as thieves and try to smuggle unauthorised articles into Pakistan." (Tr. 5).

Master Tara Singh, in the course of a statement to the press at New Delhi, thought that there would be war between India and Pakistan within six months. He added: "If Pandit Nehru is convinced that Pakistan is behind the Kashmir trouble, and if he had positive proofs to support his allegation, then why does not India change the fronts from Jammu to Lahore?" (Tr. 5).

6 December, 1947, Saturday

Demanding the official liquidation of the Muslim League in India, Maharajkumar of Mahmudabad said in a statement that "Loyal Muslims will heave a sigh of relief when this generator of disturbances is buried deep." ... Suggesting that members of the Muslim League should migrate to Pakistan or else they should be treated as aliens, he added that "the authorities should see that they do not go underground." (H.T. 7).

Pandit Nehru said at Jammu in a mass meeting, "We will see the Kashmir business through. ... We do not believe in leaving things half-done. We will send more troops. ... We will muster all our resources and fight till we succeed." (H.T. 7).

Mahashay Shiv Ram, M.L.A., murdered at night (Dec. 6-7) in a military camp at Abbotabad, along with his Muslim servant, Kala, a Hindu shopkeeper of Bannu and a Hindu sub-overseer. (H.T. 13, 1948).

7 December, 1947, Sunday

Mirza Bashir-ud-din, head of the Ahmadiya Community, in a meeting at Law College, Lahore, strongly opposed the reported proposal of the Pakistan Government for a loan of six million dollars from U.S.A. (St. 9).

Addressing a meeting at Banaras, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant said: "Those who were still thinking of themselves as a separate nation had better leave this country and go to Pakistan." (H.T. 9).

8 December, 1947, Monday

Bhai Parmanand, a former President of the Hindu Mahasabha, died at Jullundur at the age of 73. (H.T. 9).

J. 5

30 Hindus were killed in a daylight attack by armed Muslims led by a Sub-Inspector at Ahmedpur Lama in Bahawalpur State. (H.T. 9-1-1948).

9 December, 1947, Tuesday

That half a million dollars had been dedicated for the establishment of India Culture Centre in New York in 1948, was announced in New York. (St. 11).

10 December, 1947, Wednesday

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the veteran Liberal leader, died at the age of 83. (C.M.G. 11).

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced that a Tripartite Agreement had been signed between India, Nepal and the U.K. regarding the future employment of Gurkha troops in Indian and British armies. (Tr. 11).

East Punjab University Act, passed by the Provincial Assembly during its Budget session, received the Governor's assent. (C.M.G. 11).

12 December, 1947, Friday

A lorry carrying Hindu passengers from Oralai village to Sadiqabad was waylaid and looted by a party of about 300 Muslims. (H.T. 9-1-1948).

13 December, 1947, Saturday

A clash took place at Dacca (Eastern Pakistan capital) on account of Bengali-Urdu controversy after some persons had toured the city in a bus advocating Urdu. The clash resulted in five persons being injured. (C.M.G. 14).

15 December, 1947, Monday

Sh. Ikramul Haq, A.D.M. Lyallpur, formerly of Amritsar, was suspended by Pakistan for corruption and indulgence in loot. (C.M.G. 16).

It was decided by the Council of the A. I. Muslim League to divide the League into two separate organisations for Pakistan and India. (C.M.G. 16).

It was revealed by Lal Mir, an Afghan of Ghazni, in a statement before Mr. G. C. Bali, D.I.G., (C.I.D.), that while King Zahir Shah had asked the Afghan Malikhs not to join the raiders of Jammu and Kashmir, the British Political Officer, North Waziristan, and League leaders and officials of Pakistan, instigated the Afghans to join the raids in the name of Islam. At Wazirabad, a party of Afghans was supplied with arms by Pakistan officials. (H.T. 17).

Two Sikh women, Chand Rani and Satwant Kaur, the wife and daughter respectively of S. Karam Singh, a retired officer of C.P. Government P.W.D. were attacked near Bhilsa in the Grand Trunk Express. The daughter was thrown out of the train, resulting in a fractured leg. The mother received injuries. Both were admitted into Bhopal hospital. (C.M.G. 18).

16 December, 1947, Tuesday

Orissa and Chhatisgarh States rulers signed the merger agreement with the Government of India, voluntarily handing over to the Indian Dominion the administration of 56,000 sq. miles of territory with a population of 8 million and a gross revenue of about two crores. (H.T. 17).

17 December, 1947, Wednesday

Government of Sind issued orders that no Hindu employee of theirs be permitted to go outside (to India) during the Xmas holidays even to meet their families. Such of the permits as had been issued for the purpose were cancelled. (C.M.G. 18).

Addressing a meeting in Jaipur Sardar Patel declared that India would not desert Kashmir even if the struggle continued for ten years. (C.M.G. 20).

18 December, 1947, Thursday

Reports current in Delhi that Kashmiri Hindu women carried away by Muslim raiders were being sold in Pakistan N.W.F. towns and Kabul for four rupees each. (C.M.G. 19).

19 December, 1947, Friday

Reported that Maulavis, with status, pay and privileges of Sub-Inspectors of Police, are being recruited by Pakistan Government.

to imbue the Pakistan police with the spirit and outlook of Islam. (C.M.G. 19).

20 December, 1917, *Saturday*

Announced in East Punjab Govt. Gazette Extraordinary the formation of the East Punjab National Volunteers Corps. (St. 21).

22 December, 1947, *Monday*

"Rather than press for a separate homeland, the Sikhs will lend their whole-hearted support to the building of a democratic secular state in India," declared Giani Kartar Singh in a press statement. He thought that private armies should exist as long as the people felt that Government was not taking effective steps to protect them from foreign aggression. (CMG. 23; St. 23).

Pandit Nehru, the Indian Premier, handed over to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Pakistan Premier, a formal note stating that the Indian Government was satisfied that the invasion of Kashmir had the backing of Pakistan arsenal and trained personnel. The Note called on Pakistan to withdraw the tribes and its own personnel immediately, failing which Indian Government would appeal to the United Nations Security Council. (*Sunday Times*, New Delhi; C.M.G. 30).

23 December, 1947, *Tuesday*

Government of India declared Pakistan to be a foreign territory for the purpose of levying custom duty on the export of raw jute and jute manufactures from India. (H.T. 24).

Radio Pakistan broadcasted for the first time the use of aircraft by the raiders of Kashmir. (H.T. 24).

Mr. Bhim Sen, District Magistrate, Poonchh, declared on unimpeachable evidence that raiders of Kashmir formed part and parcel of the Pakistan army and that the Pakistan officials were recruiting men and supplying arms and ammunitions to them. (H.T. 25).

Dr. Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmad of Aligarh University died in London at the age of 68. (St. 27).

24 December, 1947, Wednesday

"Death or conversion to Islam" was the only alternative allowed to Hindus in some places in Bahawalpur State, according to the statement of the heads of over a dozen converted families who have managed to escape. Wholesale murder of Hindus (except of those who agreed to become Muslims) was carried out in the villages of Allahabad and Moja Talbani. The converted were circumcised and remarried in Islamic ways. They were deprived of their belongings and in some cases their grown up daughters were taken away. (HT. 27).

160 bags of lead shots, 25 of cartridges, and some explosive materials were recovered from the godown of a Muslim merchant of Banaras.

25 December, 1947, Thursday

Government of India sent a note to the Hyderabad Deccan State saying that it considered the State Ordinance banning transactions in Indian rupee in Hyderabad a breach of the Stand-still Agreement. (HT. 26).

27 December, 1947, Saturday

Mirza Bashir-ud Din Mahmud Ahmad, head of the Ahmadiyas, advised the Muslims "to take a vow to return to their original homes at any cost and declared unreserved loyalty to the Indian Union". (CMG. 28).

29 December, 1947, Monday

Addressing the annual conference of the Ahmadiyas at Lahore, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, the head of the community, declared "that we must return to that holy land (Qadian in the East Punjab in the Indian Union) is a matter of faith with us all. That our return will be by peaceful means or by war is for the Indian Government to choose. The same power will ordain your entry after banishment into Qadian which ordained the entry of your Prophet into Mecca after exile."

"Pakistan," he said, "is a Muslim state and therefore it must be run on Islamic principles, which comprise a complete code of

conduct in the spiritual, moral, political and economic field." He said he was prepared to supply a solution of any world problem from the Quran which was the word of God. (CMG. 30).

Reported from Bannu that Pakistan troops were intercepted by the Faqir of Ipi's followers near Saidgai and Shinkai, 17 miles from Bannu, while withdrawing from Razmak. (CMG. 30).

Indian Union Muslim Conference at Lucknow passed unanimous resolutions to abjure communal politics and to join the Indian National Congress, a non-communal organization. (CMG. 30).

Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan Foreign Minister, at a Press Conference at Karachi "made it quite clear that the use of force on Pakistan's side to settle the (Junagadh) issue was out of the question." (CMG. 30).

Addressing a public meeting at Jammu, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel declared, "on behalf of the Government of India I can give you this assurance that we will do everything possible to save Kashmir. We will count neither cost nor material and, whatever may happen, we shall not give up Kashmir and we will see this business through." (CMG. 30).

After saying that to save their honour from the Muslim raiders hundreds of girls of Bhimbar Tehsil (Kashmir) had poisoned themselves to death and many had themselves killed by their relatives, Shrimati Shanta Kumari, President of the National Women's Conference, Jammu and Kashmir, said that "many who were abducted were exhibited in the bazaars of Peshawar and Bannu, thereby enticing Pathans towards Kashmir. Many were subjected to unmentionable indignities. (HT. 30).

30 December, 1947, Tuesday.

In view of Pakistan, a member of the UNO, being engaged in hostile activities against India, a friendly neighbouring country, by aiding and actively assisting raiders in Kashmir and Jammu State (and pleading inability to prevent the raiders from swarming into India from Pakistan) which by virtue of its accession forms a part of the Indian Dominion, the Government of India decided to raise the Kashmir issue before the Security Council of UNO. The legal Councillors of UNO declared India's decision to be entirely proper and legal. (St. 31; HT. 31; Tr. 31).

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, West Panjab Revenue Minister, punished by transfer, dismissal and suspension some officials of the Lyallpur District for inefficiency and neglect of duty towards the refugees. It came to his notice that "there had been instances of molestation of young girls by volunteers and of parents having been beaten up when they protested. (CMG. 31).

The S.G.P.C. proposed at a meeting of their Executive Committee to approach the Government of India to take up with the Pakistan Government the matter of the protection of the Sikh shrines in Pakistan, particularly of Nankana Sahib and Kartarpur, suggesting that the latter could be easily included in the East Panjab by slight adjustment in the boundary. (Tr. Jan. 3, 1948).

31 December, 1947, Wednesday

Government of India informed Pakistan Government that as they were helping the invaders of Kashmir, a part of Indian territory, "it is not possible for India to supply the cash and military stores which may only be used in the war in Kashmir against her. (HT. January 1, 1948).

Commenting on the attitude of the Pakistan High Command towards Kashmir problem, the special correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* at New Delhi, wrote: "Large scale massacre of tribesmen and ex-servicemen in a way solves the problem of Pakistan; the liquidation of a part of its turbulent population and of the obligation to pay pensions to ex-servicemen. (HT. Jan. 1, 1948).

1 January, 1948, Thursday

Mr. Ali Muhammad Khan, President, Muslim League Branch in Great Britain, who arrived in Lahore last month on a fact-finding mission, on the completion of his three-week tour of the West Panjab districts said in an interview with the A.P.I.: "What I have seen of the refugees has shattered my nerves and I believe my report to my organisation will go a long way in opening their eyes with regard to the utter callousness and demoralisation of the administration in the West Panjab which has failed from top to bottom to discharge its official, national and moral obligations towards unfortunate brethren from the East Panjab." The officials, he said, were not only unsympathetic, but were positively cruel and heartless. (CMG. 1).

Official form of greeting was announced by the Government of India to be *Jai Hind* and courtesy titles of Mr. or Esq. were to be Shri or Shriman. (Tr. 3).

2 January, 1948, Friday

Referring to the reference of Kashmir problem to UNO, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Premier of India, said that "India was quite within her right to take action in self-defence and attack the bases of raiders in Pakistan." (HT. 3).

3 January, 1948, Saturday

Havildar Kuldip Singh, Takht Singh, a Rajput sepoy, Sepoy Mohan Singh of Pithoragarh Tehsil (Almora) and Lance Naik Ram Singh of Hissar were mentioned for bravery in Kashmir in an account published this day. (HT. 3).

4 January, 1948, Sunday.

Burma attained her independence and became a sovereign republic. (CMG. 4).

The Working Committee of the Panthic Darbar, with Maharaja Yadavindra Singh of Patiala as President, was reported to have sent a strong representation to the East Panjab Government to declare Panjabi as the court language of the province.

The Panthic Darbar decided to send a goodwill mission of prominent Sikhs to England and America to place the Sikh view point before the public in those countries. (HT. 5).

5 January, 1948, Monday.

Report published of meeting of the P.P.C.C., where its President, Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew had said: "Let us unite and see that no outside power in the world cast an evil eye on our country." "The Muslim League," he said, "under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, instead of promoting love and brotherhood, spread hatred and enmity between Hindus and Muslims, and the names of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League would always be coupled with misery and unhappiness." (HT. 6).

6 January, 1948, Tuesday

Dr. Abdul Ghani Qureishi, a prominent Muslim Leaguer of Delhi, was sentenced to death for the murder of Dr. N. C. Joshi of Delhi on September 8, 1947. (CMG. 7).

A mob of some 25,000 (about 8,000 according to Pakistan official figure) Muslims attacked the Sikhs in Gurdwara near Ratan Talao, Karachi, within half a mile of the Pakistan Secretariat, followed by a wholesale massacre. The Gurdwara was set on fire and subjected to plunder. Not a single Sikh escaped with his life. The Muslim hooligans later proceeded to the Hindu *muhallas* in the city, subjecting them to murder, loot and arson. The offices of the *Hindu*, the *Hindustan*, *Sansar Samachar* were attacked repeatedly, and the last named was completely destroyed. The *Sansar Samachar* gives the number of killed as 129, with 73 Sikhs and 56 Hindus, the number of injured being 120 Sikhs and 124 Hindus. According to another report the number of injured was 400. The bodies of the killed were disposed of by the Government.

The holocaust according to some quarters, was pre-planned and well organised. During the previous weeks local Muslims had been intensely agitated by meetings held in Rambagh Maidan and addressed by a Pakistan minister, Mr. Chundrigar, a Sindh Minister, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh and leading Pakistani Maulanas, Shabir Ahmad Usmani Sheikh-ul-Islam and Abdul Hamid Badayuni. The Police and military wilfully neglected their duty. (CMG, 7, 8, 10; St. 7, 8, HT. 7, 8, 11). According to the *Ajit*, Jan. 9, the gate of the Sikh Gurdwara was broken open with the help of the Muslim police and Baluch Military.

7 January, 1948, Wednesday

Cases of looting of Hindu and Sikh houses in Karachi continued. Lawlessness persisted. Over 1000 persons were rounded, and over 1500 arrested by police for breach of curfew order. (CMG. 8, 9).

In a communication to the Government of India, the Pakistan Government refused to send their delegation for Sterling Balance negotiations with U.K. and India. (St. 9).

8 January, 1948, Thursday

Some Muslims attacked 3 Non-Muslim refugees. The Muslim Kotwal, Mr. Agha, abused the refugees when they took the injured persons to Kotwali. (HT. 9).

J 6

यह पुस्तक विज्ञान का ज्ञान

NOT TO BE ISSUED

The Behar Government had, it was reported, decided to return the properties of Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur (Shahabad) of 1857 'War of Independence' fame to his lawful heirs. (HT. 9).

9 January, 1948, Friday

According to Suhrawardy's interview with API, "what has taken place at Karachi is not merely condemnable but damnable. ... These incidents bring home forcibly to one that it is little use the Government's guaranteeing protection to minorities if the public have not been educated to it. ... While leaders in high circles talk and tinker, the minorities die in thousands."

Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud, head of the Ahmadiya Community, in a public speech at Rawalpindi demanded that the Pakistan constitution should be framed in strict accordance with the Islamic laws. Regarding the Radcliffe Award, he said that it had been actuated by the desire of the interested parties to cripple the new born Muslim state of Pakistan. (CMG. 11).

10 January, 1948, Saturday

Reported that Nizam's Government had transferred to Pakistan Government, Government of India securities to the value of 20 crores which they were holding. (CMG. 11).

Sheikh Abdulla and party left for America to take part in the UNO discussions. (CMG. 11).

A Sikh deputation including Jathedar Udham Singh met Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders and impressed upon them the necessity of arming the residents of the border districts of the East Panjab. (HT. 12).

11 January, 1948, Sunday

9 persons were killed and 35 injured in stabbing incidents at Ajmer. (CMG. 13).

12 January, 1948, Monday

Muslim tribesmen and others en route to Jammu attacked a non-Muslim train of refugees from Bannu in the early hours of this day. According to a West Panjab Press communique, the num-

ber of casualties is 174 killed in addition to a large number of injured ones. (CMG. 13; HT. 15).

Referring to the activities of the Socialists, Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi said in the West Panjab Assembly at Lahore that "the wrong would be undone not by the kind of publicity which was put out by their Government but by the well known method, 'Quran in one hand and sword in the other'." (CMG. 13).

Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bakhshi was sworn in as Acting head of the Emergency Administration in Jammu and Kashmir in place of Sheikh Muhammad Abdulla. (HT. 13).

13 January, 1948, Tuesday

Mahatma Gandhi began fast to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. (HT. 14).

Condemning the attack on refugees' train at Gujrat on January 12, Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daulatana said: "We bend our heads in shame over what happened at Gujrat." (CMG. 14).

In a meeting of the Working Committee of the Panthic Darbar at Delhi, it was decided to send a medical mission to Kashmir, and to send Sardar Sant Singh, M.L.A., as their representative to Kashmir to help sufferers and to keep the Darbar informed of the situation there. The Committee also decided to send a jatha to look after orphan children in refugee camps. (St. 15).

14 January, 1948, Wednesday

At a representative meeting of the Sikhs it was resolved that "the Sikhs are greatly perturbed over Mahatmaji's fast. We feel that Mahatmaji is an asset to humanity and his life must be saved at all costs. The object for which he has undertaken is appreciated by every Sikh irrespective of his political affiliations.

"We assure Mahatmaji that Sikhs will make a supreme effort to preserve peace and promote harmony between the various communities". (CMG. 15).

15 January, 1948, Thursday

As a gesture of goodwill to Pakistan, in response to the non-violent and noble effort made by Mahatma Gandhi by undertaking

fast for communal unity, the Government of India decided to make immediate payment of 55 crores of rupees held by the Reserve Bank of India as part of cash balance due to that country. (HT. 16).

Discussion started at Lake Success in USA on the Kashmir question at the UNO. (HT. 16).

16 January, 1948, Friday

1 Deputy Superintendent of Police, 1 Inspector, 17 Sub-Inspectors, 18 Assistant sub-Inspectors, 19 Head Constables, and 115 foot constables have been found guilty by the West Punjab Government of being in possession of looted property. (CMG. 16).

The Influence of Classical Poets on the Inscriptional Poets

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona

1. The influence of the classical poets on the inscriptional poets was much greater than that of the Vedic or Epic poets. This is evidenced by the language, the style, the poetical technique and the numerous poetic ideas and expressions borrowed by the latter from the standard kāvyas of the former from whose study they cultivated themselves, upon which they drew and with which they tried to compete now and then. Literature being a traditional, social and developing art, it is but natural that this kind of borrowing by the new from the old has always to go on. When many of the classical poets were indebted to their great predecessors for some of their poetic ideas and conventions e.g., Patanjali and Jaimini to Yāska, Kālidāsa to Vyāsa, Vālmiki, Kauṭalya, Vātsyāyana, Bhāsa and Aśvaghoṣa; Bhāravi to Kālidāsa; Māgha to Kālidāsa, Daṇḍin and Bhāravi; Sriharsha to Bhāravi and Māgha, it is no wonder that the inscriptional poets imitated them in all possible ways. Even Aśvaghoṣa and the earlier Buddhist authors were influenced by the Rāmāyaṇa. (See J.R.A.S.B. N. S. 23 (1927), p. 345). For a critical study of literature the mutual influence of authors and their distinctive qualities have to be considered.

Passages from some of the well-known classical Sanskrit works were bodily removed and utilized by the inscriptional poets particularly in the invocatory verses of the inscriptions. What a great influence the classical poets like Vālmiki, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Daṇḍin, Bhāravi and Subandhu etc., had on the inscriptional poets is very nicely shown with the help of quotations by Dr. G. Buhler in his learned essay entitled "*Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry*". Dr. Kielhorn has shown how the poets who composed the praśastis of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of the Deccan were greatly indebted for their expressions to works like the

"Harshacharita" and "Kādambari" of Bāṇa and the "Vāsavadattā" of Subandhu (*E.I.* 6.242). Similarly, C. Sivaramamurti has discussed this point at some length in his publications like *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts* p. 39) *Sanskrit Literature and Art* (*M.A.S.I.* No. 73, p. 101 etc.). In fact, the works of the classical poets had considerably influenced the composition of all the later inscriptional poets.

2. Of all the classical poets Kālidāsa was the most highly recognised model before the inscriptional poets, though he was never referred to in the inscriptional or classical literature before the sixth century A.D. It may be noted that in spite of the fact that Bhāsa was a great earlier poet and was reverentially referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* as a poet of established reputation and some of whose ideas are reflected in Kālidāsa's works. (See Mirashi, *Śākuntala*, p. 146) he does not seem to have been popular with the inscriptional poets as Kālidāsa had been who on epigraphical grounds can well be assigned to the fourth century A.D. Kieth (*Classical Skt. Lit.*, p. 36) thinks that Vatsabhāti, author of the Mandasore prasasti of 473 A.D., was the earliest imitator of Kālidāsa in as much as there is a great similarity between the description of the rainy season in the *praśasti* and in the *Meghadūta* and also in the *Ritusamhāra* which is attributed to Kālidāsa. The Haraha inscription of 555 (*E.I.* 14.115) and the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mangaleśa which contain many parallel passages from the works of Kālidāsa shows that the poet Kālidāsa had become fairly famous by that time and that his works were studied and copied by people aspiring to poetic fame in the middle of the sixth century A.D. The influence of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (6-23) on the author of the Nāgārjuni cave inscriptions of Maukhari Anantavarman of the latter half of the sixth century (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III No. 50) is quite clear. How the charm of Kālidāsa's poetry was felt even by the overseas Sanskrit writers within a short period can be seen from the Cambodia inscription of Bhavarman of the beginning of the seventh cent. which shows that he had studied the works of Kālidāsa and imitates him in a number of verses (*Raghu.* 4.49; 5.54). Ravikīrti, the well-known author of the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D., though he aspired to the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, copied verses after verses from the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kirātārjunīyam* (*E.I.* 6.3). For describing the exploits of his patron Ravikīrti undoubtedly

takes as his model the Raghudigvijaya described by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa. In the inscriptions of the Maitraka king, Guhasena of Valabhi, the influence of Kālidāsa is clearly seen (*F.G.I.*, p. 166). The Nagpur inscription of the Paramaras of Malva contains a lapidary account of the military exploits of Lakshmadeva (1082-1092 A.D.) wherein the mention of saffron in association with the river Vāṅkshu (Oxus) is exactly as in Raghuvamśa (4.67; *E.I.* 2.185). In one of the Huli inscriptions of the Deccan Chalukya king Vikramāditya VI, dated 1197 A.D. (*E.I.* 18.196) the introductory stanza of the Raghuvamśa is quoted. The beautiful verse 'Saudāminyā' etc. in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta is copied in v. 6 of the Garavapadu grant of the Kakatiya king Gaṇapatideva, dated Ś. 1182 (*E.I.* 18.346). The author's style which is marked by force and fluency in some places reminds us of that of some great poets. Similarly in one of the inscriptions in Rajasthan the benedictory stanza of the Śākuntala is cited as an introductory verse (*E.I.* 11.68).

3. Gadya has always been held by the Sanskrit poets as the touchstone for judging the poetic ability of a scholar. (Vāmana, Kāvya Sū. 1.3.21). The epigraphical literature may be said to be superior to the classical literature in this respect. Except the Harshacharita, Kādambari, Daśakumāracharita and the Avantisundarikathā in Sanskrit and the Kuvalayamālā in Prakrit, the classical literature does not possess any important prose compositions while they are so many in the epigraphical literature composed by various Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptional poets in different parts of India living in different times long before Bāṇa had carried the style to perfection. The Nasik inscription of Pulumāyi in Prakrit, dated c. first cent. A.D., the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman in Sanskrit dated 150 A.D., and the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta in Sanskrit dated c. 360 A.D., are typical early inscriptions written in prose with plurality of adjectival phrases, long compounds full of alliteration and other tricks with words and references to epic characters. The Sanskrit inscriptions are either entirely in prose, or entirely in verse or in a mixture of prose and verse. They are generally of the last kind. A major portion of the *praśasti* is in prose, the invocatory portion at the beginning and the benedictory and the imprecatory portions at the end being in verses. In the prose portion the influence of Bāṇa is seen.

In all Sanskrit literature none can equal Bāṇa in his majestic flow of language and rhythm in the construction of a sentence and in his extensive fancy exhibited by the *Utprekshā*. It is no wonder, therefore, that next to Kālidāsa, he had been the most popular poet whom the classical poets who succeeded him had placed before them as the model for all prose compositions. The later Western Chālukyas had so much admiration for Bāṇa that they began their records with the opening words of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*. The same verse is used as an invocatory verse in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings. Although a number of inscriptional poets had tried to enrich their compositions by imitating the poetic style of Bāṇa in their *praśastis* the result was sometimes very bad. The abundant use of immense compounds became an essential characteristic of the *praśastis* making them very difficult reading. In the Nidhanpur and Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman of Assam (*E.I.* 19.118; *E.I.* 30.287) in the Anjaneri plates of Prithivichandra Bhogaśakti dated 710 (*E.I.* 25, 225) in the Gāhadwāl plates of Chandradeva (*E.I.* 14.19) and in the Rajim plates of Tivardeva (*F.G.I.* 81) the elevated style of prose is like that of Bāṇa.

In the Chendalur (Nellore Dist.) c.p. inscription of Chālukya Sarvalokāśraya, son of Vishṇuvardhana I dated 673 A.D. Sarvalokāśraya's valour and royal splendour are praised in two compound words only which fill five lines of the inscription (*E.I.* 8.28). The author of the Kaḍba c.p. inscription of the Rāshtrakūta sovereign Prabhūtarsha or Govind III, dated 812 (*E.I.* 4.340 etc.), imitates in the prose portion of the record the style of Bāṇa. An eighth cent. inscriptional poet named Bhāskarabhaṭṭa author of the Bhandak (M.P.) Buddhist inscription states in particular that he was well versed in Sanskrit works like the *Vāsavadattā* and the *Kādambari* of Bāṇa (Bhand. list No. 1650; *I.R.A.S.* 1905, p. 624). The Śaka poet Kapila who lived at the court of the Saindhava rulers of Saurāṣṭra in the middle of the ninth cent. uses in his Ghumli inscription dated 832 A.D. long compounds, and a remarkable array of alliterative phrases (*E.I.* 26.197). The prose portion in the Parvatia plates of Vanamalavarmadeva of Pragjyotisha dated in the middle of the ninth cent. exhibits the quality called *Ojas* in a considerable degree in imitation of the style of Bāṇa (*E.I.* 29.146). The last of the introductory verses in the Reva inscription of Mahārāṇaka Kumārapāladeva

dated v.s. 1297 and of Haripāladeva dated v.s. 1298 and of Haripāla-deva dated v.s. 1298 (I.A. 17.231 and 235) are taken from the introduction of Bāṇa's Kādambari. In such praśastis there is an abundance of similes, and metaphors and several expressions with a *double entandré* as the case with the work of Bāṇa and Subandhu.

4. With regard to the influence of the other classical poets passages from whose works are quoted by the inscriptional poets the following may be cited. Reference to the poet Bhāravi is well known from the Aihole inscription. The Revā plates of the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla dated v.s. 1212 (E.I. 24.5) contains a quotation from Daṇḍin's Kāvyaḍarśa. The second verse in the introduction of the Daśakumāracharita is copied in a Pallava inscription of the 8th cent. at Amarāvati (S.I.I. 1.26; Kielhorn list No. 1903). Similarly the Paṭhārī inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala contains a verse (v. 16) which is undoubtedly a paraphrase of the verse 52 in the 19th canto of Māgha's Śiśupālavadha (E.I. 9.250). While Rājaśekhara took pride in tracing connection to Vālmiki through Bhartrameḍha and Bhavabhūti some of his verses with suitable modifications were inscribed in some inscriptions of the Kalchuri period. The invocatory verse of the Anāvāḍā inscription of the Gujarat king Sārangadeva dated v.s. 1348 is copied from the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva which casually shows that Jayadeva's works composed in the last quarter of the 12th cent. had become quasi sacred in a century of its composition in distant lands (I.A. 1912, p. 20, I.H.Q. 28.379). The ideas and expressions borrowed by the inscriptional poets are too numerous to be enumerated even if common notions are not taken into consideration. One of the poets named Achala composed two verses in praise of Nāṭyāchārya Bharata and got them inscribed on a Paṭṭadakal stone pillar in the 7th or 8th cent. (Kiel. No. 1042 I.A. 10.167).

5. One thing, however, requires to be noted that although the inscriptional poets got inspiration and borrowed ideas from their classical predecessors they had rarely mentioned them by their names and acknowledged their debt to them in simple gratitude. If they had even casually mentioned them as Bāṇa had done in the Harshacharita not only the history of epigraphical literature but that of the whole classical literature would have been considerably enlivened.

6. Another thing to be noted is that none of the great Buddhist scholars and poets like Āśvaghoṣa, Ārya Śūra or Nāgārjuna or Jain scholars and poets like Siddhasena Silanka, Abhayadeva, Śāntisūri, Devendra, Malayagiri, Haribhadra, Hemachandra, Mallisena, etc., seem to have been ever read by the inscriptional poets, not even by the Buddhist or Jain authors of inscriptions.

7. The same kind of bad taste and conventional slavery of the classical poets which we find in their literature seem to have been inherited by the inscriptional poets. We often meet with both uses and abuses of *alaṅkāra* in the epigraphical literature as in classical Sanskrit literature. Things, repellent and terrible by themselves, are sometimes conceived in images of charm and love. (V. Raghavan, Ind. Culture. 3.698). The pangs of widowed wives of the enemies of a victorious hero are one of such common themes which are found used by many classical poets e.g. Bharavi in his *Kirātārjuniya*. Vatsabhaṭṭi in v. 28 of his *Mandsore praśasti* writes thus—"Even today when the beautiful long-eyed wives of his enemies, afflicted with the severe pangs of widowhood think of him, a tremour is caused torturing their compact breasts with fear." Sūkshmaśiva in v. 4 of his *Apsad* inscrip. states — "Jivitagupta, who was the very moon to wither the buds of waterlilies in the form of the faces of the women of his haughty enemies." The Andhra poet Achitendravarā described the Kākatiya ruler Tribhuvanamalla as the high priest giving widowhood to the women of the enemies (Hanamkonda insc. 3 Corpus insc. Telangan). The following expression of Rajguru Madan, author of the *Mandhata* plates and one of the greatest of inscriptional poets betrays his *anauchitya* "Rāma in battles quenched the fire of separation from his life's mistress by the water of Mandodari's tears" (*E.I.* 9.113). The Sanskrit poets did not understand how they were belittling the gods and goddesses whom they worshipped by attributing their own absurd sexual ideas and experiences to them. Ideas like the following in the invocatory verses of some inscriptions and classical works betray their low taste. "Vishṇu perturbed (lit. heated) by his separation from Lakshmi who was forcibly carried away by Goggaraja by his strong arms cultivated attachment for a couch in the sea." (Somayya's *Surat* plates of Kirtirajya, Chālukya, Pathak comm. Vol. p. 299). A Telugu poet of no mean order named Nandi states thus—When Rudradeva's cavalry rent the earth, covered the sun and darkened the world

people began to doubt whether the sun mistook the innumerable heads of enemies falling down in the battlefield for a battalion of Rahu and ran away (Corpus insc. Telangan p. 11). In their enthusiasm to show the greatness of their heroes they have shown them to be superior to the Gods. In the Bagumra prasasti dated 915 by the poets Trivikramabhaṭṭa (v. v. 16.23; E.I. 9.39) the hero is described to be superior to the god Vishnu and Parshurama. In the Citagong inscription of Kāntideva dated in the ninth cent. (E.I. 26.316) the poet means to say that although the king resembled Vishnu who had killed the demon Hiranyakasipu he did not like Vishnu resort to fraud.

The idea however that a victorious king captivates the hearts of young ladies of enemy's cities, nay even of the enemy's families which occurs sometimes in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature as well as in epigraphical literature owes its origin to the influence of literature on chivalry so popular in ancient days. The expression describing the Vishnukūṇḍen king Madhavavarman in his plates as one who delighted the hearts of (or sported in company of) the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Tivara upon his great victory over king Trivaraḍeva of Kosala may be compared with such expressions in Rājasekahara's *Viddhaśaḷabhaṅjikā* I V. 8 and in *Gaudavaḥo* v. 1069 (see Mirashi-Jha Comm. Vol. p. 227).

The statement in Vijayanagar Sadāshivray's grant that the defeated kings of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga had to work as attendants on his women's apartments also smells of a bad taste and shows low vindictiveness (E.I. 4.3).

8. The inscriptional poets not only studied the classical literature but sometimes studied the inscriptions of earlier inscriptional poets. e.g. The poet Vāsula, author of the Mandsores inscription of Yaśodharman (F.G.I. No. 33) seems to have read the Allahabad praśasti of Samudragupta by the poet Harishena, since the central idea of fancying a stone pillar as an upraised arm of the earth is found in both the inscriptions and the expression *sakala-vasudha* etc. of Vāsula closely resembles the expression *sarvaprithvivijaya* etc. of Harisena Chhobra, *I.H.Q.* 24.110). Similarly the later authors of the Guhila inscriptions seem to have read the earlier records of the dynasty. (*J.A.S.B.* 1909 p. 173). But it is very rarely that the classical author had ever studied even the first class *praśastis* about which they might not have been altogether ignorant. The following exceptional cases may how-

ever be noted. The well-known classical poet Jayadeva had read the Devpārā praśasti composed by his contemporary inscriptional poet Umāpatidhara and speaks highly of it. Two verses from the Dabhoi praśasti of Someśvaradeva of Gujerat dated 1255 A.D. are quoted in the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhana, a Jain contemporary living in Devagiri in Maharashtra. Similarly some verses from the Sahasralinga praśasti of the time of Siddharāja Jayasimha of Gujerat (1094-1143) are quoted in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutunga (C-1305 A.D.) J.O.I. Baroda, I 231. Similarly the following exceptional cases may be noted where the compiler of a historical work had referred to inscriptions of earlier times. Kalhana, the author of the *Rājatarangiṇi*, is well-known. The author of the *Ekalingamāhātmya* had studied and utilised many old inscriptions of the royal family dated 1274, 1428 and others whose accounts he gave in his work dated c. 1450. (*E.I.* 24 (1938), p. 305).

9. Authors of Sanskrit inscriptions sometimes indulged in writing Prakrit inscriptions. But this Prakrit was a standardized language regulated by fixed laws of grammar and not like the Prakrit of the early inscriptions. The Paramara king Bhoja of Dhārā is said to have composed two Prakrit odes, each of 109 stanzas, to the tortoise incarnation of Vishnu, which were inscribed on huge stone slabs set up in the Bhoja-Śālā at Dhar. They are called *Kūrmaśataka* (*E.I.* 8.243). Bhoja had also composed a Prakrit poem named *Kodaṇḍa Kāvya* which was inscribed on stone slabs set up at Māṇḍu near Dhar, fragments of which have been discovered (*A.B.O.R.I.* 11.49). An inscribed composition wholly in Prakrit was set up in the temple of the goddess Ekavirā at Ratanpur, under the patronage of the Kalachuri king of Dakshina Kosala, whose all other inscriptions are in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit language of some Jain authors was at times influenced by Prakrit as seen from the peculiar Prakrit expressions used by them (*E.I.* 21.84).

10. Similarly authors of Sanskrit inscriptions have also sometimes composed inscriptions in one of the S. I. languages. Or it may be said that the authors of the S.I. inscriptions have also composed Sanskrit inscriptions. They were good students of Vedic, Epic and classical Sanskrit literature in all its branches and frequently borrowed ideas from them. They distinguished themselves as well in one or more S.I. languages as in Sanskrit, e.g., the

poets Achitendrasuri, Íśvarasuri, Śrīnātha etc. Śrīnātha, an Education Officer of the Reddi king was an author of both Sanskrit and Telugu inscriptions (See *E.I.* 21.271 and *Corpus of Telengana inscriptions*). Proper names of persons and places originally in a Dravidian language had gradually become Sanskritised. The Sanskritisation went so far that even the names of the temples originally Dravidian had acquired a Sanskrit rendering. The Bṛhadiśvara temple for instance was originally named as Periya Uḍaya Nāyanār. (*S.I.I.* Vol. III No. 62). The progress of evolution in the four S. I. languages gave rise to a distinctive S. I. literature as rich in literary works as in literary inscriptions. Alankaras not mentioned in standard Sanskrit works on *Alankarasastra* are found in S. I. inscriptions. Some of the inscriptions in the S.I. languages are beautiful pieces of literary art composed in the elegant Champu style, balanced with prose and verse, embellished with the figure of speech such as alliteration, simile, metaphor and echoing with pleasing sounds and melodious tunes. The S.I. inscriptions are generally very lengthy and composed with great learning and skill. The terms used in the Tamil inscriptions in special senses, are so numerous, the vocabulary is so rich, the expression is so elegant, the diction is so dignified, the flow of the verses is so easy and the narration of historical incidents is so animated that they mark them as a class by themselves in Tamil literature. How learned and gifted in poetical abilities the Kannada poets and poetesses were can be seen from an account of them given by J. J. Sharma in the *Archaeological Memoir* No. 13 and by P. B. Desai in *Jainism in South India* and from the *Sasanapadyamanjari* by R. Narasimhacharya and from the poetical extracts from the Ratta kings edited by Prof. Kundankar. The Vachanas of Siddharan in the Kannada language are rhythmic, elegant and simple. Similarly the *Corpus of inscriptions in the Telangana districts of the former Hyderabad State* edited by Dr. P. Srinivasachar gives a critical estimate of some of the Telugu poets of the Kākatiya period known from the inscriptions. Nobody seems to have done similar work giving an account of the Tamil and Malayalam poets known from inscriptions or of the poets known from the Sanskrit provincial languages like Oriya, Marathi, etc.

The short inscriptions found in Central Asia and Chinese Turkistan numbering about one thousand and dated from about

280 to 400 A.D. possess some literary importance and show that the inscriptional poets in those regions also studied the Indian literature as the inscriptional poets in India proper did. The inscriptions are written in the Brahmi script of the period, in Sanskritised Prakrit language and in the style popular in India. They are of great lexical importance in that they supply so many words of common use in Central Asia which are not found in India proper. That Sanskrit literature was regularly studied there by the people is seen from the fact that two inscriptions found at Niyā are written in Sanskrit verses in different classical metres and adorned in beautiful *alankāras*. Their themes are in the approved style of the *Nīti* literature—the impermanence of human fortune and the duty of liberality. The writer knows the rules of sandhi, long vowels, *visarga* and *virāma*. One poem opens with verses in praise of hot-air-baths of the monastery, the health giving virtues of which are celebrated with a real enthusiasm. One more inscription mentions the different branches of Sanskrit learning such as Grammar, Poetry, Astronomy, etc.

11. But Sanskrit epigraphical literature produced in South-East Asia is of much greater importance both in quality and quantity though the names of these inscriptional poets also are not known. The inscriptions show that they were highly learned as their Indian prototypes were and had made a deep study of the same subjects as the Indian poets did. The authors of the inscriptions particularly those in Cambodia, Champā, Sumātrā and Jāvā possessed intimate knowledge of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Purāṇas, the epics, Indian mythology, philosophy, poetics and the various literary works as the Indian inscriptional poets did. They exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the different metres and the most developed rules and conventions of rhetoric and prosody. The poetic style is generally what is known as *Gauḍi* in India. Some of the inscriptions are very long compositions containing 50, 108, 218 and even 298 verses. The most prominent topics are eulogies of kings and details of religious endowments. Royal eulogies are generally conventional as in India. Pāṇini's grammar was carefully studied. The Sanskrit language used in their inscriptions is correct and irregularities or mistakes in grammar are very rare. It is worth noting that the king Yaśovarman who had composed a commentary on the *Mahābhārata* and was an expert in the *Horāśāstra* was compared

with Pāṇini. In the inscriptions of Bhavavarman and Yaśovarman references to Manu, Vātsyāyana Viśālākṣha Pravaraśena Mayūra Guṇāḍhya, Sūśruta etc. are found. References to the daily recitations of the texts of the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are found. Migration of learned persons from India is referred to in many inscriptions e.g., Śiva Soma, *guru* of King Indravarman, who had studied the Śāstras at the feet of Bhagavān Śankara. Educational institutions called Āśramas were founded in several places.

The inscriptions thus prove how thoroughly Indian learning and culture in all its aspects was imbibed in S. E. Asia from the 7th to 13th cent. A.D. India's relations with these regions particularly in the time of king Devapāladeva of Bengal and Balaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa in c. 860 and of the Chola king Rajarāja and the Śaileन्द्रa King Chudāmaṇivarman in the eleventh cent. were very cordial. The epigraphical literature therefore produced in these outside countries in all respects after the model of Indian epigraphical literature can very well be said to be an important section of the rich Indian epigraphical literature.

12. It is an interesting study to see where the identity of the inscriptional poets is in some way or the other traceable with known figures in available literature. The inscriptional poet Harihara, son of Pandit Mokshārka who composed the Kāntala (Saurashtra) inscription of the Gujerat Chaulukya king Arjunadeva dated V. S. 1320 may be identified with Harihara a descendant of Shri Harsha of the Naishadhiya Charita and a native of Banaras who is mentioned in the Kodinara (Saurashtra) praśasti of V. S. 1328. Similarly he seems to be the same Harihara referred to by the poet Someśvaradeva in his poems Kirtikaumudi and Surathotsava. Harihara's father Mokshārka can also be identified with Mokshāditya who composed the work, Bhimavikramavyāyoga in V. S. 1329. (Poona. Orientalist II. 228).

13. It is also interesting to see if any of the inscriptional poets had come in contact with the contemporary renowned classical poets. In this search we are greatly disappointed to find that with but one or two exceptions none of the inscriptional poets mentions of having come into contact with his contemporary classical poet and vice versa. That exception is of the inscriptional poet Umāpatidhara, author of the beautiful Deopara inscription of the time of Vijayasena of Bengal. The well-known classical poet Jayadeva

who was a great friend and older contemporary of Umāpatidhara remarks in v. 4 of his Gitagovinda that Umāpati makes his words sprout (*Vāchaḥ pallavayati Umāpatidharaḥ*). Similarly Vāchaspati, author of the Bhuvaneshwar inscription and a court poet of King Harvarman of Bengal (1075-1125) describes himself as a friend of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, a versatile genius who also lived at the court of the same king (J.A.S.B.N.S. 1912, Page 333).

14. Just as many poets and literary works are mentioned in classical literature in name only nothing being known of their works or of their authors many poets and many literary works mentioned in name in inscriptions have also been lost beyond recovery. The inscriptions sometimes contain references to literary works which are known by name only but which have not come down to us. Still the mention of the works is not without any importance. It is not impossible that the mention of their names and of the works, though nothing is now known of them, may lead some day to results of utmost importance. Our knowledge of Sanskrit literature would be advanced if a collection of such references of forgotten authors and of the lost works in the classical as well as in the epigraphical literature is made. Their importance for investigating the total extent of classical Sanskrit literature is only next to that of the Sanskrit anthologies which, besides mentioning the names of the authors and works now lost to us, at times furnish specimens of the literature they had produced. The Nasik plates of Dharāśraya Jayasimha dated 685 A.D. (C.I.I. IV. No. 28, v. v. 10.11) contain a reference to the work *Harapārvatīya* written by an ascetic which is not yet found. The inscriptions of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa refer to a number of scholars and poets who had lived at the court of the Ganga rulers but who are not known to us either from their literary works or from their inscriptions or even by being mentioned anywhere in the Sanskrit literature. By their mention in the inscriptions therefore we can at least assign them to a definite period and place. A Kalachuri prince named Bhimata is mentioned in a Kalachuri inscription as having written five Sanskrit plays one of which is named "*Swapnadaśānana*". But none of these works has yet been discovered. Another Kalachuri prince named Mayuraja (750.880 A.D.) is said to have written a drama called *Udāttarāghava* in imitation of Bhavabhūti. A saugata parivrāja mahāpaṇḍita Vāgīśvararakshita, a resident of Choḍadeśa and a

disciple of Śākyarakshita of Utkaladeśa is mentioned in a c.p. inscription of the Gāhaḍvāl king Govindachandra dated 1129 A.D. (E.I. II. No. 3).

Some of the authors of inscriptions mention that some of their ancestors were famous poets but they are not known from any other source. Jayātman is mentioned as a great poet in the Ganjam inscription of 885 A.D. of his son Jambhala (Bhand. No. 1413 & 1414 E.I. 6.137). Mahādeva, a Gauḍa-kāyastha, author of the Kinsariya (Jubbulpore) inscription of V.S. 1056 speaks of his father Kalya as a poet (E.I. 12.59). Gangādhara who composed the Govindpur inscription of Ś. 1059 states that his father Manoratha was called Vyāsa and Neo-Kālidāsa and that his grand-father Chakrapāṇi was likened to Vālmiki and that his great grandfather was Dāmodara. The author of the Baghāri inscription of 1195 A.D. states that his father Gadādhara was named Kavichakravarti (Bhand No. 431 8.21.208). The poet Trivikrama who composed the Pāṭaṇa (E. Khandesh) praśasti of the Yadava Singhaṇa in 1207 A.D. and who styles himself as Kavichakravarti states that in his family of great Astronomers the poet Mahēśvarāchārya was born. (E.I. 1.341). The Atru inscription of V.S. 1314 refers to the poet Nārāyana in Rajasthan who bore the epithet Mahākavi-chakravarti (Band. No. 554). Vishṇu who composed the Gwalior inscriptions of V. S. 1277 of the Tomara ruler Malayavarman (E.I. 30.144) calls himself to be the son of the poet Dharma. Tribhuvanapāla, author of the Ratanpur inscription of 1167 A.D. states that his father Anantapāla was a poet. (E.I. 26.257). One Bālakavi is mentioned in the Ghumli inscription of the poet Kapila (E.I. 26.197) Nothing is known of any of these poets mentioned in inscriptions of their descendants. Similarly nothing or very little is known of the poets Bhatta Bhavadeva, Nānāka, Jñānabhikṣu, etc., who are highly eulogised by other poets in their inscriptions. Similarly nothing is known of the scholar Śiva Soma, who had studied the Sāstras at the feet of Bhagavān Śaṅkara and had become Guru of the Cambodian King Indravarman.

15. One is astonished to find from a study of the inscriptions that there is hardly an inscriptional poet in the long list who is known to us from the vast Sanskrit literature by any direct or indirect reference to him. It is not known why even the more renowned poets of inscriptions are never mentioned in the Sanskrit

literature though the classical poets are sometimes respectfully mentioned in the inscriptions as in the Aihole inscription of Ravikirti, dated 634 A.D. who refers to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi respectfully.

16. Similarly it requires to be noted that none of the Sanskrit Sāhityakāras, Anthologists and Commentators has given the least consideration to the epigraphical literature and nowhere do we find any quotation from, or a reference to, an inscriptional poet while discussing or framing rules on poetics. None of the numerous commentators on Sanskrit works who not only wrote explanatory commentaries of the standard texts but also critical treatises refers to any of the inscriptional poets. It shows that the praśastis were rarely copied down and circulated among the literary world. They had their importance for the time being and though remembered by the court poets were forgotten by the general scholarly world. The only exception is found in the case of Umāpatidhara, from whose Deopārā praśasti (E.I. 1.305) certain verses are quoted in the anthology named *Sadūktikarnāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa, a contemporary of the inscriptional poet and in two other later anthologies named *Muktāvali* and *Śārangdharapaddhati*. Similarly, *Vāchaspati*, author of the Bhuvaneśvara inscription, is mentioned in the anthology called *Sadūktikarnāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa (Inscr. Bengal iii. 25) along with Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva in the colophon of a manuscript of *Karmānusthānapaddhati*. Similarly the same inscription leads us to suppose that in exceptional cases copies of praśastis were kept evidently for the use of others. The fact that certain verses from the Deopārā praśasti are quoted in the contemporary and later anthologies as stated above shows that the praśasti was not only engraved on a stone slab at Deopārā but manuscript copies of it were used even in the life-time of Umāpatidhara and after him.

17. It may be that the inscriptional poets were not always real poets of inspiration but poets of accomplishment, though their compositions had received favours from the kings to whose courts they were attached and approbation by their influential officials. Some of them could secure such high sounding titles as Kavi, Kaviśvara Kaviśāsana, Kavichakravarti, Kavikaṇṭhavibhūṣaṇa etc. The poet Ādityadeva who composed the Enige plates of the Kalachuri king, Ahavamalla, dated Ś. 1104 calls himself Tribhuvana-

vidyā-chakravarti (Karnatak Inscriptions ii. 107). But the inscriptional poets were really practical men and tried to make up their poverty of thought by their ambition to write a grand style. It was often sufficient that they were learned in grammar *Sabbānuśāsanavid*, (E.I. 4.156, 20.128)) and Sanskrit Lexicography and skilful in using stereotyped similes and time-worn phrases of panegyric and flattery. A person was held as a great scholar if he could perceive distinctions where none existed and silence his opponent by a brilliant display of the resources of a well-trained memory. Such poets strove more to parade their learning and vied for vitcory in the literary contests at royal courts. Unlike the classical works which were generally composed by the Pandits for the Pandits, the royal praśastis were composed by the inscriptional poets for a larger, often uneducated audience. Lively pictures of such literary diversions at courts are familiar to us in the amusing Bhoja-prabandha and in Hemachandra's Prabandha-chintāmani. But if it is considered that some of the so-called classical poets also were not of a high order and were more pandits than poets, the ignoring of all the inscriptional poets by all the classical poets cannot be justified.

18. It is equally strange that the classical poets who are known to us by their works and who are known to have lived at the courts of kings or at least some of them did not compose praśastis in honour of their patrons to be engraved on a stone slab or a metal plate. What a sad thing it is that Kālidāsa did not find time to compose a single praśasti in honour of his patron whoever he was and when he lived. If he had done so, it would have solved so many questions in the history and literature of ancient India. Not a single inscription of Harsavardhana is found composed by any of his court poets Bāṇa, Mayūra, or Divākara. No eulogy of Yaśovarman of Kanauj is found written by Bhavabhūti or Vākpati who had lived at his court. Vākpati has immortalized his name by writing a beautiful Prakṛit poem *Gauḍavaho* panegyric of the king. The Bengal poet Lakshmidhara, whether he lived at the court of king Bhoja of Dhārā (1010 to 1055) (*Ind. Cul.* 1.702) or at the court of king Bhojavarman of Bengal (1137-1189) (*Ind. Cul.* 2.361), is a different question, composed a Mahākāvya entitled *Chakrapāṇi-vijaya* (I.A. 1.702). But how

is it that he did not compose any of the king's inscriptions. As an exception the poet Umāpatidhara of Bengal may be mentioned who composed the beautiful Deopārā stone inscription of Vijaya-sena (A.D. 1097-1159) which is a valuable contribution to Sanskrit literature (E.I. 1.305).

19. But it appears more strange that the inscriptional poets, at least those who had great capacities of composing beautiful royal panegyrics, did not use their talents in composing connected poems of considerable length or prose passages or plays, or any other literary works worthy to be handed down to us as classical works. It was not impossible for them to compose kāvyas of many cantoes and plays of several acts. The Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya or the Harakeli-nāṭaka is the only exception. Similarly, the Tirumukkudal record of the Chola king Virarājendra which is said to be the world's longest stone inscription (E.I. 21.220) is only an exception.

It cannot be supposed that they remained satisfied with only producing one or two *prasastis* throughout their lives. There were very few poets who had written more inscriptions than one. On the contrary some inscriptions were composed jointly by two or three persons (Bhand. List. No. 1742). The Nālandā stone inscription of Yaśovarman of the 6th cent. was written jointly by Śilachandra and Svāmidatta (E.I. 20.37). The Gorakhpur c.p. inscription of Jayāditya was composed jointly by Nāga-datta and his younger brother Vaidyadatta (Bhand. Lit. No. 1794). The Bilhari prasasti was composed by Śrinivasa Sajjana and Siruka (Bhand. List. No. 1577). The Bāra inscription was composed by Sthirarka and Nārāyaṇa (A.R. Gwalior 1925-6, p. 28). The Dhureti inscription of Chandella Trailokyamalla dated 1212 A.D. was composed by Gangadhar in collaboration with Viśveśvara (C.I.I. IV. 373). The Lāḍnu prasasti was composed by Kāma-chandra Dikshita and Dhānda (Bhand. List. No. 672).

Harisena the gifted author of Samudragupta's Allahabad prasasti calls his piece of work a Kāvya. Vatsabhatti, the author of the Mandor prasasti, considers his small literary piece worthy to be copied down and listened to like a great religious work. Ravikīrti, author of the Aihole prasasti, himself states that he had attained by his poetic skill the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. Where are his other panegyrics or works upon which

he bases his claim to be equal to Kālidāsa and Bharavi? It cannot be questioned that these poets were justified in giving big names to their literary pieces small though they are.

There is no doubt that at least some of the inscriptional poets were of a sufficiently high order. The poet Virasena of Pāṭaliputra who lived about the year 400 A.D. is known to us only from a small stone inscription of less than dozen lines. But even from these few lines which have survived he is seen to be a highly gifted poet at the court of an equally qualified sovereign Chandra-gupta II. What a sad thing it is that such poets have left no other bigger *praśastis* nor any literary work worth the name behind them! Such learned and gifted poets could not have remained satisfied with that much use of their talents throughout their lives. It cannot be supposed that there were no similar occasions to compose *praśastis* in honour of their patrons. But the fact is there that no other literary work of any of these inscriptional poets has been found.

It is impossible to believe that the *praśastis* which might have been composed by the classical poets and the plays and poems which might have been composed by the authors of inscriptional *praśastis* were either destroyed or burnt and therefore lost to us except the three or four like the Harakalināṭaka, the Lalitavigraha-raja nāṭikā, the Pārijātamañjari or the Kūrmaśataka which have fortunately survived.

If their known literary works which must have been written on easily perishable material like palm or birch bark leaves have survived there was more likelihood of the survival of the inscribed works. We have therefore to suppose that the renowned poets even at the court of kings thought it derogatory to compose *praśastis* suitable for a particular occasion like the renowned poets today who are generally reluctant to compose poems on ceremonial occasions. But how are we to suppose that the great inscriptional poets did not write any poems or plays?

20. As an exception to the above statement it may be mentioned that from amongst the seven hundred inscriptional poets the following poets only have used their talents and pens for composing inscriptions as well as literary works. A majority of

them are not known from Aufretch's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or from any of the Anthologies like the *Subhāshitaratnakosha*, etc.

Umāpatidhara, Gaṅgadhara, Garuḍavāhanabhaṭṭa, Chhittapa, Trivikramabhaṭṭa, Dāmodaramiśra, Narasimhamaharshi, Nārāyaṇa, Bilhaṇa, Bhoja, Madana, Mahendravarman, Rāmachandraśūri, Lakshmidhara-Lolla, Vāhaspati, Vigharāja, Virūpāksha, Śrī-nātha, Somadeva, Someśvaradeva, Svayambhu, and Halāyudha.

Maratha—Nizam Relations

"THE KHAZANA-I-AMIRA" OF GULAM ALI AZAD BILGRAMI

BY

P. SETU MADHAV RAO, M.A., I.A.S.

Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami was born on the 18th of June 1704 A.D., at Bilgram in Uttar Pradesh. After receiving education in Persian and Arabic, he left his home at an early age. He was in Delhi in 1720 A.D. when Nizam Ul Mulk was appointed as the Vazir of the Moghul Emperor. He spent a long time with a relative of his, who was an Officer in Sindh. In 1738 he decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and in this connection he met Nizam Ul Mulk at Bhopal when the latter was engaged in a bitter struggle with Bajirao (1738 A.D.). On his return from Mecca in 1741 Bilgrami settled at Aurangabad in the Deccan. He was on intimate terms with Nizam Ul Mulk and his son Nasir Jung. He accompanied Nasir Jung in his campaign against Mysore during the life time of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Nizam-ul-Mulk died in the year 1748 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Nasir Jung. As Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami was a scholar and a Persian poet of eminence, Nasir Jung developed admiration and respect for him and always kept him in his company. Nasir Jung used to get his Persian compositions scrutinised and corrected by Bilgrami. At the Court of Nasir Jung, Bilgrami came into contact with scholars and statesmen amongst whom may be mentioned Shah Navaz Khan, the Prime Minister of the Nizam (1753-1758 A.D.), Mosawi Khan, the Chief Writer of the Nizam, Lala Mansaram, the Nizam's Secretary and others. Bilgrami accompanied Nasir Jung in the latter's ill-fated campaign against Muzaffar Jung (1750 A.D.) and was present at the time of the murder of Nasir Jung at the hands of the Pathan Chiefs. He was also present in the camp of the Nizam when Muzaffar Jung was murdered by the Pathans (1751 A.D.). He then returned to Aurangabad. Bilgrami played an important part in the politics of the Deccan when he carried on delicate negotiations with Shah Navaz Khan who had entrenched himself in the Fort of Daulatabad and brought him over to the side of the Nizam (Salabat Jung 1757). After the murder of Shah Navaz Khan

(11-5-1758) Bilgrami collected the scattered manuscripts of Masir-ul-Umara, a work of Shah Navaz Khan containing biographies of leading personalities in Moghul History, and edited the work in 1759 A.D. Bilgrami was present at Aurangabad when Madhav Rao Peshwa and his uncle Raghunath Rao attacked it in 1763. He lived in Aurangabad till the time of his death in 1785 at the age of 81. He was a great scholar, a great Persian and Arabic poet and left behind him a number of his students and disciples, among whom may be mentioned the poet, critic and historian Lakshmi Narayan Shafiq Aurangabadi. Among Bilgrami's works may be mentioned the Anthologies of Persian Poetry accompanied by the biographies of Persian poets, and an account of a number of Sufi Saints.

His principal work, the 'Khazana-i-Amira' deals with a number of poets in Persian accompanied by selections from their poems. In this work, among the poets mentioned by Bilgrami, Nizam-ul-Mulk and his son Nasir Jung, who were poets, find a place. In dealing with their biographies, Bilgrami has taken the opportunity of giving a review of Maratha activities in the Deccan and Northern India, from the beginning upto the year 1763. The work "Khazana-i-Amira" is spread over 462 pages. Of these, pages from 35 to 116 deal with biographies of the Nizams and the politics of Northern India with special reference to the activities of the Marathas culminating in the battle of Panipat. All biographies of the Nizams which were incorporated by Bilgrami in his edition of the Masir-ul-Umara, have become available to students of history through the English translations of Masir-ul-Umara. But his observations on the Marathas have not been translated so far. As Bilgrami was a very keen student of contemporary events and was in close and intimate touch with the politics of the Deccan for nearly 40 years, his analysis of Maratha activities will be found to be of absorbing interest for students of Maratha history. In the following lines, it is proposed to give a gist of his observations of the Nizams and the Marathas occurring in 'Khazana-i-Amira'.

On page 35 Bilgrami begins the life of Nizam-ul-Mulk. After giving details of his career he refers to the Bhopal campaign of Bajirao in the following words:

"2 months after the Nawab's arrival at Delhi the king allowed him to return to the Deccan for punishing the Marathas. Raja

Jaising was removed from the post of Subedar of Akabarabad (Agra) and Baji Rao from that of Malwa. These 2 posts were given to Nawab (Nizam-ul-Mulk). The Nawab came to Akabarabad (Agra) and having appointed Muhiuddin Quli Khan as his Deputy there, started towards Malwa. He found that the roads along the banks of the river Chambal were very treacherous due to numerous deep tunnels. The army of the Nawab had at the same place been greatly harassed by thieves inhabiting the area on the return journey from the Deccan. He crossed the Jumna below Agra keeping his course directed eastwards, and having passed Mukanpur again crossed the Jumna below Kalpi and entered the country of the Bundelas. The Raja of Bundelas joined him with some troops. While he was proceeding to Bhopal, which was in the province of Malwa, Baji Rao marched from the Deccan with a large army against him. In the month of Ramzan of that year several battles took place in the vicinity of the Bhopal. As the news of the arrival of Nadir Shah got abroad the Nawab preferred peace (with Marathas) to the continuance of the battle and returned to the capital."

There is no further reference to the relations of the Nizam with the Marathas in the account of Nizam-ul-Mulk nor has Bilgrami referred to the earlier campaign of the Nizam with Bajirao at Palkhed. Nizam-ul-Mulk died in the year 1748. After noticing his death, Bilgrami gives a brief account of the Marathas from pages 39 to 49. The gist of the same is as follows:

As there is a reference to the Ganims (Marathas) in the account of Nawab Asaf Jah a general account of this community is narrated here. The history accounts tell us that during the ancient times the rulers of North India both before and after the advent of Islam have dominated the people of the Deccan. Sending victorious armies they have conquered the entire region of the Deccan upto Ceylon. However, during these times the Maratha nation have achieved a miracle in India and have brought under their occupation Deccan, Malwa, Gujarat and the provinces of North India. The province of Oudh remained safe from their hands because of the river Ganges and the defence put up by Burhan-ul-Mulk. The province of Multan and Patna have not come into the occupation of the Ganims (Marathas) because of their distance from the Deccan. Although the Officers of the

Marathas had gone to Multan, yet, due to the advent of Shah Durrani they did not have sufficient time to occupy that area. Similarly the Marathas could not take possession of the provinces of Patna and Bengal. The Subedar of Bengal, after fighting, came to an understanding that he would send every year a fixed tribute to them.

Bilgrami next gives an account of the origin and rise of the Marathas. He says "Marhat is a name of the region of Devgiri and the surrounding area. The people of this area are known as Marathas. Their language is known as Marathi. The kingship of the Marathas rests with the tribe of the Bhoslas. The family of the Bhoslas is connected with the Rajas of Udepur." He then gives an account of the Bhoslas till the time of Shahaji. He next deals briefly with Shahaji and his services with the Government of Bijapur. Bilgrami then refers to the career of Shivaji.

Referring to the episode of Shivaji and his visit to Agra he says that (on page 41) Shivaji in his rusticity and ignorance of manners of the Court felt that he deserved more than what he was getting. He went to Ram Sing, the son of Jai Sing, and expressed his grievance. Aurangzeb then ordered that he should not be allowed to pay respects at the Court. His son Sambhaji, who was innocent, was not denied admission to the Court. Shivaji was to be properly trained for some time and after being shown consideration was to be allowed to go back, but he, after a period of 3 months and 9 days, escaped in disguise along with Sambhaji and after arriving in the Deccan started his struggle. The Subedars of the Deccan strove to punish him. At last Shivaji died in 1680. His son Sambhaji worked in the foot-steps of his father. At last the emperor himself arrived in Aurangabad and spent the remaining period of his life in campaign against the Marathas. However, due to the selfishness of the nobles who did not desire a successful conclusion of the Maratha campaign, the efforts to put down the Marathas did not succeed. During the last days of Aurangzeb it was decided that peace should be made with the Marathas on condition that 9 per cent of the revenue should be given to them as Sardeshmukhi. The emperor sent Hasan Khan alias Mir Malang with the necessary documents to the Marathas so that an agreement be entered into and the Maratha chiefs brought into imperial service. But later, the Emperor changed

his mind and re-called Mir Malang who had not yet been able to hand him over the documents to the Marathas. During the time of Shah Alam (Bahadur Shah) 10 per cent on the revenue was fixed as Sardeshmukhi due to the Marathas and the necessary documents were handed over to them. After his victory over Kambaksh, Shah Alam appointed Amir-ul-Umara Zulfiqarkhan who in return appointed Daud Khan Panni as his deputy and left him in the Deccan. Daud Khan came to an understanding with the Marathas that in addition to the 10 per cent of the revenue under the head Sardeshmukhi, one-fourth of the revenue should be given to them as Chauth. This agreement came into existence although Sanads pertaining to Chauth had not been handed over to the Marathas. As conflict broke out between Mohmed Farrukh Sair and the Sayyeds, the Emperor appointed Amir-ul-Umara Sayed Hussein Ali Khan as the Governor of the Deccan and sent him out of the Court. After the Amir-ul-Umara arrived in the Deccan, the emperor under the persuasion of his officers wrote continuously to the chiefs in the Deccan, particularly Shahu Raja to oppose Amir-ul-Umara. There were daily conflicts between the Emperor and Qutub-ul-Mulk Abdulla Khan. The latter wrote continuously to Amir-ul-Umara to return to Delhi. Finding no other alternative the Amir-ul-Umara joined the outside enemies as against the internal ones and entered into an understanding with Shahu Raja through the mediation of Mohmed Anwar Khan of Burhanpur and Shankaraji Malhar. On condition of abstaining from devastating the province and maintaining a force of 15,000 at the service of the Subedar of the Deccan, the Marathas were granted the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the six provinces of the Deccan, together with Konkan and the old kingdom of the Marathas (Swarajya) under his own seal by the Amir-ul-Umara. Balaji, son of Vishwanath, a Brahmin from Konkan became the Wakil of Raja Shahu. In every Pargana two officers were appointed by the Marathas—one known as Mukasdar was to collect the Chauth or one-fourth of the revenue. The other was known as Nayab Sardeshmukh. After this treaty, the province of the Deccan which had been ruined in the conflict with the Marathas returned to its former condition but the control of the Emperor disappeared from the province. This evil spread fast and wide.

The Amir-ul-Umara, after the conclusion of the agreement left his nephew Alam Ali Khan in the Deccan as his Deputy and leading

a force of 50,000 troops and a contingent under the leadership of Balaji Vishwanath arrived at the Capital. After de-throning Farukh Sair, the Amir-ul-Umara entrusted the affairs of the Deccan to Shankaraji Malhar and sent him, with the agreement of Balaji Vishwanath, to Alam Ali Khan. Shankaraji Malhar and Balaji Vishwanath returned to the Deccan and took charge of the affairs. Alam Ali Khan was Governor in name only. Mohamed Shah, the Emperor had appointed Girdhar Bahadur as the Governor of Malwa. Holkar, one of the companions of Baji Rao, son of Balaji Vishwanath, invaded Malwa and killed Girdhar Bahadur in battle. Till the arrival of a successor of Girdhar Bahadur in Malwa his sons held charge of affairs. Mohamed Khan Bangash was next appointed as the Governor and arrived at Ujjain. Due to the activities of the Ganims his administration could not succeed. He was transferred and replaced by Raja Jaisingh. This strengthened the hands of Baji Rao.

Bilgrami then refers to the activities of Baji Rao and his chiefs in northern India. About the campaign of Baji Rao against Nasir Jung, who was deputising for his father Nizam-ul-Mulk when the latter was away in Delhi, Bilgrami says, "As there was confusion in the affairs of the empire due to the aggression of Nadir Shah, Baji Rao confiscated the Jagirs and Mansabs of a number of people to whom they had been granted by the Emperor and Asaf Jah. After the departure of Nadir Shah, Nasir Jung sent his representative to Baji Rao as a result of which he withheld the confiscation of the jagirs. In 1739 Baji Rao decided to expel Nasir Jung and Muslim Rule from the Deccan and establish the supremacy of the Kafirs. He collected an army and invaded Aurangabad. Nasir Jung came out of the city with the troops that he had and decided to march and devastate the city of Poona. Fighting the Ganims continuously and pressing them backward he crossed the river Godavari. The campaign continued for a month and two days. Although the army of the Ganims was 50,000 and the army of Islam was not more than 10,000 the soldiers of Islam dominated in the battle everyday. Baji Rao thought it fit to come to terms. He met Nasir Jung who handed over the Sarkars of Khargon and Handia to Baji Rao as Jahgirs. After this agreement which was humiliating to him, Baji Rao moved towards Malva and reaching the banks of the river Narmada died due to the frustration of his aims.

Balaji succeeded his father Baji Rao. The same year the Nizam Asaf Jah took leave from the Emperor to go to the Deccan. When he arrived at Burhanpur, Balaji who was on his way to Malwa met Asaf Jah in that city. From the time of the return of Asaf Jah to the Deccan (1740) to the time of his death (1748) covering the period of 8 years, the Ganims (Marathas) became aggressive once or twice but they were punished and brought to terms. During the time of Nasir Jung an agreement was reached with Raja Shahu. Till the end of the reign of Nasir Jung, which lasted for more than 2 years, there was peace between the Nizam and Marathas. After the deaths of Nasir Jung and Shahu, Balaji became powerful. Sadashiv Rao alias Bhau, cousin of Balaji, who was a statesman and very hard working person became the Chief Minister of Balaji. These persons held the Bhosla family in reverence during the life time of Shahu Raja. After the death of Shahu they did not place anyone on the throne. On the other hand they assumed all power and rendered the old Maratha chiefs completely powerless. The Sacred Thread and Namaskars (Brahmins) began to dominate the affairs of the kingdom. The community, whose profession it was to beg (Brahmins) began to claim Kingship. How the Brahmins of Konkan became dominant in Deccan and Northern India after the death of Nasir Jung and Shahu will be narrated while dealing with the sons of Asaf Jah. Bilgrami next deals with Maratha activities in Gujerath and Bengal. He says that after Hamid Khan had been recalled from Gujerat the Ganims established their occupation over that province. Slowly Imperial Rule disappeared from the province of Gujerath and was replaced by Maratha's rule. He then describes the conflict of the Nawabs of Bengal with the Marathas under the Bhoslas of Nagpur. Speaking of the Marathas in general and Brahmins of the Deccan in particular, Bilgrami says (page 47): "These people have a strange character. Wherever they become dominant they deprive the people of that area of all means of subsistence and appropriate them for themselves. They remove the Zamindars, Patels and Patwaris and by all possible means displace them and establish their own rule. They want that the Brahmins of Konkan should be the owners of all land. As God provides food and means of subsistence like land to Hindus and Muslims, how can it be possible that only one community should be the owner of all the land? Look at the nature and character of this community

J. 10

(Brahmins); that with all the land of which Balaji has possessed himself in the Deccan and Northern India, his food is only Bajra and Jowar. He does not like wheat. He uses Pulses and green vegetables. The real profession of these Brahmins is begging. It is the custom among the Hindus to give charity to these people. From generation to generation this community (Brahmins) has been accustomed to begging. Opportunism is in its nature. That is why in spite of attaining supreme power, the element of beggary is not absent from this community. Whenever they meet anyone, these people, in spite of their wealth, are always ready to beg and take away everything, leaving the people to their fate. It has been well said by a poet that when beggars become kings they reduce the world to beggary.

The reason why this community has a dry and stiff nature is that the food of this community consists of pulses, oils and chillies; they put hot chillies in every thing they eat. That is why their nature has become dry and hot. They always suffer from ailments like biliousness. They are not accustomed to moderate and useful behaviour. During the last 10 or 20 years, ever since these people spread over Northern India, the inhabitants of that region have learnt to use hot chillies, a practice which was very rare previously." Bilgrami says that what he had stated was in consonance with facts and was in no way a result of exaggeration of facts. Bilgrami further says that as is known from the histories from ancient times the rulers of Iran and Turan had always invaded this country. Before the rise of Islam the conflict between the rulers of India and those of Iran and Turan was due to the desire to possess territories. There was no element of religious conflict as the people of India as well as the people of Iran and Turan were in those days Fire Worshippers. Later, Islam extinguished the fire temples of Persia. The light of Islam spread over Persia and Turan and Muslim rulers came to power in those countries. Now the religious conflict mingled with the conflict for worldly possessions and destruction of the Indians (Hindus) took the appearance of religious duty. Due to their strength and courage they destroyed the idol temples of India, established mosques, and replaced the blowing of conches with Azan, the Muslim call to Prayer.

Now a days the army of the Ganim consists of low people like cultivators, shepherds and artisans. On the other hand the

army of Islam consists of men of high family and breeding. The reason for the victory of the Ganims is that they do not hesitate to undertake hard work. They practise the guerrilla method of warfare, and, cutting off provisions and supplies of the army at the time of the battle, they reduce the enemy to helplessness. The soldiers of Islam have become ease-loving. If they too could adopt the guerrilla method of warfare they are sure to become victorious. These men of high breeding and character have courage and sense of honour. The low class people of the Ganims do not possess these high qualities.

Bilgrami next deals with the biographies of the sons of the Nizam-ul-Mulk. Speaking about the eldest son of Nizam, Gaziuddin Firoz Jung and his arrival in the Deccan in 1752 to contest the viceroyalty of the province with Maratha support Bilgrami says (page 50):—

"He set off for the Deccan in the midst of the rainy season and as his third brother Salabat Jung was in power in that area, he took the help of Holkar who was at that time near Delhi with a strong force and accompanied by him he arrived at Aurangabad on 20th Zilkad (18th September 1752). Salabat Jung was at that time at Hyderabad. He advanced to meet Gaziuddin. The Ganim Marathas dominating the situation asked from Gaziuddin the whole province of Khandesh, Jalna and other territories. As Gaziuddin had recently arrived and was inexperienced, and in view of the important work of opposing Salabat Jung, he handed over the Sanad for the province of Khandesh and other territories to the Marathas. In this way a great territory came into the possession of the Marathas for nothing. As it was ordained that the viceroyalty of the Deccan should remain with Salabat Jung, Gaziuddin died suddenly on the 7th of Zihaj (16th October 1752) only 17 days after his entry into Aurangabad. Bilgrami next deals with the life of Gaziuddin's son, Imadul-mulk. At page 54 he gives in brief the life of Nizamuddaulah Nasir Jung.

On page 61 he narrates the career of Nizam Salabat Jung, the third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk. About the campaign of Salabat Jung against the Marathas in 1751, Bilgrami says that having spent the rainy season at Aurangabad, Salabat Jung started from that place on 11th Zilahaj 1164 (A.H.) (20-10-1751), with a view to punish Balaji. He made Aurangabad a camping ground of his

army. From that place he started towards Poona. Balaji advanced to meet him with a strong force of 50,000 troops. Fighting started from the 12th of Mohurram 1165 A.H. (20th November, 1751). The brave warriors of Islam fought against the enemy and advancing against them arrived near Poona. They destroyed the towns and villages of the Marathas which were in the way in this campaign. The French artillery destroyed the Marathas especially on the night of the 14th of Mohurram (22nd November) when there was a total eclipse of the Moon. Christains (French) made a night attack on the Marathas and killed a large number of them. Balaji who was engaged in his worship had hurriedly to mount a horse and find relief in flight. His idols and other gold instruments of worship fell into the hands of the Muslims. Due to internal disputes in the army of the Nizam the results of the efforts made in the campaign were practically nullified. After the conclusion of the campaign, Salabat Jung turned towards Hyderabad. On the 13th of Jamadil Akhir 1165 A.H. the soldiers of the army killed Raja Raghunath Das in the plains of Bhalki. Salabat Jung hastened to Hyderabad. According to his orders Ruknaddowlah (Syed Lashkar Khan) and Samsamuddawlah both arrived at Hyderabad from Aurangabad. The post of Vaqil-i-Mutalaq was given to Ruknaddowlah. Suddenly news arrived that Gaziuddin Feroz Jung, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, had started for the Deccan. Ruknaddowlah avoided the performance of his duties and went to Karmala to Janoji Nimbalkar. He thought that as Gaziuddin was coming to the Deccan with the help of Holkar he might get consideration from Gaziuddin through the intermediation of Janoji Nimbalkar and also through Balaji. Ruknaddowlah had contacts with Balaji during the time of Asaf Jah. When Ruknaddowlah left Hyderabad, Samsamuddawlah remained there and received the Governorship of the province of Hyderabad from Salabat Jung. Gaziuddin died 17 days after his arrival in Aurangabad. What disasters did not befall during these 17 days? The Marathas who had become dominant in the affairs of Gaziuddin had taken Sanads of the province of Khandesh and the districts of Sangamner and Jalna and other places from him. The control of Islam disappeared from this region. After the death of Gaziuddin, the Marathas came in conflict with Salabat Jung who had come to oppose Gaziuddin and obtained from him confirmation of the Sanads given by Gaziuddin. After these events Ruknaddowlah

emerged from Karmala and joined Salabat Jung. He was confirmed in the post of Vaqil-i-Mutaliq after which he (Sayed Lashkar Khan) discharged Samsamuddaulah (Shah Navaz Khan) and sent him to Aurangabad.

When the rainy season approached, Salabat Jung came to Aurangabad with Ruknadaulah (Syed Lashkar Khan). Monsieur Bussy became an enemy of Ruknadaulah. On the 14th of Safar 1167 A.H. (11th December, 1753 A.D.) Ruknadaulah was replaced by Shah Navaz Khan as the Vaqil-il-Mutaliq (Prime Minister). Shah Navaz Khan carried out his duties for 4 years and by diplomacy kept the Marathas in their proper place so that there were no disturbances of any kind.

In relating the campaign of Sindkhed between the Marathas and the Nizam, Bilgrami says that in the same year when the Nizam's brother Burhan-ul-Mulk, Basalat Jung, was working as the Prime Minister (1757 A.D.) Balaji Rao invaded Aurangabad. Nizam Ali Khan left Salabat in charge at Aurangabad while he himself, accompanied by Burhan-ul-Mulk advanced fighting upto Sindkhed, which is 30 kos distant from Aurangabad. In the end peace was made by granting a jagir to the Marathas. A territory yielding an income of 27 lakhs of rupees was given to them and the rule of Islam disappeared from that area. Nizam Ali Khan came to Aurangabad from Sindkhed after the treaty. Hyder Jung, who was the Secretary of Monsieur Bussy saw that in the presence of Nizam Ali Khan his own power could not be established. He started planning to ruin Nizam Ali Khan under various pretexts. He separated Ibrahim Khan Gardi and the army of Nizam Ali Khan from the latter and took them in the service of Monsieur Bussy. He distributed 8 lakhs of rupees to the soldiers from his treasury. He thus isolated Nizam Ali Khan. Hyder Jung then next imprisoned Shah Navaz Khan and thus became free from the fear of both these persons namely Nizam Ali Khan and Shah Navaz Khan. Hyder Jung now desired to send Nizam Ali Khan as the Governor of Hyderabad. This was only a pretext for imprisoning him in the fort of Golkonda so that the field would be open to him for his activities. He did not know that fate laughed at the efforts of man. On the 3rd of Ramzan 1171 A.H. (11th May, 1758) Hyder Jung came to the tent of Nizam Ali Khan. Nizam Ali Khan had already decided with his officers to

get Hyder Jung murdered. The persons present in the tent caught hold of Hyder Jung and killed him. Nizam Ali Khan mounted a horse and rode out of the camp alone. The French Artillery was confounded. Monsieur Bussy and other officers of the army became stupefied at the murder of Hyder Jung and it was in this confusion that some persons killed Shah Navaz Khan, Yaminuddowlah and Shah Navaz Khan's son Mir Abdul Nabi Khan. After this incident, Salabat Jung, Basalat Jung and Bussy hastened to Hyderabad. Nizam Ali Khan took the road to Burhanpur. Hyder Jung had forced Ibrahim Khan Gardi to leave Nizam Ali Khan. He now joined the latter. On the 13th of Ramzan (21st May, 1758) Nizam Ali Khan reached Burhanpur and imprisoned rich people of Burhanpur as also Mohamed Anwar Khan. This is the same Anwar Khan who in conjunction with Shankraji Malhar had brought out understanding between Syed Hussein Ali Khan and the Marathas on the basis of Chauth. He died as a result of harassment and grief at his imprisonment on the 17th of Zilqaad (23rd July, 1758), and was buried in the Darga of Shah Isa Junaidullah. Nizam Ali Khan went to Berar from Burhanpur and camped in Basim, an important town in Berar. There was a campaign against Janoji, son of Raghuji Bhosle, and Nizam Ali Khan, which, later ended in peace. Afterwards, Nizam Ali Khan went to Salabat Jung who was at that time in Hyderabad. There was great dispute between the three brothers, Salabat Jung, Nizam Ali Khan and Basalat Jung. Ultimately it was decided by Salabat Jung that Nizam Ali Khan should be granted full powers while Basalat Jung should go to his province of Bijapur.

On the 18th of Rabi-ul-Awwal 1173 A.H. (9th November, 1759) a new development took place. On that day Sadashiv Rao Bhau, the cousin of Balaji conspired with the Governor of the Fort of Ahmadnagar. On that day the army of Sadashiv Rao Bhau entered the fort and took possession of the city of Ahmadnagar (9th November, 1759).

Bilgrami then narrates the history of the fort of Ahmadnagar and says that after a lapse of 270 years Ahmednagar passed into the hands of the idol worshippers (Marathas) from the Muslim rulers. During this year Bhau, maturing his plans, desired that Muslim rule should be eliminated completely from the Deccan and Government of the Idolators (Marathas) should flourish. He

enlisted in the service Ibrahim Khan Gardi. This Ibrahim Khan Gardi was from a low origin. He had received training under the French. He had a well trained artillery with him. In the beginning he was in the service of Nizam Ali Khan but later he separated from him and joined the Marathas.

About the battle of Udgir, Bilgrami says: "On the 22nd of Jamadilawal of this year (11th January, 1760) the Marathas came face to face with the army of Islam near Udgir. At this time the army of the Ganims (Maratha) consisted of 60,000 troops; while the army of Islam consisted of 7000. Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan desired to force their way from Udgir to Dharur; join such of the troops of the Nizam which were at Dharur and after the junction, march towards Poona. It should not be forgotten that previously the Marathas followed the guerilla tactics, that is, they used to stop all supply of grain and fodder to the army of Islam and attack it when a suitable opportunity occurred. The reliance of the army of Islam was on its artillery. They used to surround their troops with the artillery and defend themselves. On this occasion, because of the alliance of Ibrahim Khan with the Marathas they were able to combine the guerrilla tactics with the European method of warfare i.e. bombarding with the artillery. They had some light guns with them. The army of Islam marched fighting under the protection formed by guns which were placed all round the army. They offered a target for the Maratha artillery. On the other hand, the Marathas due to their constant movements did not suffer from the artillery of Islam. Ibrahim Khan, although himself a Muslim, had girded his loins with a view to destroy Islam. Day and night, while on march or in camp, he would constantly bring his artillery into action and never gave a moment's respite. Under these circumstances, the army of Islam suffered terribly and large numbers were killed. On the 26th of Jamadilawal (25th January, 1760) a great number of soldiers of Islam came out of their position behind the guns and fell upon Ibrahim Khan Gardi and the army of the Marathas. They wounded and killed a number of people from the enemy and captured 11 standards from the army under Ibrahim Khan. Fighting in this way they reached the fort of Ousa, which is 10 kos from Dharur. The Marathas saw that if the army of Islam reached and joined with the army stationed at that place, it would be difficult to overcome it. On the 15th of Jamadilakhar of that

year (3-2-1760) about 40,000 troops of enemy attacked the rear guard of the army of Islam. Since the enemy was numerous while the army of Islam was not more than 2 to 3 thousand troops, after terrible fighting the rear guard of the army of the Islam was destroyed. A great wound was thus inflicted on the Muslims. Next day the Nizam finding himself incapable of further resistance, a peace was arranged. This peace gave rise to numerous complications. The Ganim (Marathas) took over a territory yielding an income of 60 lakhs of rupees. All the Mahals of the province of Aurangabad, excepting the city, Pargana Haveli and Harsul and Satara, half the area of the province of Bidar and Bijapur, together with the forts of Daulatabad, Asirgad and Bijapur, were taken over by them. Many of the jagirs of the Crown and of the nobles and Mansabdars were ceded to the enemy. Thus, due to fate, this strange thing happened. Except the province of Hyderabad and portions of provinces of Berar, Bijapur and Bidar nothing was left in the hands of the descendants of Nawab Asaf Jah. Even in this territory, which was left, the Marathas had a share of one-fourth. This, like rotten blood, had spread in the body of the country and opened a big gap in the foundation of Islam. However, the desire of Bhau to wipe out Muslim rule entirely from the Deccan did not succeed. The date of the loss of Ahmednagar has been rendered in the Persian Chronogram as follows:—

QUATRAIN

The infidels, the enemies of Islam, captured
 Several forts, (which were) skilfully fortified
 Wisdom wrote the date of the event :

Ahmednagar was lost and also the territory of the Deccan! After the treaty, the enemy sent their army to take possession of the Fort of Daulatabad. The Governor of the Fort, Shujaat Jung, a descendant of Syed Mohmed Kanoji opposed the demand in the beginning. The Marathas secured the orders of Salabat Jung in the name of Sujaat Jung, to comply with the instructions and hand over the Fort. Most unwillingly Shujaat Jung surrendered the fort of Daulatabad to the Marathas on 19th Shaaban 1173 A.H. (6th April, 1760).

The infidel captured Ahmednagar
 Daulatabad, the famous fort, was also lost,

Wisdom, the date of the event on the panel of this world,
 So inscribed: Daulatabad was also lost.

(Daulatabad Ham raft: 1173 A.H. 1759-60 A.D.).

Bilgrami at this stage gives in detail the history of the fort of Daulatabad and concludes by saying that after 460 years it passed from the hands of the Believers to the hands of Idol-worshippers.

The Governor of the Fort of Bijapur did not resist the Marathas. He had no means of doing so. As soon as the Marathas secured the area from Salabat Jung he handed it over to them. Here too a brief description of the history of Bijapur follows, at the end of which Bilgrami says that after a period of 270 years and odd the Fort passed from the hands of those who tell Beads to those who wear the Sacred Thread.

The Governor of the Fort of Asirgad, Mir Najaf Ali Khan, however, withstood the demand of the Marathas to surrender the fort. He defended it for nearly a year. Ultimately, owing to lack of provision he surrendered the fort to the officers of the Marathas on the 12th Rabi-us-Sani 1174 A.H. (21st November, 1760). The following Persian Chronogram gives the details of the fort.

The fort of the Shah of Islam was captured by the infidel
 Fate decreed the affairs in this fashion!

The clever author, the year of the happening

Found in: Strange! Asir Fort has been taken

(Ajab Hasn Asir Raft: 1174 A.H. 1760-61 A.D.)

Bilgrami next gives a brief history of the fort of Asirgad and concludes with the sentence that after a little over 660 years this fort passed out of the hands of the followers of Islam and came into the possession of Heretics.

He then briefly touches upon the battle of Panipat, which he has described in greater detail in his notice of Ahmed Shah Abdali at page 108 of the Khajana-i-Amira. He then refers to the death of Balaji Rao (22nd July, 1761). Describing the movements of Nizam Ali Khan against the Marathas he says that in the year 1175 A.H. (1761-62 A.D.) Nizam Ali Khan availed himself of the opportunity and collected forces, took Salabat Jung with him from the fort of Bidar and marched towards Aurangabad. Raghunath

Rao and Madhav Rao also marched from Poona with a strong force and artillery" and clashed with the Muslims in the Plains of Shahgad. The fighting continued from Shahgad to Aurangabad. Nizam Ali Khan left his heavy baggage at Aurangabad and marched from that place on 23rd Rabi-us-sani 1175 A.H. (21st November, 1761), towards Poona. He fought against the enemy on the way and forced them to a distance of 7 kos from Poona. On the way lay the town of Toka on the banks of the river Godavari. It was a place full of important temples and the Marathas had built spacious buildings at that place. Nizam Ali Khan destroyed the buildings and broke the idols in the temples. Poona also would have received the same fate when Nasir-ul-Mulk, the sixth son of Nawab Asaf Jah, who had differences with his brother, and Raja Ramchandra, a chief of the army of Islam, joined the Marathas and on the night of the 27th of Jammadi-al-Awwal of the year (24th December, 1761) deserted the camp of the Muslims and went over to the Marathas. They did what should not have been done. After this the Marathas felt that the Muslims had become weak and on the next day they attacked the army from all sides. They brought their artillery which started firing against the army. The brave warriors of Islam came out of their entrenched position behind their artillery and fighting against the enemy, killed a number of them and dispersed the army of the enemy. The enemy could not withstand the attack and withdrew from the field. When they saw that the victorious army had reached a distance of 7 kos from Poona and that the obstructions caused by them had proved futile and that Poona too might be burnt, the residents of Poona went to Raghunath Rao and said, "Do you desire that our houses should be destroyed by the Muslims?" Finding themselves helpless Raghunath Rao and Madhav Rao sent their Vakils with a proposal for peace. A territory yielding an annual income of Rs. 27 lakhs from the Provinces of Aurangabad and Bidar was, as a result of the treaty, handed over to Nizam Ali Khan. This peace was concluded on the 6th of Jamadi-us-Sani 1175 A.H. (2nd January, 1762 A.D.). Last year, on the same day (6th Jamadi-us-Sani) Shah Durrani had won victory over Bhau. The Nizam left Poona and marching towards the Jagirs of Raja Ramchandra in Panch Mahals devastated them as a punishment for his seditious activities. In the beginning of the rainy season on the 14th Zil-Hajj 1175 A.H. (6th July, 1762 A.D.) Nizam Ali

Khan entered the Fort of Bidar alone with Salabat Jung. The same day he imprisoned Salabat Jung in the fort of Bidar. Salabat Jung remained in prison for a period of one year, three months and six days and after this book was written died on Thursday, the 20th Rabi-ul-Awwal 1177 A.H. (15th September, 1763).

Bilgrami next deals with the career of Nizam Ali Khan. He says that Nizam Ali Khan appointed Raja Pratapwant, a Brahmin from Sangamner, as his Prime Minister. After the treaty of 6th Jumadi-us-Sani 1175 A.H. (2nd January, 1762 A.D.) Raghunath Rao and Madhav Rao camped at Poona. During this period, there was a dispute between the two. The advisers of Madhav Rao wanted to imprison Raghunath Rao. Hearing of this Raghunath Rao fled from Poona towards Nasik on the 3rd of Safar 1176 A.H. (24th August, 1762 A.D.). Mohamed Murad Khan Bahadur of Aurangabad was a prominent officer of Nizam Ali Khan and had been appointed by him to conciliate the Marathas. He was staying in Aurangabad. When he heard that Raghunath Rao had come out, he went from Aurangabad with troops on the 14th of Safar (4th September, 1762 A.D.) towards Nasik and met Raghunath Rao. Raghunath Rao was at this time in great distress and in poor circumstances. He welcomed the arrival of Mohamed Muradkhan. He received him with great honour. The chiefs of the Marathas felt from the arrival of Mohamed Muradkhan that Asaf Jah (Nizam Ali Khan) was on the side of Raghunath Rao. Many of them deserted Madhav Rao and joined Raghunath Rao. Due to this, Raghunath Rao collected a considerable force. He hurried from Aurangabad towards Ahmednagar. Madhav Rao too advanced from Poona with his troops. On the 25th of Rabi-us-Sani (11th November, 1762 A.D.) Madhav Rao was defeated and retired from the field. Desiring peace he presented himself the next day before his uncle Raghunath Rao. Nawab Asaf Jah (Nizam Ali Khan) had started from Bidar to the help of Raghunath Rao and arrived near Navargaon. When the army of Nizam Ali Khan reached Pedgaon, Raghunath Rao went to that place and on the 10th of Jumadi-al-Anwal (27th November 1762), Nizam Ali Khan and Raghunath Rao met and entertained each other. In return, for the support received, Raghunath Rao handed over a territory with an income of 50 lakhs of rupees together with the forts of Daulatabad. The necessary documents were prepared and were handed over to the Vakil of the Nizam.

As this important event had been achieved due to the efforts of Mohamed Muradkhan, Raja Pratapwant became jealous. Even before the territory and fort of Daulatabad had been taken possession of, the peace agreement was shattered by him (Pratapwant). He persuaded Asaf Jah that Raghunath Rao should be dislodged from his position. He persuaded Janoji, son of Raghuji Bhosle, to join the Nizam, holding out the promise that he would be given the place of Raghunath Rao. On the 14th of Shaaban (28th February 1763 A.D.) Nasir-ul-Mulk, the sixth son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had joined the Marathas, returned disappointed at the lack of consideration shown by them. The troops of the Nizam now turned towards the pursuit of Raghunath Rao. With 30,000 troops he approached Aurangabad and demanded heavy ransom from its inhabitants. Mutamanul Mulk (Dargah Quli Khan Salabat Jung) the Governor of Aurangabad, inspite of a small number of force and equipment at his disposal, made proper arrangements for the defence of the town. He entrusted the defence of the city to Himmat Khan, the Kotwal of the city and uterine brother of Mohamed Murad Khan and other officers and citizens of Aurangabad. He purposely adopted delaying tactics in peace negotiations with Raghunath Rao in the expectation of arrival of aid from the Nizam. Raghunath Rao having understood the tactics of the governor decided to capture the city. He arranged for the scaling of ladders. On the 20th of Shaaban (6th March 1763 A.D.) just at the time of sunrise his army began to plunder the suburbs outside the city walls. Raghunath Rao himself took his stand towards the northern part of the city while his army directed scaling ladders at the foot of the walls. They brought elephants opposite the walls and some of them succeeded in getting inside. They wanted to force the gate situated in the garden of the Quila Ark (Inner fort) Himmat Khan Bahadur and Mirza Mohamed Baqar Khan and on-lookers from the city showered bullets and stones and other material in such large numbers that many of the assailants were thrown down to the foot of the walls. On the other side, also many people were killed or wounded by the citizens. In the heat of the battle a bullet struck the driver of Raghunath Rao's elephant. This decided the fate of the battle. Raghunath Rao confused and disappointed, withdrew from the battle and on hearing the news of the arrival of Nizam Ali Khan fled towards Baglan. The Nizam's army entered Aurangabad on the 26th of Shaaban (12th March 1763 A.D.). Since the Marathas

had the intention of devastating Berar, the Nizam made forced marches and reached Balapur on the 1st of Ramzan (16th March 1763 A.D.) and frustrated their plans. The enemy returned and passing near the town of Aurangabad marched rapidly towards Hyderabad. The Nizam too returned and pursued them upto the river Godavari. At this place, it was so decided that instead of pursuing the enemy it would be better to devastate his territory. Accordingly, the Nizam, giving up the pursuit, turned towards Poona and after crossing the passes at Ahmednagar, he spread his army in every direction to devastate the territory of the enemy. He himself arrived within 2 kos of Poona and camped there. The residents of Poona had already fled to the neighbouring forts and fortified places.

The army of Islam burnt down and razed to the ground all the buildings of the city of Poona. The other forces of the army did not leave any stone unturned in destroying thoroughly the area in Poona and Konkan. God be praised! During the reign of Balaji and Bhau, from the boundaries of the Deccan to Lahore, who had the power to harm them? And now their properties and possessions were conquered and their buildings which had been constructed at a cost of lacs of rupees were burnt down by the fire of the wrath of the God. Mir Aulad Mohamed Zaka (nephew of Bilgrami) has rendered the following chronogram:

Asaf Jah II, as glorious as Soloman;
Totally burnt down the Habitations of the Brahmin Tribe,
Hear its date from the Brilliant wit of Zaka
Forces of Islam burnt Poona.

Raghunath Rao reached Hyderabad and made an attack on the city on the 1st of Zilqaad. Shujauddawlah Bahadur Dilkhan of Aurangabad who was the Governor of the city of Hyderabad, collected a good force and made proper arrangements for the defence of the city. He repelled attacks, by firing guns and shooting arrows as a result of which large number of the enemy were killed. Raghunath Rao had to return without achieving his aim.

Bilgrami has given an account of the battle of Panipat while noticing the biography of Ahmadshah Durani. The biography of Ahmadshah Durani covers pages from 97 to 109 and 112 to 116. After recounting the battle of Panipat, Bilgrami says that 5 months and 13 days after this disastrous defeat Balaji died of a great sense

of frustration. He continues, "a few days before the destruction of the forces of Bhau, Balaji on the advice of a Brahmin named Vasudeo Dikshit, who resided in Aurangabad confiscated the lands and vatans of village officers and others and farmed them out. Due to this a considerable income found its way to the Maratha treasury. This step of confiscation of vatans was not to end well. Even before this system of confiscation had been made applicable to all the Parganas, Almighty God freed poor people from the clutches of this man's (Balaji's) hands. What happened was that a few days previous to this (battle of Panipat) I had recommended the case of a few Muslims to one of the officers of Balaji. He replied that the Muslims had no support at the Court of Balaji and nobody took any notice of them. In reply to this letter, Bilgrami says, he wrote the following :

"Almighty God has bestowed on Balaji Government over the people. Sovereignty is the expression of Divinity and therefore Almighty God takes under his kind protection all good and bad persons. It is incumbent on a ruler that he should have the protection of the people under him in view. It is nearly 700 years that Muslim rulers occupied India. They have given consideration to the Muslims and Hindus under them, and have bestowed advantages to both the communities according to their capacities. Of course, because of the bonds of faith the Muslims have been favoured more than the Hindus. But Hindus have not been deprived of consideration. The most prejudiced Muslim Ruler has been Aurangzeb; still his Court was full of Hindu Rajas and officers and statesmen. Balaji and Bhau and their followers are proud of their power and say that they would free Deccan and Northern India from the hands of the Muslims. There is no reason to boast of this. It has not happened previously that a territory under the Muslim rulers has passed into the hands of Hindu Rajas which they are bringing under their rule. Nor have the Hindus been able to advance towards Kabul and occupy Muslim territory. On the other hand Muslims have advanced from Iran and Turan and with the strength of their sword have occupied India and have followed the tradition of Ashwamedh performed by Yudhisthir. During the last 1200 years no army from India, whether belonging to Hindu Rajas or to the Muslim rulers, ever invaded the Muslim countries. The armies of Shahajahan, however, advanced from India and, having arrived in the

limits of Khurasan captured Balkh and Badakshan from Nazar Mohmed Khan. But these armies of Shah Jahan consisted of men, among whom many belonged to those Muslim countries only, or were the descendants of men born in Muslim countries. One of the reasons why Indian armies did not go out of India towards Muslim countries is that the Almighty God has created strong barriers between these Muslim countries and India, a barrier stronger than the line supposed to have been drawn by Alexander the Great. Kabul and the area around is the land of snow. Men and cattle from India are not able to withstand the icy cold winds of that area. That is why it is difficult for the people of India to capture and occupy the Muslim Countries of that area. On the other hand, it is easier for the men of those countries to occupy India as they can come from the cold country into a tropical climate. Although the climate of the tropical country of India does not agree with these people from the cold countries, still it is not so difficult as residing in a cold country would be to the people of India. Another strong reason is that the wealth that is in India is not to be found in any of those countries. The very surplus of wealth in India has kept the people of this country away from practising the art of warfare. It has plunged them in a life of ease and luxury. The nature of the people of Muslim countries like Khurasan and Turan is exactly opposite. The reason why there is so much wealth in India is that the country is fertile, well-irrigated and populous. It has a number of mines of gold, silver and other metals. The articles available in India of food and other necessities are plentiful. Every year ships which leave ports in India and go to the other countries take a number of goods of various description with them and in return bring various goods from the other countries. Ships coming from other countries take goods from this country in return for the goods brought. Shaikh Abdul Hamid Lahori, the author of *Shahajahan Nama* has written that the revenue of Iran is 7 lakhs *Noman* only which is equivalent to Rs. 2 crores and 50 lakhs. On the other hand, the income of each of the provinces of Akbarabad, Delhi, Lahore is approximately Rs. 2 crores and 50 lakhs. The Prime Minister of Iran called Itmaduddowlah, gets Rs. 1 lakh annually as his salary. The Com-mand-in-Chief gets Rs. 1 lakh. The other officers get proportionate salaries. On the other hand, during the reign of Shah Jahan, a Mansabdar of 7,000 used to get Rs. 30 lakhs which is

equivalent to 1 lakh Tuman of Iraq. The income of Yaminud-dawlah Asaf Jah (Asaf Khan) father of Mumtaz Mahal was Rs. 50 lakhs. In short, the people of those Muslim Countries have always proved victorious. Some of the rulers have marched from their countries to India like Mohmed Gazanvi, Shahabuddin Ghorī, Taimur, Babar, Nadir Shah and others. Although so many rulers came out from these countries Islam is still strong in those countries of Arabs, Turks and Iran and Turan. There has been no danger to it. It is certain that strong men will come from these countries and will create convulsions in India. Power and rule has come at a little cost to him (Balaji). It should be his duty to promote public welfare and show consideration to Muslims and Hindus. I have witnessed the fact that people are endowed with great qualities and become distinguished in various fields. After their death if their descendants are of equal capacity, then, wealth continues in their families otherwise decline sets in. I have never seen any family of commons or nobles where wealth and splendour has been lasting nor have I seen qualities of saintliness continuing long among descendants of saints and scholars., This also applies to families of man of arts and industries.

Bilgrami says that when he wrote this letter there was no news whatsoever of the impending arrival of Ahmedshah Durani in India. It was just a word of advice which Bilgrami had written. But God Almighty heard his words in a few days after writing this letter. God sent Admedshah Durani and brought about the destruction of Marathas at the hands of the armies of Islam. The rest of the narrative deals with the battle of Panipat and Ahmedshah's return to his country.

We come to the end of the narrative of Bilgrami. It was not thought necessary to refer to the Maratha activities in the north narrated by him. Emphasis was placed mainly on the accounts of the Nizams and their relations with Marathas. In assessing the importance of Bilgrami's account, we should not forget that he was primarily a scholar, poet and critic. He was not a historian. It would not be correct to search for correct historical facts in his work. His is a broad narrative mainly giving the impression of a scholar and critic and an ardent observer of contemporary events. To mention a few of his lapses in the narration of the Maratha-Nizam Relations, it may be pointed out as follows:

(1) He does not mention the campaign of Palkhed (1728) in which Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to the demands made by Bajirao.

(2) In 1751 Salabat Jung accompanied by Ramdas and Bussy invaded the territory of the Marathas. While Bilgrami narrates the events leading to the night attack led by the French on the Marathas on the day of the eclipse of the Moon, he is silent about a counter-attack which the Marathas led against the Nizam at Mandavgan only a few days later.

(3) In the events which led to the campaign of Sindkhed (1757-58) Bilgrami refrains from mentioning the discreditable role played by his friend Shah Navaz Khan, the Prime Minister in inviting the Marathas to his side against the Nizam. It may be mentioned that in his edition of Masir-ul-Umara of which Shah Navaz Khan was the author, Bilgrami has written a long biography of Shah Navaz Khan as a preface to the work. There too he has been silent about the role of Shah Navaz Khan in bringing about the Maratha attack on the Nizam in 1757-58.

(4) He is completely silent about the battle of Rakshasbhuvan (August 1763) in which the Peshwa Madhav Rao won a signal victory over the Nizam. The silence is not understandable as in the book he mentions the death of Salabat Jung in September 1763, an event which took place a few weeks after the battle of Rakshasbhuvan.

While, as remarked above, historical accuracy need not be searched for in the Khajana-i-Amira what is of interest is the general assessment of Maratha activities which Bilgrami has made in the work. He has rightly pointed out that the introduction of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was an event portending great evil to the Moghul Empire. Bilgrami had not failed to notice that with the rise of the Peshwas the old Maratha families were reduced to insignificance. Bilgrami's assessment of the character of the Brahmins who now found themselves in possession of power will be found to be amusing and instructive. He has analysed the causes of the decline of the Muslims in India and has come to the conclusion that it was the love of ease and luxury, lack of exertion and failure to adopt the guerrilla tactics of the Marathas which was the cause of the decline of the Muslims. He marvels at the advent of the Marathas in Northern India although he says it had always been the practice for the rulers of the

North to conquer the Deccan and not for the Southern Powers to march to the North. The letter which he wrote to an Officer under the Peshwa Nanasaheb is both instructive and revealing. The sense of exultation, which Bilgrami feels when Ahmedshah Abdali defeated the Marathas at Panipat in 1761 A.D. and when the Nizam burnt the city of Poona in 1763 A.D. is very much apparent in the book. Similarly, his criticism of Ibrahim Khan Gardi who went over to the Marathas and therefore met what he considers a just punishment at Panipat, his lament at the defeat of the Nizam at the battle of Udgir and the loss of extensive territory to the Marathas is revealing. Since Bilgrami was in the Deccan from 1740 onwards till the time of his death in 1785 residing in Aurangabad he was a very close student of contemporary events. The work *Khajana-i-Amira* can therefore be considered as one of the important sources for the history of the 18th century of Deccan.

The Proposal of a Federal Railway Authority in the Government of India Act, 1935

BY

DR. AMBA PRASAD,

Reader in History, Delhi University

The Federal Railway Authority as contemplated in the Act of 1935 has many lessons for the future, and studied in its historical perspective, the proposed Authority gives us an insight into the manner of working of railway administration which led to the desire for a semi-autonomous corporation. Shorn of its political implications, the Authority may very well be found to be a good instrument for the management of a public enterprise. The principles are sound, the heart is good. The original statute of the Damodar Valley Corporation contained portions which were, word for word, a copy of the constitution of the Federal Railway Authority, except that, for the Governor General, Central Government was substituted. The future constitution of a suitable Railway Authority will have to borrow much from the Act of 1935.

A study of the proposed Federal Railway Authority is undertaken with the two fold object of critically analysing what belongs to the historical domain and to throw light on what might be a source of guidance and inspiration for the future.

A. *Evolution of the idea*

After the adoption of the policy of state-management of Indian Railways in 1924, there was a section of British opinion in England and India which did not feel quite happy about the way in which the state-management was being introduced. The Legislative Assembly, three quarters of which were members elected by people's vote under the Government of India Act, 1919, had acquired considerable control over Railway policy and administration, through interpellations, budget discussions and resolutions. The criticisms of the Assembly served the purpose of ventilation of grievances but could not go beyond that as there was no responsible executive. It was feared that when more powers were transferr-

ed to the Assembly by making railways a subject under the control of a responsible minister, political influences would dominate the working of railways. This was thought to be dangerous not only to the efficient and economical working of the railways but also to the interests of the British in India. The latter motive proved so strong that the provision for the Federal Railway Authority was hedged in by numerous safeguards. Much credit is due to those who took the initiative in proposing a semi-autonomous corporation for the future management of Indian Railways, for the Government was known for its lack of initiative.

The first views on the question of the future administration of Indian Railways were expressed by the Govt. of India in their despatch of September 20, 1930. It is a short document with six clauses.

The Despatch begins with a statement that there was a constant demand on the part of those who desire freedom to develop Indian industry and commerce on national lines for national control over railways. "In our view the demand is one which should be met as far as possible,"¹ adds the Despatch. But two limitations are suggested: — (1) The parliament must retain control over certain parts of railway administration and (2) certain conditions must be satisfied, such as the necessity of separation of commercial management from the direction of policy. Four purposes are named for which the British parliament must retain control: Defence, Finance, recruitment of the services and the interest of the Anglo-Indian Community. Defence includes not only the operation of strategic lines on the frontier but control over the main trunk lines for maintaining internal order and security. Control over Finance was to be given to British Parliament because loans now invested in the railways were largely raised in Great Britain on the security of the whole of the revenues of the Government of India and secondly, the raising of capital for railway development must react, and be dependent upon the general credit of the Government of India. The Secretary of State must safeguard the interests of the senior officers and maintain a percentage of Europeans in railway service, not on grounds of efficiency or economy but on military grounds. Then reference is made to the

1. *Government of India Despatch*, 20th Sept., 1930, para. 191.

obligation of Parliament to the loyal communities of India. "In view of the history of the Anglo-Indian community, a special obligation, we think, rests upon Parliament to ensure the interests of the community," said the Despatch.²

The Government apprehended the control which, in future, might be exercised by the Legislature and popular Ministers and stressed the necessity of separating the functions of determining broad questions of policy to be entrusted to the Legislature from the functions of commercial management to be vested in a different authority.

The Despatch also lays down the outlines of a scheme of Statutory Authority to be created for the future administration of Indian Railways. The Authority should be set up by a Parliamentary Statute. From the outset the Authority should include Indian members. Statutory provisions were considered desirable in respect of the principles according to which the railways should be administered, specially on the financial side. "The control of policy in all important matters would remain with the Government of India and the Central Legislature, but it would be important to leave the Statutory Authority free to act without interference in the detailed arrangements it might make to carry out the policies laid down."³

The Despatch lays down the method of providing for the Statutory Authority in the Constitution on the South African precedent; a section in the Government of India Act could be inserted establishing the Authority and detailed provisions could be included in rules made under the Act. These rules might be subject to modifications by the Indian Legislature after a lapse of some period.

1. *Federal Structure Sub-Committee Report, January, 1931:*

The Round Table Conference did not attach any importance to the railways and the subject was not fully discussed. However, in the Report submitted by the Federal Structure Sub-Com-

2. *Ibid.*, para. 192.

3. *Ibid.*, para. 194.

mittee of which Lord Sankey, Lord Chancellor was the Chairman, the following recommendation appeared :

"In this connection the Sub-Committee take note of the proposal that a Statutory Railway Authority should be established and are of opinion that this should be done, if after expert examination this course seems desirable."⁴

Objection was taken to this short paragraph in the Report on the ground that it was without a full discussion in that Committee and without the consent of all the members.⁵ When the Draft Report of the Committee was under discussion, several members interested in the subject, protested strongly against its incorporation into the Report. Mr. Jinnah said : "I do not think that that subject was at all discussed, and yet I find it in the Report." Rt. Hon. Mr. S. Sastri, agreeing with Mr. Jinnah, remarked, "I think it was very necessary to safeguard the rights of the Legislative Assembly even upon railway administration, and I should think it was a wrong provision to make that a Statutory Authority should be established."⁷ Sardar Ujjal Singh was astonished at the paragraph in the Report. Mr. Jayakar also opposed it. The Maharaja of Bikaner, to whom were attributed a number of remarks about the Statutory Railway Authority during the conference, disclaimed his responsibility in these words, "I never used the words 'Statutory Authority', I referred to the Railway Board exercising the function it does now."⁸

In spite of those protests, the above paragraph remained as the recorded opinion of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee.

2. *Expert Enquiry by Brigadier-General Hammond, 1931.*

The 'Expert Examination' mentioned in the Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee was entrusted to Brigadier-General F. D. Hammond who had no knowledge of India or her railways. He said : "Before entering on this task I wish to state

4. *Federal Structure Sub-Committee Report*, para. 9.

5. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, 21st Feb., 1934; Vol. II, p. 1119.

6. Mr. Jinnah. *First R.T.C. Proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee*, Vol. I, 1931, p. 598.

7. Mr. Sastri, *op.cit.*, p. 601.

8. Maharaja of Bikaner, *op.cit.*, p. 614.

that I have no claim to personal knowledge or experience of Indian railways or of Indian conditions." After some study he submitted a Memorandum marked confidential, containing 117 paragraphs of a wide scope dealing with the organisation of the railways in Canada, South Africa, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia, France, United States of America, England and the Argentine Republic. On the basis of the experience of the railway administration in these countries, he suggested some broad principles for the future management of Indian Railways.

A brief summary of his main recommendations will be useful for our purpose because this document influenced the ideas of the Government of India and Parliament on the form to be given to future railway administration.

(i) He emphasised the necessity of complete separation of railway finance from the general finance of the country.

(ii) He stressed a system of administration which would leave to the Central Legislature the control of broad questions of policy, subject to such authority as it may be considered necessary to give to the Governor-General in matters in which the British Parliament will continue to be interested and which would hand over the commercial management to a 'New Board' "to be interposed between legislation and actual operation."¹⁰

(iii) He suggested that the main lines of policy which the Legislature would control could be laid down in advance in a statute of Parliament. In his view the entire control over finance should be vested in Parliament. The function of the Indian Government and the Legislature would be to "observe that this policy was being followed and to modify it as might be thought appropriate."¹¹ It is a little difficult to understand how this would be consistent with the checks which the Governor-General could impose.

(iv) "The best form for the New Board would, I think, be that of a Public Utility Corporation on the lines of the London Passenger Transport Board or the Central Electricity Board."¹²

9. Hammond, *Memorandum on the Statutory Control of Railways*, para. 104.

10. *Ibid.*, paras. 107, 111.

11. *Ibid.*, para. 111.

12. *Ibid.*, para. 115.

It is in this context that Hammond made a number of useful suggestions; namely, the institution of a public utility corporation, and the representation of Indian commercial, industrial, agricultural and local interests on it.

The powers of the Board were to be "subject to such limitations as it might be considered necessary to retain in the hands of the Governor-General to safeguard the matters in which Parliament is interested as indicated in the Despatch of the Government of India."¹³ These were to be as mentioned before, Defence, Finance, the recruitment of services and the interests of the Anglo-Indian Community. The Board's powers of appointment would be subject to the approval of the Governor-General. The Board's powers were thus to be entirely circumscribed.

The control of the Legislature was to be similarly curtailed. It would have no control over finance at all. If the Board was able to meet its capital expenditure out of its surplus funds, there was no need to seek the approval of the Legislature except in the case of the construction of a new line. The Legislature could, however, discuss the annual report and accounts and review the railway policy on the contribution from the Railways to the General Budget as well as proposals for borrowing.

(v) A noteworthy recommendation was the creation of a Railway Rates Tribunal¹⁴ of at least five members with a judge or lawyer of high standing as its President. The Tribunal was to be given threefold powers: full power to fix maxima and minima rates and fares, the right of hearing complaints and of controlling the questions of safety. Hammond claimed for the Tribunal advantages of freedom from political interference and the likelihood of the Indian States easily accepting its authority over rates and fares and supported his proposal by the example of Inter-State Commerce Commission in U.S.A. and the Board of Railway Commissioners in Canada.

3. *Consultative Committee in India, March, 1932.*

The Memorandum of General Hammond was received in India and circulated to members of a Committee called the Consulta-

13. *Ibid.*, para. 114.

14. *Ibid.*, paras. 108, 109, 110.

tive Committee sitting in Delhi under the chairmanship of the Governor-General in connection with the Round Table Conference. It declared that "a clause be inserted in the constitution Act that there shall be a Statutory Railway Board for the administration of the Railways, while the functions, composition and powers of the Board would be determined by an Act of the Federal Legislature." Two members of the Committee dissenting urged that the Act should itself contain provisions embodying General Hammond's principal recommendations.

4. *Indian Opposition to the Statutory Railway Authority.*

Meanwhile the suspicions of the Indians were growing and when the Railway Budget was under consideration in March, 1932, in the Legislature, the question of the future constitution of the Railway Board was raised. A confidential circular issued by Mr. (later Sir) Edward Benthall on behalf of the Europeans, declared that as far as possible the railways and ports must be removed from political control and that an independent Statutory Railway Board might be created. This made the Assembly members very suspicious of the designs of the Europeans and the Government and they recorded their protest against any steps being taken towards the creation of such an independent Authority. Sir Senmukham Chetty spoke against the manner in which this important question was being disposed of. Mr. B. Das was most critical. He thought that "the whole British Empire was in conspiracy to take away the control of the railways from the Indian Legislature." He warned that if a Statutory Board was established, "all money would go to England and all British stores would be purchased at the expense of Indian Industries."¹⁵

5. *The White Paper Proposals, March, 1933.*

Then came the White Paper in March, 1933. It contained only one paragraph about railways, suggesting the creation of a "Statutory Board," so composed and with such powers as will ensure that it is in a position to perform its duties upon business principles and without being subject to political interference.¹⁶

15. *Leg. Assembly Debates*, 3rd & 4th March, 1932, Vol. II, pp. 1462-1504, 1535-1578.

16. *White Paper Proposals*, para. 74.
 J. 13

6. *Proposals of the London Committee of June, 1933.*

The Secretary of State, in consultation with the Government of India, prepared a scheme in order to give effect to the principles enunciated in the White Paper. This scheme was placed for consideration before a Committee of Twenty-two appointed by him and sitting in London. The Committee contained seven members of the Indian Legislature who went to England specially for this purpose, five of the delegates to the Joint Select Committees, of whom two were representatives of the Indian States, four eminent railway experts, two with special knowledge of Indian railways; while the remaining six possessed wide administrative, financial and commercial experience. The proposals of the Committee called "Sketch proposals for the future Administration of Indian Railways" which were arrived at after much thought and discussion, are summarised below :

(i) The Federal Government and the Legislature would control the general policy of the railways; subject to this control, the administration was to be entrusted to a Railway Authority.

(ii) It was to consist of seven members chosen from persons possessing special knowledge of commerce, industry, agriculture or finance and having had extensive administrative experience.¹⁷ They were to be appointed by the Governor-General; 'not more than three out of the seven were to be appointed by him in his discretion, the remaining four being appointed by him on the advice of the Federal Ministry. The President was to be appointed by him in his discretion, from among the members of the Authority.'

There was a division in the Committee on the method of appointment. The prevailing view was as is given above and the alternative view was that all the members including the President should be appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Federal Government. All the members of the Indian Legislature except Mr. Anklesaria supported this view.¹⁸ There was also a vague suggestion for statutory reservation of seats for the Muslims and Europeans, but it was turned down.

17. Mr. N. M. Joshie would add knowledge of public affairs, *Sketch Proposals*, para. 2.

18. *Ibid.*

(iii) The Minister responsible for Transport and Communication should have the right to convene a meeting of the Railway Authority for the purpose of discussing matters of policy or questions of public interest, and at such meetings he should preside. He would further have the right to direct by order the Railway Authority to give effect to the decisions of the Federal Government and the Legislature on matters of policy and it would be obligatory on the Railway Authority to give effect to such decisions. The Minister, if he saw fit, could attend the meetings of the Authority or be represented thereat, but in neither case, would he possess the right to vote.

(iv) No Minister or member of the Federal Legislature or any other Legislature in India would be eligible to hold office as a member of the Authority till one year elapsed after he had surrendered his office or seat, nor would any person be appointed as a Member of the Authority who had been a servant of the Crown in India, a railway official in India, or had personally held railway contracts or had been concerned in the management of the Companies holding some contract, within one year of his relinquishment of office or the termination of the contract as the case might be.

(v) The term of appointment would be five years and members would be eligible for reappointment. There was again a division on the question of wholetime appointment. The majority of the members of the Assembly wanted that the members should be whole-time, while other members thought that the Committee's recommendation did not exclude the appointment of whole-time members, "should experience prove this course to be necessary."¹⁹

Their emoluments would be fixed by the Governor-General in his discretion after consultation with the Federal Government, the emoluments of the members of the first Authority being fixed in the Statute.²⁰ Any member of the Authority might be removed from office by the Governor-General in his discretion if, in his opinion, after consultation with the Federal Government, there was sufficient cause for such action.

¹⁹ Ibid., foot note 3, para. 3.

²⁰ Mr. Joshie and Mr. Ranga Iyer hold that "in his discretion after consultation with" should read, "on the advice of" Ibid., foot note 4, para 2.

(vi) At the head of the railway executive there would be a Chief Commissioner who would be appointed by the Railway Authority subject to the confirmation of the Governor-General. A financial Commissioner would be appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Federal Government. The Railway Authority might on the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner appoint additional Commissioners who must be chosen for their knowledge of the working of Railways.

(vii) The Railway Authority would be guided by business principles, due regard being paid to the interests of agriculture, industry and the general public and to defence requirements; and the surplus of railway earnings over all charges was to be disposed of in such a manner as might be determined from time to time by the Federal Government under the scheme of quinquennial apportionment.

(viii) The revenue estimates of the Railway Authority would be submitted to the Legislature annually, but these would not be subject to vote unless a contribution was made from Government Revenues, whereas programmes for capital expenditure would have to be voted by the Federal Legislature, unless the Railway Authority was given full authority to incur capital expenditure subject to prescribed conditions.

The Railway Authority would at all times furnish to the Federal Government with such information as that Government might desire and would publish an Annual Report and Annual Accounts.

7. *Joint Parliamentary Select Committee on Statutory Railway Authority, 1933-34.*

After the White Paper Proposals and the London Committee Proposals, the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee made certain recommendations on the future organisation of Indian Railways. The Committee consisted of thirty-two members of Parliament, sixteen from each House and representing all the parties. In addition, there were seven delegates from Indian States and twenty-one from British India. The Indian delegates had no right to vote or sign, nor to submit any report to Parliament. They were empowered to hold discussions and examine witnesses. Besides, a number of memoranda were submitted by the Indian Delegation on the Proposals of the White Paper. The Secretary

of State also put up before the Committee several memoranda including one on Indian Railways.

The Secretary of State expressed his great satisfaction at the measure of agreement displayed by the London Committee with his own scheme. In his Memorandum before the Joint Select Committee, he laid stress on three points arising out of the Sketch Proposals.

(i) At least three members of the Railway Authority must be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion and "I would be unwilling to go further than to allow four out of the seven members of the Railway Authority to be appointed by the Federal Government,"²¹ for otherwise the fundamental principle that the Authority should be free from political influence would be jeopardized. He was also against the establishment of the Authority on a communal basis.

(ii) The Memorandum reiterated the governing principle laid down in paragraph (1) to the Sketch Proposals that railway policy has to be controlled by the Federal Government and the Legislature subject to the limitation that in the field of his special responsibilities with regard to Defence and Services, the Governor-General would be in a position to give directions to the Railway Authority.

(iii) He was anxious "to preserve in the Constitution Act the existing rights which the Railway Companies possessed under contracts entered into with the Secretary of State".²²

A number of distinguished Indians²³ and associations had also submitted their Memoranda. Their point of view ran contrary to that of the Secretary of State regarding the three points mentioned above. They wanted to have Indian Legislature lay down the constitution of the Authority, to have all members of the Authority appointed on the advice of the Federal Minister and to give the Governor-General power to use the railway only for the purpose of Defence which was a reserved subject.²⁴

21. Secretary of State's Memorandum on Indian Railways, J.P.C. Records, Vol. III, para 2.

22. Ibid., para. 5, p. 45.

23. Memorandum of Sir Tej Bahadur, J.P.C. Records, Vol. VIII, para. 53.

24. See particularly the British Indian Delegation Memorandum J.P.C. Records, Vol. III, page 216.

The Parliamentary Select Committee, as was expected, supported the Secretary of State's view and in their Report which came out in November, 1934, they laid emphasis on conditions which tightened British control.

The Committee regarded the proposals of the London Committee as a suitable basis for the administration of Indian Railways subject to two conditions to which they attached great importance, namely, (a) that no less than three of the seven members of the proposed Authority should be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion and (b) that the Authority should not be constituted on a communal basis.²⁵

With regard to the question whether the statutory basis for the new Railway Authority should be provided by the Constitution Act or by Indian Legislature, the Committee found, "no objection to the necessary step being taken to this end in India", but they urged that the governing principles be laid down in the constitution itself. These principles included not only the extent of control of the Federal Government and the Indian Legislature over the Railway Authority, but other details also.²⁶

The Committee was very particular about the powers of the Governor-General in the exercise of his special responsibilities. It was proposed that this power should extend to the giving of directions to the Railway Authority; and in the event of the breakdown of the Constitution, to assuming to himself the powers vested in the Authority.

In this connection it is necessary to mention a redeeming feature of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's proceedings. Major Attlee submitted a draft as a Labour amendment to the J. P. C. Proposals. He proposed two things, namely, that the Statutory Railway Board should be set up by the Central Indian Legislature to whom it should be responsible and that the Federal Minister responsible for Transport should be the ex-officio Chairman of the Railway Authority. These proposals were, however, not accepted.

25. *Proceedings of the J.P.C.*, Vol. I, Part II, para. 369.

26. *Ibid.*, para. 370(f).

8. *Government of India Act, 1935.*

The Joint Parliamentary Committee Report was approved of by both Houses of Parliament. The Government of India Bill was framed in strict accordance with the Report and was introduced on the 5th February, 1935 and finally received the Royal assent on 2nd August, 1936. Railway matters were dealt with in Part VIII and Schedule VIII of the Act.

9. *Conclusion.*

It is clear that the idea of a statutory Railway Authority which took its birth in the Government of India Despatch of 1930, was thrashed out during the course of five years and took its final shape in the Government of India Act, 1935. A study of its development leads to two conclusions. First, Indian opinion was consulted but was ignored in a matter affecting the future of an important Public Utility Service. Second, though powers of Indian Legislature over the railways were progressively curtailed on grounds of the fear of political interference, the powers of bureaucracy were not so curtailed.

Mr. Attlee said: "In fact, the one thing which seems to be left out of the Bill is the Indian people. In every clause throughout the Bill, there is a mistrust of the Indian people".

B. *Statutory Character of the Federal Railway Authority*

One fundamental question which figured so prominently in the discussion leading to the constitution of the Railway Authority was whether it should be provided by the Constitution Act or be left to be determined by an Act of the Indian Legislature. It was this issue over which there was a great cleavage of opinion between Indian representatives and British spokesmen in the Joint Parliamentary Committee and it was a matter to which Indian opinion was never reconciled.

The Joint Select Committee of the Parliament had four courses open to it: 27

27. *Secretary of State's Memorandum on Indian Railways; J.P.C. Record, Vol. III, page 41.*

(i) The Constitution Act might lay down the general principles on which legislation should be based, it being left to the new Indian Legislature to legislate in detail in conformity with these principles. This was suggested by the Government of India Despatch of 1930. This course would have been in accordance with the precedent of South Africa. The Constitution of 1909 laid down in seven clauses the general principles of the constitution of a Railway and Harbour Board, while details were worked out by the South African Parliament, which, in 1916, considerably supplemented the early provisions. It would also have satisfied the demand of the Consultative Committee, the British Indian Delegation to J.P.C. and the various associations and groups which submitted their memoranda to the J.P.C.

(ii) An Act might be passed in the present legislature and the necessary adaptation to the new constitution made in the constitution Act itself.

(iii) The matter might be left entirely to the new Indian Legislature with a reservation that the approval of the Governor-General, in his discretion, would be required to the introduction of the original Bill, or of any amending Bill.

(iv) The constitution Act might contain provisions complete in all details.

The Committee adopted the last course with a mixture of the (iii) so that the Government of India Act, 1935 put down the subject of railways in two parts; Part VIII and Schedule VIII. Part VIII could not be amended by an act of the Indian Legislature so long as the Statute of Westminster did not apply to India. This was the rigid part amendable only by British Parliament. The Eighth Schedule could be amended by the Indian Legislature subject to the previous consent of the Governor-General in his discretion. This proviso was laid down in clause 182(2) of part VIII constituting the Authority.²⁸ Part VIII had been framed in accordance with the proposals of the London Committee, Secretary of State's Memorandum and Joint Parliamentary Committee recommendations, as amended and supplemented, during the progress of the Bill through Parliament. Its provisions were so wide in scope and so fundamental in their nature that nothing

28. *Government of India Act, 1935, clause 182(2).*

important had been left to the Indian legislature. There were nineteen clauses (181-191) some of which had several sub-paragraphs, whereas the South African Act embodied only seven clauses (125-131) on railways. They covered every question of detail viz., executive authority to be exercised by the Federal Railway Authority, directions and principles to be observed by it, conduct of business between Railway Authority and Federal Government, acquisition and sale of land, contracts and working agreements, finance of the Authority, provisions as to certain obligations of the Authority, investment of funds of the Authority, certain provisions as to certain existing funds, rates and fares, bills and amendments for regulating fares and rates, obligations of Railway Authority and Federated States to each other, appeal to Railway Tribunal from certain directions of Railway Authority, construction and reconstruction of railways, rights of railway companies in respect of arbitration under contract, official duties of Indian companies and so on. No clear principle had been observed in demarcating the basic provisions in the constitution and the amendable provisions.

The Eighth Schedule laid down the qualifications and terms of appointment of the members of the Authority, the conduct of its business, its liability to income tax and appointment and duties of the Chief Commissioner and Financial Commissioner. As regards appointment there was a reservation that not less than three out of the seven members of the Authority shall be persons appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, that the Governor-General in his discretion shall appoint a member of the Authority to be its president.²⁹

The right of the Indian Legislature to amend or supplement the Schedule was subject to the prior consent of the Governor-General. This deprived it of whatever control it had been given over the Authority, for initiative in such legislation passed to the Governor-General who would not act "in his individual judgment" (in which case he must consult the Ministry though he might not follow its advice) but would act "in his discretion" that is, the initiative would be his, the responsibility was his and he might or might not consult the Ministry. During the debate on this

²⁹. *Ibid.*, clause 182(1).
 J. 14

proviso in the House of Commons, Sir Charles Brown moved an amendment for its exclusion from the Bill, but his amendment was defeated. Major Attlee (now Lord Attlee) supporting the amendment observed: "when you apply that proviso to almost everything and make it a mere matter of regulation of the Railway Board, you actually reduce the Governor-General's prior assent to nullity....I suggest that universalising or generalising the requirement of the Governor-General's prior consent has the effect of nullifying it altogether".³⁰

Three arguments were urged in defence of the way in which the provision of the Railway Authority was made in the Act. The first was the fear of 'political interference' born of a mistrust of Indian people. The Secretary of State in his Memorandum had argued that the constitution of the Railway Authority on a statutory basis was undertaken to ensure that "it is in a position to perform its duties upon business principles, and without being subject to political interference".³¹

The second argument was given by Sir Henry Croft, a member of Parliament, whose sole aim was to safeguard the interests of the British capital invested in Indian Railways. In his opinion, the security of British Companies holding contracts in India required constitutional safeguard.

The third was advanced again by the Secretary of State who was concerned with the strategic position of Indian Railways. Defending this proviso on the floor of the House of Commons he argued that "In view of the very grave issues at stake, and in view particularly of the fact that as long as defence is a reserved department, the Governor-General has a very direct and very important interest in the management of the railways".³²

Sir Charles Brown ably refuted the last argument in these words: "Do honourable members who made these criticisms ever think that the railways generally are used for the normal civilised purposes of carrying goods and passengers from place to place? Is that not its normal function and must it not, in the develop-

30. Major Attlee, *House of Commons Debate, Indian Affairs* (1933-34), Vol. II, Col. 2532.

31. *Secretary of State's Memorandum*, op. cit., p. 39.

32. Sir Samuel Hoare, op. cit., Col. 2531.

ment of India in the future, be more and more the function of railways in India. Therefore, anybody which is to be set up, such as the Federal Railway Authority, should be a body flexible in its nature and readily able to adapt itself to changing conditions. We object to the placing of all these powers in the hands of the Governor-General who may be a most reactionary individual, as many Governor-Generals are".³³

The argument of Sir Charles Croft for the security of British capital in railway was futile, as the Governor-General had as one of his special responsibilities the safeguarding of British commercial interests and, therefore, no such proviso was necessary in the case of railways. The first argument does not bear scrutiny because "political interference" may apply to day-to-day administration but not to the actual passing of a statute. The Assembly could be expected to possess sufficient wisdom and sense of responsibility to be entrusted with the function of creating an Authority for running a public utility service on a commercial basis. Moreover, general principles could be easily laid down in a Constitution Act.

Further arguments against such a provision were advanced on the floor of the Legislative Assembly in the course of discussion over the Railway Budget on February 21, and 22, 1934. Mr. K. C. Neogy and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad made a strong plea for the creation of a statutory body by the Indian Legislature on four grounds.³⁴

(i) Indian Legislature, though not so efficient, was certainly much more expeditious than the British Parliament.

(ii) The Railway Act dealt with all kinds of subjects, and Parliament was too busy a body to deal with them in detail and, therefore, it could not be efficiently dealt with by the British Parliament.

(iii) The railways were intended for the benefit of the people, and the people of India were more qualified to understand the conveniences and comforts of their own people, and the Parliament really would not know the requirements of the people of

33. Sir Charles Brown, *op.cit.*, Col. 2530.

34. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Feb. 21, 22, 1934, Vol. II.

India, and, therefore, they were not competent to legislate on behalf of the Indian people.

(iv) The ownership of railways was vested in the tax-payers. The railways had been constructed out of the capital borrowed on the security of Indian revenues and thus whenever there was deficit in the earnings of the railways during lean years, it was the Indian tax-payer who made up the deficit and paid the stipulated interests to the working Companies. Therefore the Indian tax-payer should not have been divested of the proprietary interests in this public utility service. There was great force in the argument of Mr. K. C. Neogy when he pleaded that other questions were minor "if once we recognise the fundamental principle that the ownership is of the Indian tax-payer and that the representatives of the Indian tax-payer sitting in the Central Legislature will have the right to say how much authority shall be enjoyed by this managing agency, how much authority shall be left to be enjoyed by the responsible Minister in charge of Communications and how much authority shall be left to this Legislature".³⁵

The best course, thus, for Parliament to adopt would have been to lay down certain general principles and a clause that a body be created based on these principles by an Act of the Indian Legislature. This would have secured the advantages of flexibility and adaptability to the needs and requirements of India and would have, at the same time, inspired confidence.

C. Composition & Nature of the Authority

1. The Personnel and appointment.

According to the Act, the Federal Railway Authority was to consist of seven members appointed by the Governor-General, at least three in his discretion and the rest on the advice of the Federal Ministry. He was also to appoint, in his discretion, one of the members of the Authority to be the President thereof.³⁶

It will be seen that three members were to be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, which meant that the ini-

35. *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1934.

36. *Govt. of India Act 1935*, (95), Sec. 182(1).

tative was his, the responsibility was his and he might or might not consult the Ministry. Also the phrase 'at least' was a tool ready at hand to be used in appointing more than three in his discretion whenever he chose. In fact, His Majesty's Government thought that only three out of seven should be appointed on the advice of the Ministry.³⁷ When he was to act on the advice of the Ministry, he was bound to follow their advice so that the four were, in reality, appointed by the Federal Ministry. The President was also to be appointed in his discretion and he might choose any of the seven, not necessarily out of the three he appointed, in his discretion.

The use of the phrase 'in his discretion' in the sphere of railway administration was exceptional, if the definition of Sir Donald Somervell was to be applied. The 'discretion' was applicable only in respect of the Reserved Departments and not in respect of the subjects within the ambit of Ministerial responsibility, where the Governor-General exercised his 'individual judgment', if anyone of his special responsibilities was involved.³⁸ Railways were not a reserved subject and here 'individual judgment' should have been used, if this definition was to be followed, otherwise the provisions of the Act laid themselves open to the charge that railways, in fact, were being treated as a reserved subject.

The question as to who should appoint the members of the Authority was of vital significance to its efficient working and a problem for all public utility services. The importance of this question was well recognised by the House of Commons who devoted much time to it and had a full debate on the subject. There were as many as five views on the matter.

(i) The first was held by a reactionary group in the House of Commons who pleaded that all the members of the Authority should be appointed by the Governor-General without reference to the Ministry. In fact one of them, Lt. Colonel Appton, went so far as to suggest that members should have knowledge of military and strategic needs of India.³⁹

37. H.C. Debates, Indian Affairs, 1934-35, Col. 2499.

38. Ibid., Col. 1336.

39. Ibid., Col. 2504.

(ii) The second view was that the majority (4 out of 7) of the Authority should be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, the rest on the advice of the Ministry and an amendment to this effect was moved by Mr. Boyd. The amendment was, however, not carried.⁴⁰ The arguments were, as in the case of the first view, defence requirements, special responsibilities of the Governor-General, the fear of political interference and inability of Indians to administer such a great undertaking. Sir H. Croft was eager to ensure the interests of 'British investors' which could be possible only if the majority was appointed by the Governor-General in whom they had confidence.⁴¹ In fact, all the speakers for the amendment visualised an inevitable conflict between those nominated by the Governor-General and those chosen by the Federal Government and explained their desire to see that the views of the former prevailed. In their speeches the evils of such a system of dyarchy were clearly brought out.

(iii) The third view was that of the supporters of the Bill. The Secretary of State took great pains to satisfy the reactionary group that there was no possibility of a conflict in the Authority and in case there was any, the Governor-General was armed with many a weapon to ensure that his view prevailed.⁴² To the Labour demand that all the members should be appointed on the advice of the Federal Ministry, he replied by giving the arguments used by the sponsors of the first two views and adding that this power will also be useful in redressing communal balance and redistribution of appointments among different communities.

(iv) The fourth suggestion came from Mr. H. Williams, who wanted to make a compromise between the second and the third view.⁴³ He suggested that three members should be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion and four should be appointed by him by not merely following the advice of the Ministers but in his individual judgment. This suggestion did not find favour with the House.

(v) The last view was that the whole authority might be appointed entirely on the advice of the Ministers. Mr. Morgan

40. *Ibid.*, Col. 2503.

41. *Ibid.*, Col. 2514.

42. *Ibid.*, Col. 2514.

43. *Ibid.*, Col. 2511.

Jones moved an amendment to this effect which was ably supported by Mr. Wilmot, but it was negatived. They argued that if constitutional government was to be given to India, then Parliament must have courage to trust the Indian people and Ministers. Nothing could be more fatal to the success of the experiment than that the Bill should be charged with distrust of the very machinery which the Government was setting up in India. They further pleaded that Indians were just as capable as Europeans of exercising directive power within the realm of business, so if the Indian Ministers appointed only Indians to the Authority, the efficiency would not suffer.⁴⁴ Nor did they fear the political motives of the Ministers. If the British ministers, they asked, were capable of performing the function of appointing members of the B.B.C. disinterestedly, why could Indians not do so.⁴⁵ Moreover, as the ownership of railways in India was that of the State, it was the duty of the Federal Government to run them in public interest and with regard to public safety.⁴⁶ As regards defence, Mr. Morgan Jones was sure that the Ministry would discharge its duties adequately and properly in this respect also.⁴⁷

A mixed arrangement such as was provided in this clause was attacked by Mr. Wilmot in these words: —

"If one claims to lay down sets of regulations which would involve the maximum of political interference, this is the way to do it. To reserve a certain number of seats and to give the rest for appointment on the advice of the Ministry is to invite that a section of the Board shall represent interests or shades of opinion and that the Governor-General's representatives shall be persons who are impartial. Surely nothing could be more destructive of good business management than that a Board should be thus divided as between the nominees of the Governor-General who presumably will be business, non-political, experts, and the nominees of the Ministers, who, because of this reservation, will tend to become political nominees."⁴⁸

44. *Ibid.*, Mr. Morgan Jones, Col. 2498.

45. *Ibid.*, Wilmot, Col. 2500.

46. *Ibid.*, Mr. Wilmot, Col. 2597.

47. *Ibid.*, Col. 2597.

48. *Ibid.*, Mr. Wilmot, Col. 2502.

It is clear from the above analysis that the very principle of the Authority working on business lines would have been in danger if this dual character of appointment were maintained. A system of dyarchy which failed in the case of the dual system of Lord Clive and which failed in the provinces under the Act of 1919, was sought to be introduced in the structure of the Federal Government and the composition of the Federal Railway Authority under the Act of 1935. It is difficult to understand how it was going to succeed in future when it had failed in the past. It would have been best if appointments were left to be made by the Governor-General on the advice of the Federal Ministry as was one in South Africa and Canada. The fear of public opinion, the sense of prestige, the desire to be impartial at least in the early stages, and regard for general principles on which railways were to work would have been sufficiently strong motives to check the tendency, if there were any, to political corruption.

As regards the appointment of the President of the Authority, the Indian demand was to have the Minister of Transport as the ex-officio President following the South African precedent.⁴⁹ There was no harm if this were done so long as the hands of the Legislature were bound, and its power restricted as under the Act but it would have been better, if he were kept out. The advantage in keeping out the Minister of Transport from the Presidency of the Authority would have been not only that the tendency of the Legislature to criticise every action of the Authority would have been curbed but that such a step would also have added to the prestige, dignity and efficiency of the Minister of Transport. He might, however, be empowered to attend any particular meeting of the Authority, and convey to the Authority the wishes of the Government on any particular question.

2. *Qualifications of the members of Authority :*

Certain qualifications were prescribed necessary for members of the Authority. These are laid down in the Eighth Schedule.⁵⁰ A person shall not be qualified to be appointed or be a member of the Authority : —

- (a) Unless he has had experience in Commerce, Industry, Agriculture, Finance and Administration.

49. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, *Memorandum on Indian Railways*, *Supra*.

50. *Govt. of India Act, 1935*, Schedule VIII, Art. 2.

- (b) If he is, or within the twelve months last preceding has been
- (i) a member of the Federal or any Provincial Legislature, or
 - (ii) in the service of the Crown in India, or
 - (iii) a railway official in India.

So far as these conditions go, this part of the Schedule was above criticism but it is curious to note that under Art. 7 of this Schedule⁵¹ a person holding or interested in a contract under the Railway Authority was not disqualified from membership but he was only required to make a full disclosure of the facts and refrain from taking part in the discussion or voting. This seems to be bad logic. This was also contrary to the recommendations of the London Committee of June, 1933.⁵²

It will be seen that local representation as suggested by General Hamond⁵³ or representation of interests particularly Labour⁵⁴ had not been made mandatory in the Act. In connection with the latter the Solicitor-General remarked, "We do not favour the idea of representatives of workers or others being put on this board as representatives, but if men with necessary administrative experience and practical knowledge are available, they shall be eligible for appointment."⁵⁵ This was the reply to an amendment for securing the representation of railway labour in India, tabled on behalf of the Labour party by Mr. Dobbie. The supporters of this motion argued that the state-owned system of railways in India, employing 750,000 workers with their organisations federated into the Railway Federation, did produce men having the genius of leadership and capacity for administration and they ought to be chosen.⁵⁶ This amendment was negatived. Mr. N. M. Joshi, as the delegate of Railway Labour in India to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, had also demanded representation of Labour on the Authority.

51. *Ibid.*, Art. 7.

52. *Vide Supra.*

53. *Vide Supra.*

54. National Trade Union Memorandum, 54, J.P.C., p. 2224 (4), Vol. IIc.

55. H. C. Debates (1934-35), Col. 4285.

56. *Ibid.*, Col. 4286-7.

3. *Terms and Tenure of appointment :*

The tenure of a member of the Authority was laid down as five years but could be extended for a further period of five years at the expiration of his original term of office. There was one exception that of the first members of the Authority; three were to be appointed for three years and any of these members was at the expiration of his original term of office, eligible for re-appointment for a further term of three years or of five years.⁵⁷ These provisions were rightly conceived in order to ensure continuity of work of the Authority.

The Governor-General had the power, in the exercise of his individual judgment, to terminate the appointment of any member, if he were satisfied that the member in question was, for any reasons, unable or not fitted to continue his duties.⁵⁸

The Governor-General had also the power, in his individual judgment, to make rules providing for the appointment of acting members in place of any temporarily unable to perform his duties.⁵⁹

Here 'individual judgment' may be explained a little. When the Governor-General was exercising his individual judgment, he could never act without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Ministers but he could in the last resort, reject the advice tendered by the Ministers. Therefore, in the above cases, the Governor-General had to consult the Federal Ministry but he was not bound by their advice. However, as a constitutional principle the presumption must be in favour of the acceptance of the advice.

The members of the Authority were entitled to receive such salaries and allowances as the Governor-General exercising his individual judgment, might declare. But during the term of office of any member, his emoluments could not be reduced.⁶⁰

4. *Conduct of Business of the Authority :*

All decisions of the Authority would be arrived at by a majority of the members present and voting at a meeting of the Authority.

57. *Government of India Act, 1935, Schedule VIII, Art. 3.*

58. *Ibid.*, Art. 3.

59. *Ibid.*, Art. 4.

60. *Ibid.*, Art. 5.

city. In the case of the person presiding thereat, he was to have a second or casting vote.⁶¹

A person or persons deputed by the Governor-General to represent him, might attend any meeting of the Authority, where such persons were entitled to speak but not to vote.⁶²

The Authority might make standing orders for the regulation of their proceedings and business, and may vary or revoke any such orders.⁶³

The proceedings of the Authority would not be invalidated by any vacancy among their number, or by any defect in the appointment, or qualification of any member.⁶⁴

5. Nature of the Authority :

The Authority was to be a body corporate and might sue or be sued in that name.⁶⁵

The Authority was not liable to pay Indian income-tax or super tax on any of its income, profits or gain.⁶⁶

This provision was criticised by the Indian public. Their view was that the Authority was a public utility corporation which derived its gains from its monopolistic position. Its profits were due to a tax upon the community and as such there was no reason to exempt these gains from taxation.

The act left open the question whether the members of the Authority would be whole-time officers, or whether they would receive honorarium for attending meetings as the directors of Joint-Stock Companies. The intention of the Act seems to have been in favour of part-time membership as indicated in the Proposals of the London Committee. The dissenting Indian members on the Committee wanted an Authority of whole-time members.⁶⁷ The Committee agreed to give their proposal a trial and if the

61. *Schedule VIII, op.cit., Art. 6.*

62. *Ibid., Art. 8.*

63. *Ibid., Art. 9.*

64. *Ibid., Art. 10.*

65. *Ibid., Art. 1.*

66. *Ibid., Art. 15.*

67. *Vide Supra.*

experience so demanded, the members could be made whole-time. The Indian Railways required a board of whole-time officers, otherwise the executive head would have a tendency to be too powerful, sometimes taking decisions as emergencies arose, on his own initiative.

D. *Executive of the Railway Authority*

1. *The Chief Commissioner :*

At the head of the Executive staff of the Authority was proposed a Chief Commissioner with experience in railway administration, whom the Governor-General would appoint exercising his individual judgment, after consultation with the Authority.⁶⁸

The question of the appointment of the Chief Commissioner was long debated in the House of Commons and the discussion, brought the motives of the creators of the Authority into light. The clause, as it stood in the original Bill ran like this: "The Chief Commissioner shall be appointed by the Authority, subject to confirmation of the Governor-General, exercising his individual judgment." On a motion of amendment by Mr. Butler, this was dropped and instead the following words were substituted: "The Chief Commissioner shall be appointed by the Governor-General exercising his individual judgment after consultation with the Authority."⁶⁹

The implication of the clause was explained by Mr. Butler later in the course of the debate when he observed, "this important person is appointed after consultation with the Authority whom he will serve and with the Ministers who are interested and he is appointed by the Governor-General who is also interested."⁷⁰ The Governor-General would consult the Authority and then make up his mind. If there were any difference of opinion either with the Authority or the Ministry, he would have the last word.

The arguments of the supporters of the amendment were three which were easily refuted by certain speakers against the amendment. The first argument was that the Authority must be so com-

38. Schedule VIII, *op.cit.*, Art. 11.

69. *H. C. Debate. Indian Affairs* (1934-35), Col. 4295.

70. *Ibid.*, Col. 4301.

posed that it might have the confidence of Parliament.⁷¹ To this it could be replied that there were three safeguards already provided, which were enough to inspire confidence in the Authority, namely, (a) the Governor-General could give whatever directions he thought fit to the Railway Board in the exercise of his special responsibilities or in connection with his reserved powers, (b) he would appoint three-seventh of the Authority in his discretion including the Chairman and (c) the clause in the original Bill gave great power to him in appointing the Chief Commissioner.⁷²

The Duchess of Atholl pertinently asked, "but is it not the case that the Commissioner in anything other than the Governor-General's special responsibilities would have to act under the orders of the Railway Authority."⁷³

Mr. Wire would not trust the Indian Ministers and members of the Authority on the basis of the general prejudice that Asiatic countries were most corrupt and so the "ministers would make the railways a magnificent source of corruption."⁷⁴ And if the Board was "influenced as it would be influenced under the system, entirely by the whims of the elected ministers, and elected ministers in whom most of the House has very little confidence there is going to be a greater exploitation of the public than there has ever been before."⁷⁵ It is strange to hear from a member of Parliament the use of the phrase "whims of an elected minister." There was no reason to presuppose that elected ministers would be corrupt. Moreover, while safeguards were provided against Ministers misbehaving, there were no corresponding safeguards against a Governor-General misbehaving. Just as the Minister's action might prejudice the efficient conduct of Railway Administration, so also the Governor-General's interference might lead to inefficiency and waste.⁷⁶ The reasoning of Mr. Wire was little short of comic when he argued that in order to save Democracy in India, the Railways must pass into the hands of the bureaucracy⁷⁷ and into the hands

71. Mr. Wire, *Ibid.*, Col. 2521.

72. Sir Samuel Hoare, *Ibid.*, Col. 2519.

73. Duchess of Atholl, *Ibid.*, Col. 2520.

74. Mr. Wire, *Ibid.*, Col. 2523.

75. *Ibid.*

76. Mr. Morgan Jones, *Ibid.*, Col. 4296.

77. Mr. Wire, *Ibid.*, Col. 2525.

of the loyal servants of the Government who had shown stout-hearted courage in many most difficult situations.⁷⁸

The aim of the clause was to make the head of the railway executive responsible to the Governor-General so that he might act even against the wishes of the Authority, if such a contingency arose, acting on the advice of the Governor-General. Throughout the debate it was assumed that there would be an inevitable conflict between the four members of the Authority appointed by the Federal Government and the three nominees of the Governor-General. As their decision, in the last resort, would be the Ministry's decision, it was necessary to ensure that the Governor-General's wishes prevailed, by making the Chief Commissioner independent of the Authority. This was really a vital subtraction from the principle of responsible Government. It was a matter of common knowledge, in spite of strong affirmations to the contrary, that responsible Government did not function in the provinces in a properly democratic manner because the I.C.S. officers did not fully implement the orders of the Provincial Ministers.

Thus, if for no other reason, at least in the interest of a harmonious working of the Authority, it was necessary that the Chief Commissioner should be appointed by the Authority from whom he will receive his instructions for the future and whom he would serve. The Authority in this case is in the position of the Directors of the railway industry and there has never been heard a case where they have not reserved to themselves the right, without interference from any person, however highly placed, to appoint their own Chief Managing Agent. Major Milner's warning was timely, though ineffective. He said that the "Government for no apparent reason are making a great mistake in the matter."⁷⁹

Unfortunately, in every word of the Act there was "lack of trust, lack of faith and lack of confidence"⁸⁰ in the Indian people which created an atmosphere in which nothing could function properly.

The Chief Commissioner could not be removed from office except by the Authority and with the approval of the Governor-

78. *Ibid.*, Col. 2524.

79. Major Milner, *Ibid.*, Col. 4928.

80. Mr. Morgan Jones, *Ibid.*, Col. 4297.

General exercising his individual judgment.⁸¹ Thus the last word was with the Governor-General who would consult the Ministers also. When there was this safeguard, the Chief Commissioner should necessarily have been appointed by the Authority.

Nothing was said in the Act about his salary and tenure but it was presumed that this would not be a tenure appointment and that the salary would be fixed by the Governor-General in his individual judgment. He would be a person with experience in railway administration. This condition was necessary, because, as the Authority could be composed of men known for their business and administrative capabilities, the actual head of the executive should have technical experience of railway working.

An executive board like the present Railway Board was to be retained under the Act,⁸² but with this difference that the power of the chief Commissioner was to be enlarged. This executive officer of the railways "holding the most important position in the railway administration" was to be like the "General Manager of the Federal Railway System".⁸³ He was described by the Secretary of State as the keyman of the administration.⁸⁴

The Chief Commissioner was to be assisted in the performance of his duties by (i) the Financial Commissioner to be appointed by the Governor-General, and (ii) by such additional Commissioners, being persons with experience in railway administration, as the Authority on the recommendations of the Chief Commissioner might appoint.⁸⁵ The Financial Commissioner was not necessarily to be a person with experience in railway administration. He could not be removed from office except by the Governor-General exercising his individual judgment.

The Chief Commissioner and the Financial Commissioner had the right to attend any meeting of the Authority and the Financial Commissioner had the right to require any matter which related to, or affected finance, to be referred to the Authority.⁸⁶

81. *Government of India Act, 1935 Schedule VIII, Art. 13.*

82. *Wedgwood Committee Report, 1951, para. 220.*

83. Sir Samuel Hoare, *H. C. Debate, Indian Affairs (1934-35), Col. 2518.*

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Government of India Act, 1935, Schedule VIII, Art. 12.*

86. *Ibid. Art. 14.*

E. *Principles, Policy and Directions to be observed by the Authority :*

1. *Principles:*—The Authority had three limitations to its power (1) to observe principles as laid down in the Act, (2) to follow the instructions of Federal Government in matters of policy and (c) to observe the directions of the Governor-General.

The character of the railways as a public Utility commercial undertaking was recognised in the Act by laying down detailed principles to be observed by the Authority⁸⁷ and the Federal Government⁸⁸ in discharging their functions with respect to railways. The Authority was to act "on business principles, due regard being paid by them to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce and the general public, and in particular shall make proper provision for meeting out of their receipts on revenue account all expenditure on which such receipts are applicable under the provision of this Part of this Act".⁸⁹

There is a parallel provision in the Act of the Union of South Africa constituting the Railway Board.⁹⁰

"Business principles" were, thus, to be followed in the administration of railways of India. This means, in the first place, that the railways would be run with the aim of earning a "fair return" on its working. The idea is that just as some commercial concerns aim at profit after meeting all the expenses of the working, so also should railways aim at a fair return. This aim underlay the Separation Convention of 1924 which was adopted on the recommendations of the Acworth Committee. In the second place the phrase "business principles" is used in contrast with "charity" principles. At the same time railways were to run as public utility services. The Act laid down that due regard must be had to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce and general public. These are all sound principles which have been common to public utility administration in most countries.

87. *Ibid.*, Sec. 183(1).

88. *Ibid.*, Sec. 183(3).

89. *Ibid.*

90. *South Africa Act, 1909*, Sec. 127.

But there were some vital encroachments on the public utility and business aspect of Indian railways in the provisions of the Act and more so in the policy behind it. Whereas the Federal Government was to be subject to the general principles enunciated above, the Governor-General was not bound by these principles, if he was acting in the exercise of his 'individual judgment', or 'in his discretion' or when any of his special responsibilities were involved. One of his special responsibilities was to prevent action which would subject the goods of the United Kingdom imported into India to discriminatory treatment. He could interfere with the orders placed by the Authority for the purchase of railway store in the cheapest market on the ground of unfair discrimination. This would have seriously hindered the business principle in the working of the railways. It will be interesting to mention in this connection that an amendment was moved by Mr. H. Williams in the House of Commons during the debate on this part of the Bill to add this injunction after business principles that "so far as it may be reasonable (the Indian railways were) to purchase stores in the British Empire".⁹¹ Though the amendment was negatived on grounds of expediency, the fact that such an amendment was supported by quite a large number of speakers, shows the genuineness of Indian criticism about the store purchase policy of the railway administration. The Secretary of State did not oppose the amendment on principle but on the ground that the purpose of amendment was secured by so many other means. He confessed that "from the first to the last clause in this Chapter, there are safeguards of various kinds surrounding the business principles on which the Authority is to be run...."⁹² Mr. Wise made the intention more explicit when he argued: "It was under the guns of our infantry that the railways were laid in India, and it will be with the wealth of this country that future railways will be financed.... It is only fair to say that the Indian Empire exists not only for the benefit of India, but for the benefit of the Empire.... The railways are the creation of our capital, brains and labour: surely we are entitled to see that replacements of the railways came from the same source".⁹³

91. H. C. Debate, Indian Affairs, Col. 2533.

92. *Ibid.*, Col. 2560.

93. *Ibid.*, Col. 2568.

The danger, then, to the working of Indian railways on "business principles" was from the Governor-General and his bureaucratic machine; not, as would be evident from the safeguards spread throughout this part of the Act, from the Legislature or Federal Ministry.

The Authority was to observe not only the principles given above, but was to be guided in the discharge of its functions by such instructions on questions of policy as might be given to them by the Federal Government and was to be bound by the directions of the Governor-General.

2. *Matters of Policy*

This was a very important part of the Act which sought to draw a line between matters of policy and matters of day-to-day administration. The former were left in the hands of the Federal Government and Legislature and the latter entirely rested with the Authority.⁹⁴ As Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar explained on the floor of the Indian Legislature, such matters as labour questions, indigenous industries, purchase of stores, transport co-ordination, facilities to trade, industry and agriculture, interests of general public, question of rates and fares and Indianization were matters of policy to be laid down in the form of resolutions by the Indian Legislature, to be accepted by the Federal Minister and must be translated into practice by the Authority.⁹⁵

3. *Directions of the Governor-General*

The Governor-General was empowered to issue such directions as he might deem necessary as regards any matter which appeared to him to involve any of his special responsibilities, or as regards which he was required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment, and the Authority was bound to give effect to any directions so issued to them.⁹⁶

There were so many matters included in the reserved departments, viz., defence, ecclesiastical affairs, external affairs, and affairs of tribal areas, to be exercised in his discretion, that Govern-

94. *Government of India Act, 1935* see 183.

95. *Legislative Assembly Debate*, 21 Feb. 34.

96. *Ibid.*, Sec. 183(4).

nor-General's Authority might become almost totalitarian. The special responsibilities which he discharged in his individual judgment were very extensive. If the ministers could misuse their power and hinder the commercial management of railways, could the Governor-General not misuse his power? One looks in vain for any effective legal safeguard against the misuse of his authority by the Governor-General or by the Secretary of State, both of whom were given wide and extraordinary powers under the Act.⁹⁸

F. Finance of the Authority

1. Railway Fund

The Railway Authority was enjoined to establish, maintain and control a fund called the Railway Fund. All receipts by the Railway Authority whether on capital or revenue account, were to be credited to that fund. All moneys provided even from the Federal purse to enable the Authority to carry its functions were to be likewise credited to the same account. Conversely, all expenditure of the Railway Authority whether on revenue account or capital account had to be defrayed out of that fund.⁹⁹

Provision was made, after defraying working expenses, of maintenance, renewals, improvements and depreciation followed by payment of interest to the revenues of the Federation. Finally, any surplus left would be divided between the Federal Government and the Authority under the principles of the convention that might be existing at the time of setting up of the Authority.

2. Raising of Capital

The borrowing powers of the Authority had not been precisely defined. Section 187(1), however, mentioned the sum provided for capital purposes "out of the revenues of India or of the Fede-

97. *Ibid.*, Sec. 12. These were in brief the prevention of any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of India or any party thereof, the safeguarding of the rights of minorities, financial stability and credit of the Govt., safeguarding the rights of British Companies, etc.

98. A. B. Rudra—*The Viceroy & The Governor-General of India*, p. 269.

99. The provision of a Fund embodied the principles of the Separation Convention of 1924. Under the South Africa Act, 1909 provision of a fund on similar lines was made.

ration" and Section 186(4) seemed to indicate that the Federation could put up money for capital expenditure.

3. *Report & Audit*

The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Authority were made subject to audit by, or on behalf, of the Auditor-General of India. The Authority was required to publish annually a report of their operations during the preceding year and a statement of accounts in a form approved by the Auditor-General.

4. *Control of Legislature over railway finance*

The control of Legislature through questions on day-to-day administration was to be removed. The Revenue Budget of the Authority was not to be presented to the Legislature as it would not involve a vote in supply. Annual reports and amounts were to be presented to the Legislature to provide an opportunity for one full day debate on the working of the Authority each year. The Standing Finance Committee and the Public Accounts Committee were probably considered superfluous.

G. *An appraisal of the Railway Authority*

Indian opinion was very hostile to the proposed Authority. Not only did the Legislature oppose it, the various chambers of Commerce and Industry also voiced strong criticism of the proposal. Not until the World War II came near the shores of India, was the idea of giving it a practical shape ultimately given up by the Government. The faults of commission and omission with a proper appreciation of the part of the Government of India Act 1935 concerning the Authority, are summarised as under:

The declared principles on which the future Government of Indian Railways was to be based, are sound and in line with similar principles adopted elsewhere for the administration of railways as a public utility service. It was clearly declared in the Act constituting the Authority that railways were to work on "business principles", due regard being had to the interests of agriculture, industry, trade and the general public. This is a recognition of the public utility character of railways based on a constitutional provision that they are to run like a large-scale private commercial concern on economical lines. In so far as

these principles are concerned, the proposed experiment was above criticism. But the vital question is whether the principles were actually translated into practice in defining the constitution, functions and powers of the Authority.

A study of the motives and purposes underlying the creation of the Authority, its freedom from political or bureaucratic influences, its composition and functions all make one doubt if at all it could make for an efficient form of organisation for the administration of Indian Railways.

To begin with, one is struck by the extent of distrust of democratic principle, the fear of the Indian politician, and the eagerness to reassure British vested interests in India. One cannot go through the speeches made on the floor of the House of Commons on the provisions relating to railways, without feeling that the one dominant factor for consideration was the safeguarding of British interests. In the Act itself the distrust of the Indian people is shown clearly in providing in a statute of British Parliament too many details about the future organisation of railways in India and leaving very little to the Indian Legislature which was the most competent body to legislate on the railways of the country. For the reason that the Indian Legislature was more conversant with the conditions, and requirements of Indian people, it would have been more just to leave the legislation about the Railway Authority to Indian Legislature, while some general principles could have been laid down in the Constitution Act. The distrust is further shown by the elaborate safeguards provided in the Act. There were vital subtractions from the principles of responsible government. The Governor-General was given the power to over-ride the Ministers and Legislature in certain circumstances, to administer certain departments such as defence, and external affairs in his discretion and to see to the carrying out of the administration of certain subjects outside the Ministerial influences such as currency and railways. Further, very severe limitations were imposed on the Indian Legislature in order to prevent legislation discriminatory to British interests in commercial and other spheres.¹⁰⁰ The Viceroy was responsible to the Secretary of State and the British Parliament.

100. Govt. of India Act, 1935, Sec. 111-21.

It was a serious contravention of business principles when the Governor-General who wielded such extraordinary powers, and was responsible not to the Indian people but to the British public, was given supreme directions of policy over railways. Curiously enough, he was constitutionally not bound to follow the "business principles" to which the Ministers and the Authority were bound. He could issue directions to the Authority in his discretion whenever he felt that the interests of his reserved departments were concerned or when subjects were involved in respect of which he had his special responsibilities. This was an extraordinarily delicate function fraught with dangers.

The business principles with such reservations had no meaning. The policy of store purchase could be handled on the plea of safeguarding British commercial interests. Defence requirements could do away with all considerations of business principles. The power of recruitment to the Authority could be used to draw foreign experts. Then there were provisions which manifest particular solicitude for the continued employment of the Anglo-Indian Community in the Railways. The fear of "political interference" was thus applied only to the influences exercised by the Federal Legislature and the Federal Ministry. The Act carefully restricted the authority of both over railway administration and finance by giving them control over broad questions of policy only. This was a sound principle consistent with the nature of the Authority as an autonomous corporation. But political influences from above were not guarded against.

In view of the above, the Indian public was afraid that the Railway Authority would become something of an *imperium in imperio*. In fact the underlying idea was that in the conflict between the Authority and Federal Minister which was inevitable under the defective provisions of the Act, the Governor-General would act as an umpire. This was very wrong. The Minister could not be equated with the Authority. In the ultimate analysis his authority was derived from the people.

The accountability of the Authority was not properly established through other, more effective and useful means. The consumer committees at the centre and in regions could replace the Legislature in the matter of exercising supervision over the Authority on behalf of the public. There was no mention of such

bodies in the Act. The Act also failed to mention a Railway Rates Tribunal such as the one which General Hammond had recommended for safeguarding the interests of the users of transport service. Thus, though the control of the Minister and of the Legislature was removed, no alternative means of ensuring accountability were provided as had been in practice in various countries where public corporations were set up.

Finally, two more omissions may be noted. Labour deserved some constitutional recognition, which was not given in the Act. Nor was there any provision for the co-ordination of various forms of transport, to ensure efficiency and economy of transportation services as a whole.



or
w
ve
th
vi

vi
st
fo
al
av
K
ki
he
th
ye
ar
in
ra
th
ac
w

K
w
ex
m
hi

Salivahana-hala

BY

O. RAMACHANDRAIYA, PH.D.,

Andhra University, Waltair

‘Was there a man who did not speak in Prākṛt in Hāla’s land or in Sanskr̥t in Sāhasānka’s time?’

So observed the author of *Saraswatī Kanṭhābharāṇa*. Prākṛt was so sweet a tongue. No better medium could one seek to convey or comprehend Śrngāra at its tenderest. Among its votaries, the most devoted and best was King Hāla, one of the great Śāta-vāhana rulers of Dakṣināpatha.

King Hāla is variously known, as Hāla, Sāla, Sātavāhana, Śālī-vāhana, Śālāhana, Kavivatsala and Āḍhyarāja. Many are the stories told of his birth. But the most known of them all is the following. A Yakṣa, named Sāta, says Kathāsaritsāgara, going about in the form of a lion with a lad on his back, gave the lad away to King Dīpakarṇi of Paithan. The boy grew up to become King of Andhra. The Purāṇas mention thirty of the Andhra kings. But which of them was Hāla? For the Matsya Purāṇa, he was the seventeenth in descent from Śrīmukha. Some view that he was no other than King Kuntala Śātakarṇi of Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtras. The Purāṇas, however, distinguish these two and even interpose, between Kuntala and Hāla, three kings including Hāla’s immediate predecessor, Nēmikṛṣṇa, known also as Gau-rakṛṣṇa or Riktavarṇa. Hāla’s was a very short rule, of not more than five years, by any reckoning. His attainments and his achievement must, therefore, belong mostly to the time, while he was still a Prince, unbroken by the burdens of government.

All along the river Gōdāvarī, there was no ruler as great as King Hāla. He was the hero of the Prākṛt poem, *Leelāvati*, which describes incidentally how the Śātavāhana empire was extended to the eastern sea. His armies, under Vijayānanda, marched far, to the very shores opposite the Simhala Dwīpa. On his return, Vijayānanda reported to the king the sad plight of the

damsel Leelāvati. She was a daughter of King Śīlamēgha of Ceylon, by his Gandharva wife, Śaraśrī. Leelāvati, however, found herself then in Sapta-Gōdāvarī Bhīmam, under the constant threat of a demon, Bhīṣānana. It was widely believed that whoever would marry her would find his empire growing vaster. Hāla lost no time. He proceeded immediately to Dakṣārāma, the Sapta-Gōdāvarī Bhīmam of the story. Bhīṣānana was killed in battle, and the hand of Leelāvati won, and the king returned home to Pratisthāna a happier man.

King Hāla was more a poet than a conqueror. His name is affectionately cherished in association with Gāthā Saptaśati, an anthology of seven hundred erotic verses in Prākṛt. Of these seven hundred, only forty-six are Hāla's own compositions. The others are all collected from the choicest, then in circulation. Several of them were by his contemporaries—about eight of them were ladies. The collection was done mostly by Śrīpālita, a poet of much repute. But there is no denying that Hāla himself pored over the Gāthās, scanning each line, and weighing each word, before according them his royal approval. More often, this approval was wrung out of him by the bewitching beauty of the poem's themes. No effort was spared, no price was held too high. The imaginative sympathy of a knowing heart, and an unerring eye to beauty, which only the spirit of dedication could illumine, went into the selection of the Gāthās.

The Gāthās treat Love in its myriad forms. They race to catch up with the most elusive of women's whims. In Love, as presented in the Saptaśati, nothing was taboo. No inhibitions at all, not even of the longing of the wife for her husband's brother. "Why gaze at the moon, so long, Oh Cousin? Much more alluring have-n't you found the crescents from under the armpits of your Love?"

"How, now, cousin," exhorts another, "you haven't once been to my village by the river. Along that bank, at every bend, there are groves so green and dense." After that the cousin would be dense no more.

Listen to the tribal maid chide the youth for his advances: "You are bold; you may as well be. I am so young; this forest glade is lonesome; long as I have walked, longer ahead lies my hamlet. Too tired I am and listless are my limbs. And now, if

you relieve me of what little covers my back, who is here to prevent you?" According to the Saptasāti, Love takes everything in its stride. The very idols of unfrequented shrines were pressed into use for pillows by the loving young. Nature itself was in sympathy with the importunate youth, out for Love's unfolding. For her who sought her beloved, the scorching Sun of the Summer was himself a help if only to keep prying eyes well within doors.

But all this should not mean that Hāla revelled and gloried in Love's abandon. Nothing was touched that was not of perennial interest, nothing said that sounded vulgar. In fact Love's ways among the sophisticated are not much in evidence in the compilation. The belles of the countryside and the bowers of the Gōdāvarī wherein those lovelorn maids stole satisfaction of their desires, these attract and hold most of our attention.

Yet, all the gaiety about the Saptasāti seems to hide a deep sense of disappointment, a certain helplessness felt in the inmost depths of Hāla's heart. This may be a mere fancy of mine. But listen to this Gāthā by Mādhavī: "He is the PATI, who forgets his rank and humbles himself to win back the smile of his offended Love; others are more to be pitied."

King Hāla prized Prākṛt to the exclusion of all other languages. He was Brahminical in faith; but Sanskṛt he heartily disliked. This was, however, resented by his favourite queen who was herself a great adept in Sanskṛt. One day, the King and the queen were at bath together. The waters were refreshingly cool. Soon they began spraying the waters at each other. The king was surpassing quick at this game and the queen appealed to him to desist, saying 'Mōdakaistāḍaya'. For Hāla, quite unlettered in Sanskṛt, it was not Ma-udaka, no waters, but Mōdaka, the sweet Ladus. And when the latter appeared on the scene the queen felt offended and in a huff she walked off, leaving the king in deep chagrin, angry with the queen, but angrier with himself for his inexcusable ignorance of Sanskṛt.

Who would make Hāla proficient in Sanskṛt? And how soon? The foremost of his court poets and scholars, Guṇāḍhya would need at least six years to do so. But that was too long for him to wait. Guṇāḍhya's rival, Śarvavarma, however, believed that six months would do for it and Hāla readily welcomed the offer.

Guṇāḍhya felt piqued. Śarvavarman would not succeed. No one could. But if he did, of what moment were Guṇāḍhya's own attainments? He would then give up everything, all those languages that played him false, even the exhilarating company of his patron king. Śarvavarman, however, knew his own limitations and the magnitude of the task undertaken. So he propitiated God Skanda, who gave him a short grammar, later known as the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa. With its help, Hāla mastered Sanskrit; he got his heart's desire.

Guṇāḍhya gave up the use of Sanskrit, Prākṛt and even the Dēśi dialects and banished himself from Hāla's court. In lonesome wilds, he pored forth his heart and these outpourings were written down in Paiśāchi in letters of his own blood. When the manuscript was sent to Hāla, he found it unclean and would not touch it.

Some days passed; months and years rolled by. Then, one day, Hāla found the meat served to him was too lean for him to relish. The curious king learnt of an old man in the forest, reading from his palm leaves, in a language they knew not what, and the surrounding animals all in tears, oblivious of fodder but intensely listening. Of what understanding they were, none could say.

The king went out, seeking that remarkable man. Behind all that was new and weird, Hāla could find the familiar face of his dear Guru, Guṇāḍhya. Hāla was great enough to be humble; Guṇāḍhya good enough to be forgiving. But 7/8ths of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā had already been consigned to flames. What remained of it, he gave to the king and that passes down the ages as the Kathāsaritsāgara.

King Hāla's mind, like his reign, was thus a scene of constant conflict, between Prākṛt and Sanskrit ways of life. The king favoured the former; but got the learning of the latter rendered much easier. In a way, he caused Paiśāchi to attain literary status. The discipline of Sanskrit got diluted; but it was brought within easy reach of the mere literate. Did Hāla intend this revival of Sanskrit? Or was his confidence in Prākṛt so great as to make him dare Sanskrit to produce anything to equal the Saptasatī in enchanting melody?

Administrative Set-up in Ancient Orissa

BY

S. C. DE,

Curator, Orissa State Archives

Territorial Division :

From the inscriptions of Asoka we come to know that Orissa was divided into two main territorial divisions, Tōsalī and Kaliṅga. The river Vaitaraṇī was, most probably, the boundary between the two divisions in the ancient period. Subsequently these two big territorial divisions were subdivided into smaller divisions. In the time of Samudra Gupta Kaliṅga was evidently divided into a number of small States. Later on we find that the whole of Kaliṅga was divided into some distinct divisions. The northern part of Kaliṅga comprising the modern Cuttack and Puri districts came to be known as Dakṣiṇa Tōsalī. The name Kaliṅga was restricted to a small area comprising the Ganjam and Srikakulam districts. The Central Kaliṅga roughly corresponding to the modern Visakhapatanam district came to be known as Deva-rāṣṭra. The southernmost part of Kaliṅga roughly comprising the modern East Godavari District was the kingdom of Piṣṭa-pura.

The area comprising the Balasore District and a portion of the south Midnapore District was known as the Uttara Tōsalī. In the Midnapore plates of the time of Śaśāṅka¹ there is no reference to Uttara Tōsalī, while Sōmadatta is referred to as ruling over Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti. This indicates that Uttara Tōsalī and Utkala were territorially identical. In the Soro plates of Sōmadatta² there is mention about Oḍra Viśhaya in the following manner: *Oḍra viśhaye Uttara Tōsalyāṁ Sarēphahāhāra viśhaye*. The Editor of the plates took Oḍra Viśhaya to be a bigger territorial division than Uttara Tōsalī. But we are inclined to take Oḍra viśhaya as a part of Uttara Tōsalī or Utkala.

1. J.A.S.B., XI, p. 1ff.

2. E.I., XXIII, p. 197ff.

However that may be, each kingdom was divided into a number of smaller areas differently known as *vishaya*, *pañchālī*, *bhōga*, *rāshṭra khaṇḍa*, *bhukti*.

In the inscriptions of Mātharas and the Vāsisthas the following territorial divisions are mentioned.

- (i) *Vishaya*, e.g., Varāhavarttanī
- (ii) *Bhōga*, e.g. Mahēndra bhōga, Bhiliṅga bhōga
- (iii) *Pañchālī*, e.g. Korasoḍaka Pañchālī

It is difficult to say the nature and size of these divisions. *Vishaya* seems to be the largest territorial division corresponding to a district. *Bhōgas* and *Pañchālīs* were probably smaller divisions. *Bhōgin* is an official title used to imply the headman of a village. In view of this *Bhōga* may be taken as the smallest division.

Some *vishayas* were, probably, large enough to correspond to modern Divisions. (In the Soro plate of Sōmadatta to which we have referred to above Sarephāhāra *vishaya* was a part of Oḍra *vishaya* which was a part of Uttara Tōsalī). In another Soro plate of the same king of Varukāṇa *vishaya* is said to be included in Sarephāhāra *vishaya*. So, some *vishayas* were big enough to include smaller *vishayas* in it. Such big *vishayas* correspond to modern administrative divisions.

We come across the term *bhukti* in the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja³. Katakabhukti *vishaya* is mentioned in it. This does not however give us a clear idea of the relation between 'bhukti' and 'vishaya'. 'Bhukti' was not much in use in Orissa as it is mentioned only in two instances. We come across Phareya bhukti in Santhabomvali plates⁴. In the circumstances it is not possible to form an idea of the extent of a 'bhukti' in relation to other territorial divisions. Most probably it was smaller in extent than a 'vishaya'. It may be noted that the term 'bhukti' in Bengal inscriptions was most probably applied to bigger administrative units. According to Dr. Altekar they were 'of the size of the Commissioners' divisions in the modern times'.⁵ The terms

3. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 181ff.

4. *J.A.H.R.S.*, II, p. 185ff.

5. *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 283.

'Bhoga' and 'Pañchālī' were applied to some territorial divisions which were probably smaller in extent than *Vishaya*.

Maṇḍala was a bigger territorial unit than *Vishaya*. In the inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava kings and the Ganjam grant of Jayavarmadeva⁶ we come across the term '*Maṇḍala*'. Varttani *Vishaya* was in the Kōṅḡda *maṇḍala*. Evidently *maṇḍala* was bigger in extent than *Vishaya*. Village was the smallest territorial unit.

In the Ganga inscriptions we come across the terms '*Vishaya*', '*Bhoga*' and '*Pañchālī*', e.g., Thōraṇa *vishaya*, Voṅkhara *bhōga*, Dāgha *pañchālī*, etc. In the Purī plates of Indravarmān⁷ Kuraka *rāshtra* is mentioned. '*Rāshtra*', in this case, is evidently a small territorial division like '*bhukti*' or '*vishaya*'. It is interesting to note in this connection that in one of the Gaonri grants of Vākpati Munja (Pl. B) the village Vanika is stated to be situated in Āravaka *bhukti* and Huṇa *maṇḍala*.⁸ In another grant of the same king, the village granted is said to be situated in Madhuka *bhukti* of Ujjayanī *vishaya* of the Avanti *mandala*. The territorial divisions, as given in the above plates, can be arranged in the following order according to their extent.

Maṇḍala

Vishaya

Bhukti

Grāma

In view of the above discussions we may arrange the territorial divisions in following descending order in consideration of their supposed extent :

1-*Rāshtra* or *Rājya*

2-*Maṇḍala*-

3-*Vishaya*-

4-*Vishaya*-

5-*Bhukti*-

6-*Pañchālī*-

7-*Bhoga* or *Khaṇḍa*-

8-*Grāma*-

State.

Division.

Division.

District.

Smaller District or

Sub-Division.

Sub-Division.

Thana.

Village.

6. I.H.Q., XII, p. 489ff.

7. E.I., XIV, p. 361ff.

8. E.I., XXIII, p. 102.

Official Organisation.

The facts gathered from the ancient inscriptions of Orissa do not help us to have a clear picture of the official organisation in those days. We have the names of a number of officials in the inscriptions, but we cannot be definite about the nature of duties and the departments they were attached to in case of many of them. However, we shall try to give an idea of the official organisation in ancient Orissa as completely as it is possible within the limits of the facts available.

The king was the head of the administration. He was assisted by *amātyas*⁹ or *sachivas*,¹⁰ the ministers. Below the *amātyas* there were heads of different departments. We have knowledge of a very few departments from the inscriptional sources. The departmental heads were designated variously by the pre-fix 'mahā' or the suffix 'adhikṛita'. There were assistants under the heads of departments.

Chief Minister and Chief Secretary.

In the Orissan inscriptions we do not come across titles that can correspond to the present-day official designations of Chief Minister and Chief Secretary. In the Tirodi plates of Pravavarasena¹¹ there is the word 'Rājyādhikṛita' which has been taken to mean Chief Minister'. *Jyeshthnakāyastha* occurring in the Faridpur plates of Gopachandra¹² has been explained as Chief Secretary. In Orissan inscriptions of the ancient period we have only one word which may roughly denote the sense conveyed by the word Chief Secretary of the modern times. It is 'Sarvvādhikṛita' in the Tek-

9. The word 'amātya' occurs in Baranga plates of Umavarman, Ragolee plates of Saktivarman (*E.I.*, XI, p. 1ff.), Chicacole plates of Indravarman (*E.I.*, XIII, p. 119ff.). In the Barang plates Kumāradēva has the titles of *deśakhapatalādhikṛita* and *amātya*. The word 'amātya' in the sense, 'minister' is certainly higher official designation than 'deśakhapatalādhikṛita'. It appears doubtful whether a minister should have another designation of lower order attached to his name. In view of this we are inclined to believe that 'amātya' meant minister as well as a high official of the State. The meaning of the word 'kumaramatya' corroborate this assumption. We shall discuss about it later on.

10. Chandessvara plates of Dharmaraja, *E.I.*, XXX, p. 269ff.

11. *E.I.*, XII, p. 174ff.

12. Basak, *History of North Eastern India*, p. 182.

kali plates¹³ of Indravarman. If we take 'adhikṛita' in the sense of Superintendent, or head of an office, 'sarvvādhikṛita' will imply head of all the offices, that is, Chief Secretary or General Secretary. In the Madanpur plates of Śrīchandra there is mention of an official designation, 'Mahāsarvvādhikṛita'.¹⁴ It was probably the designation of the Chief Secretary under Śrīchandra of Bengal.

Royal House-hold Department:

Royal house-hold affairs were probably managed by a department headed by *Mahāpratihāra* or chamberlain. Under him was *Pratihāra* whose function was probably to fix up interviews with the king and escort visitors to royal presence. We do not get any further information about the management of the royal house-hold. The post of *Mahāpratihāra* was one of the posts of highest rank. In Balasore and Kaṇas copper plates¹⁵ Bhānudatta has the titles of *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsāmanta*. Evidently, the title of *Mahāpratihāra* was no less dignified than the other two.

Foreign Department:

The Department of Peace and War corresponding to modern Foreign department was in charge of a high official or a minister who was designated as '*Mahāsāndhivigrahika*'. He was assisted by junior officers like '*Sāndhivigrahika*'.

Army:

The army was under a General who was designated as '*Mahābālādhikṛita*' which is equivalent to '*Mahāsenāpati*' found in other plates. The word occurs in the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman¹⁶ and the Soro plates of Sōmadatta.¹⁷ There were subordinate officers in charge of infantry, cavalry, elephant corps and navy (*chaturāṅgasenā*). The designation of the officer in charge of elephant corps is available. He is called *Hastyādhyaṅksha*¹⁸ in the Purle plates. It corresponds to the title of '*Mahā*'

13. E.I., XXII, p. 307ff.

14. Ibid., XXVIII, p. 56.

15. J.I.H., XI, p. 611ff. & E.I., XXVII, p. 332ff.

16. E.I., XXVIII, p. 226ff.

17. Ibid., XXIII, p. 197ff.

18. Ibid., XIV, p. 361ff.

pilupati of the Madanpur plates of Śrīchandra.¹⁹ The names of the officers in charge of other departments of the army are available from some inscriptions found in other States, like, *Aśvanāyaka* of Hirahadgalli plates of Sivaskandavarman,²⁰ *Nauvātaka* of Madanpur plates mentioned above. We do not get any other titles of the officers belonging to the Army. According to some, the titles '*Daṇḍanāyaka*' and '*Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*' were designations of the officers of the police or military departments. We, however, take them to be officers of the Judicial department. We shall discuss about it in the appropriate place.

Police Department:

We can hardly have any idea of the organisation of the Police department in ancient Orissa from the facts gleaned from the inscriptions. The title '*Daṇḍapāsika*' occurring in some inscriptions definitely belonged to a high Police official. There is no other title which can be definitely assigned to the police department. *Chāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* mentioned in many copper-plate inscriptions are taken to be petty police officers like constables. They might also be soldiers.²¹

Judicial Department:

Mahādaṇḍanāyak mentioned in Ningondi plates²² is taken by us to be the designation of the head of the department of Justice. According to Hema Chandra, *Daṇḍanāyaka* is the head of *chaturāṅgasēna*.²³ The word literally means 'rod-applier', that is, Judge.²⁴ The title is also taken by some to be of a Police officer or a General in the army.²⁵ In the Nagarjunakunda inscription of Sri Śāntamūla Skandaviśākha Nāga has the titles, *Mahāsenāpati* *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *Mahātalavara*.²⁶ From this it is evident that *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* are not equivalent titles, and hence, they were used to denote the different depart-

19. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 56.

20. Sircar, *Successor of Satavahanas*, p. 191.

21. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 15.

22. *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 112ff.

23. '*sa chaturāṅgasenādhyaksha*', *Savbdakalpadruma*, p. 408.

24. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 466.

25. *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 15 and XXI, p. 177.

26. Rao, *Early History of Andhradesa*, p. 40.

ments. In the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman²⁷ the two messengers (*dūtaka*) have the titles *Kumarāmātya Mahābalādhikṛita* and *Daṇḍanētri*. *Mahābalādhikṛita* which is equivalent to *Mahāsenāpati* and *Daṇḍanētri* which may be equated with *Daṇḍanāyaka* evidently referred to two departments. Both the titles can not be taken to belong to the army. In consideration of the above we have taken the titles, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* or *Daṇḍanāyaka* to be those of the officers of the Judicial department. Since there is another title, 'Dandapāśiska' referring to police officer, *daṇḍanāyaka* is very likely to be the designation of a Judge.

So *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was the Chief Justice of the State. Under him there were *Daṇḍanayakas* or *Daṇḍanētris*. There were probably officers serving as Magistrates to decide petty cases. The word 'Adhikarṇika' means a judge.²⁸ The *Ādhikarṇikas* were probably judicial officers corresponding to magistrates of the present day.

Record Department:

There was a separate department for the official records. It was in charge of an officer designated as *Deśākhapatalādhikṛita* mentioned in many plates of the Māthara dynasty. Literally the word means the Superintendent of *askshapaṭala* or the Archives²⁹ of a *deśa* or district.³⁰ In Orissan inscriptions we do not come across such a term as *Mahākshapaṭalādhikaranādhikṛita* mentioned in Manor plates of Vinayaditya.³¹ It is the proper designation of the Head of the Records Department meaning literally the Chief Superintendent of the Record-Office. *Peṭapāla* or records-keeper of the Śailōdbhava plates (same as *pēḍapālaka* mentioned in the grants of the Datta dynasty of Orissa) belonged to the same department.

Confidential Section:

Confidential and secret matters were dealt with in a separate department headed, probably, by *Rahasyādhikṛita* mentioned in the Kesaribeda³² plates of the Nala dynasty. *Rahasya* (of

27. E.I., XXVIII, p. 226 ff.

28. Monier Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

30. E.I., XVII, p. 177.

31. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 22.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 12ff.

Almanda plates)³³ or *Rahasika* (of Terasingha plates³⁴) also belonged to that Department. Another officer designated as *Vaśvāsika* is mentioned in the Kanas plates of Lokavighraha.³⁵ He was the personal confidential secretary of the King. Similarly the word '*Antaraṅga*' occurring in many plates probably meant a confidential secretary of the king or a member of the Inner Council.³⁶

Executive and Revenue Department:

Of the officials mentioned in the Orissan inscription, it is difficult to say which of them belonged to the Revenue Department. *Adhikaraṇikas*, *Āyuktakas*, *Uparikas* were probably officers of the Revenue Department. *Ādhikarṇika* literally means belonging to an administrative office.³⁷ It also means a Judge.³⁸ They were probably Revenue Officers acting as Magistrates. *Āyutakas*, according to Hema Chandra, were same as *Karmaśachiva*, *Niyōgin*, etc.³⁹ They were, probably, also revenue officers.⁴⁰ But *Uparika* was also an important Executive officer. He was, like *Ādhikaraṇika*, head of an executive department. In the Tippera grant of Vinayagupta⁴¹ there are mention of '*Purapāloparika*' and *pañchadhikaraṇōparika* meaning head of the city governors and head of five royal departments respectively. In the Banpur plates of Dharmarājadēva⁴² there is a similar word, '*Pañchakaraṇōparika*'. He was probably a high Executive officer in charge of five departments.

Though we assume the above officers to be belonging to Executive and Revenue departments, we can hardly say anything definite about the nature of duties of the above officers. We also do not know who was the Head of the Revenue or Executive departments.

33. *Ibid.*, III, p. 17ff.

34. *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 272.

35. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 238ff.

36. Basak, *History of North Eastern India*, p. 192.

37. *E.I.*, XXVIII, p. 81.

38. Monier Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

39. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

40. *E.I.*, XXX, p. 167.

41. Basak, *op.cit.*, p. 182.

42. *E.I.*, XXIX, p. 38ff.

High Officials:

The designations of some other high officials of the Government in ancient Orissa were *Kumārāmātya*, *Amātya*, *Sāmanta*, *Mahārāja*. *Kumārāmātya* is taken by some as the minister to princes. But it appears that they were high administrative officers corresponding to I.C.S. or I.A.S. officers of the present times. We have made mention of *Kumārāmātya Mahabalādhikṛita Daṇḍa-nētri Śivabhōjaka* and *Vāsudatta* occurring in the Madras Museum plates of *Anantaśaktivarman*. When viewed in the above context the word cannot be taken to mean minister to princes. The word may mean junior *amātyas* or deputy ministers. In the Balasore and Kanas plates already referred to, *Bhānudatta* is called *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta*. Judged in the context we cannot but think the last two as official title given to *Bhānudatta* in recognition of his merits. Those titles, and also, *Sāmanta*, or *Śrī-Sāmanta* etc. correspond to different titles awarded to Government officers under the British regime. So those words are taken to be mere titles in this case and in such other cases where they occur in similar context.

Administration in the Division, District and Sub-Division:

Maṇḍalas were probably under *Maṇḍalapati*, but we have not come across such a word. *Vishayas*, or districts, some of which were big enough to be the Divisions, were under *Vishayapatis*. *Bhōgas* were under *Bhōgikas*.⁴³ Each of these Divisions and Sub-divisions certainly had administrative set-up for the maintenance of law and order, collection of revenue etc. But the inscriptions do not provide us with facts to have a clear picture of the same.

We have yet to wait for more facts in order to have a somewhat clearer picture of the administrative set-up in ancient Orissa, or for that matter, in other ancient States. The subject is, no doubt, of great importance to us for administrative purposes. Hence it deserves to be studied with great care and attention.

43. E.I., XXIII, p. 59.



P
ha
B
T
m
ri
tu
m
st
an
st
ma
go
ral
the
lity
cre
suc
tish
tim
En
Co
tish
or
we
sub
did
tra
the
ing

India's Early Political Ideal

BY

DR. NANDA LAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
*Prof. & Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University,
Lucknow.*

Curious as it may seem, modern India's freedom movement has been the direct outcome of those diverse influences which British rule itself was instrumental in implanting in this country. The Indian National Congress emerged as the outward embodiment of a new spirit and a new renaissance which were but a rich harvest of what had been sown earlier during the last century in the shape of English Education and modern ideas of administration. But, India's quest for an ideal of freedom is a story of a constant struggle between the forces of the old order and the growing democratic spirit, and it was a result of this struggle that India's ideal has undergone a continuous transformation since the Congress was founded in 1885. The political goal that the India of to-day has set before herself, though a natural culmination of the movement that was ushered in 1885, is nevertheless something which the founders of the Congress had in reality never aimed at.

India's political ideal emerged more as a protest against bureaucratic hegemony than as a move against the British connection as such. The founders of the Congress had unbounded faith in British justice and liberalism, and they honestly believed that the time would come when India would take her rightful place in the Empire under England's guidance with England's help. The early Congress leaders were so deeply conscious of the benefits of British rule that they disdained to be termed seditious conspirators or disloyalists. They proclaimed in no uncertain terms that they were loyal to the backbone and they harboured no wild ideas of subverting the British power. What, therefore, they asked for did not amount to more than a very modest programme of administrative reform. They desired no snapping of the existing ties; they pleaded only for their loosening. If they opposed the existing system, they did not oppose for the mere sake of opposition.

The political ideal of the Congress therefore was very modest at the outset, and its leaders had a sincere desire to support the British Government by fair and helpful criticism and by keeping it informed of the views and demands of the people, for they were no dreaming idealists, sedition-mongers, or irresponsible agitators. A few years after the foundation of the Congress, the idea dawned in the minds of the leaders that a wider and more tangible goal was needed than the position that had been taken up in the initial stage. This new idea was thus expressed by Mr. C. Sankaran Nair in his presidential address of 1897 :

"We must insist on perfect equality. Inequality means race inferiority and national abasement". This demand was given a concrete shape by Mr. R. C. Dutt who in his presidential speech of 1899 made a case for government by the people and urged, '.... you cannot permanently secure the welfare of the people, if you tie up the hands of the people themselves."

This change in outlook was due to the emergence of the extremists in the Congress who demanded freedom as the nation's birthright.

The Congress, however, officially still followed what has been termed a mendicant policy, and did not visualise a goal nobler than limited self-government of the colonial pattern. Even this humble demand came under pressure from those forward elements who first rose to prominence by their opposition to Curzon's reactionary policy. The establishment of a United States of India, placed on an equal footing with the self-governing parts of the Empire was still the highest ideal of India's future, and Sir Henry Cotton in his presidential speech of 1904 said:

"This ideal of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate states, the United States of India, under the aegis of Great Britain."

At the next session of 1905, Mr. G. K. Gokhale definitely stated in his presidential address that India's goal was to be the attainment of a form of government which existed in the self-governing parts of the Empire. Mr. Gokhale also frankly admitted that the advance to this goal was bound to be gradual, for it was necessary for India "to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one". The moderate leaders

of those days stuck to this position in spite of the opposition of the extremists led by Tilak. The result was the historic split at the Congress session held at Surat in 1907.

Revolutionary activity and the cult of the bomb which were the immediate outcome of the repression following in the wake of the agitation against Bengal partition symbolised the advent of a more radical outlook on India's political future. But, as the Congress was held by the moderates up to the First World War, the revolutionary ideal made little impression on the Congress opinion, the moderates had nothing but contempt for those wild extremists who talked about abolishing British rule at once and completely. They ridiculed the thought that the British power could be shaken by a little picric acid or a few flasks of gunpowder. Dr. Rashbehari Ghose in his presidential speech of 1908 said:

"We condemn from the bottom of our hearts all seditious movements and we condemn anarchism most, because it is opposed to the laws of God as well as man".

The creed of the Congress as finally laid down in the revised constitution of 1908 was stated to be the attainment of colonial self-government by constitutional means. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya thus clarified this newly-defined creed in his presidential speech of 1909:

"The creed we have adopted is, however, no new creed. It has been the creed of the Congress from the beginning. The foundation of the Congress rests on loyalty to the British Government. We have made it absolutely clear that we want self-government within the Empire".

Colonial self-government seemed so attractive to the moderates that year after year from 1908 they glorified it as a noble ideal. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar went so far as to claim in his presidential speech of 1912 that the British connection was a Providential dispensation. These leaders were doubtless opposed to a perpetual tutelage, but they were equally opposed to a separation from England and absolute independence. They pleaded that liberty could not descend as a free gift, nor could it be wrested by force. So, they emphasised the value of constitutional means by which alone, they held, India could attain self-government within the

J. 19

Empire. Mrs. Annie Besant sought to give a philosophic basis to the political faith of the moderates through her Home Rule movement. According to her, the demand for self-government was a demand for the evolution of national character for the service of humanity. The war proved too strong for a faith like this, and the events moved too rapidly for the moderates.

The end of the War witnessed the birth of a new epoch in India's freedom movement. Though the revolutionaries had failed to bring about an armed rising in India with German help, they had at least justified their existence as "the sappers and miners" of India's national advance by forcing Britain to concede the reforms of 1919. But, the Satyagraha movement started by Mahatma Gandhi changed the whole political scene, for it was a novel force introduced into Indian politics. India's masses were awakened for the first time and the national movement was no longer a monopoly of the educated middle class alone. As a mass movement non-cooperation was not a doctrine of despair, nor was it a doctrine of negation. It was an affirmation of India's spiritual strength as the real basis of the demand for freedom. This new political philosophy of Satyagraha and non-cooperation finally broke the hold of the moderates over the Congress, and ushered in the new demand for Swaraj. Thus began the Gandhian era in the Indian freedom movement.

The ideal of Swaraj was not to be confused with that of mere Swarajya, for Swaraj, unlike the political conception of Swarajya comprehended the nation's entire spiritual mind. Mahatma Gandhi's movement for Swaraj was therefore essentially a moral revolt against alien domination on the basis of truth, fearlessness and non-violence. It did not directly aim at the paralysis of British rule; its immediate aim was to remove the nation's own paralysis by non-violent rearmament of its soul. As for independence, Mahatma Gandhi made it clear in his presidential address of 1924 that he would strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. The Madras Congress of 1927, however, approved the goal of complete independence. Then came the Nehru Committee Report of 1928, which declared Dominion Status as the national goal. Not that Pandit Motilal Nehru was against the ideal of complete independence, but his point of view was that of a realist.

"I am for complete independence, but I am not against full Dominion Status, provided I get it before it loses its attraction".

The march of events, however, proved too strong for those who might be content with the substance of independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's lead established the doctrine of complete independence from British imperialism as well as from all forms of capitalistic exploitation. This socialist trend gave a new shape to India's ideal of freedom. In his presidential speech of 1929, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said:

"We stand for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress has not acknowledged and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way".

This was bound to lead to the goal of *Purna Swaraj* which the Congress finally accepted in its revised constitution of 1934. The supreme sanction behind this new creed was non-violence which is the finest legacy of India's freedom movement to humanity. India's acceptance of the ideal of *Purna Swaraj* was the culmination of the Gandhian era of national struggle, but the national demand received a powerful impetus from Netaji Subhas Boses' *Azad Hind* movement during the last War, which is one of the most dramatic and poignant episodes of the history of India's fight for freedom.

The goal of a sovereign independent republic finally accepted by the Constituent Assembly is the natural outcome of all that the freedom movement in India has hitherto stood for. It also marks the end of the Gandhian era of non-violent struggle. What shape this new ideal will take in a partitioned India is for the future to unfold. There are patriots who have begun to feel that Pakistan is the logical result of the non-violent political creed of the Congress. It is a moot question, however, if India could have reached her present position so quickly by violent methods alone. In any case, the curtain has risen on the drama which will unfold the future destiny of India's freedom movement.

Akbar's Conquest of Rajasthan*

BY

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT. (Lucknow),
D.LITT. (Agra),

*Professor and Head of the Department of History and Political
Science, Agra College, Agra.*

Early Foothold in Rajasthan

Rajasthan occupied a prominent place in Akbar's scheme of conquest, as the realisation of his ambition of becoming the supreme ruler of India was not possible until the ancient dynasties of this region, who had kept aloof from the earlier Sultans of Delhi, acknowledged his suzerainty. Unlike his father and grandfather, Akbar was well aware of the valour and sincerity of the Rajputs and the value of their friendship. Hence his desire to bring them in a subordinate alliance with himself and to make them the bulwark of his power. He had already had a foothold in Nagaur, probably the first place in Rajasthan to pass into Muslim possession; a part of Mewat (Alwar district) was occupied at the end of 1556: Ajmer and Jaitāran; (in Jodhpur principality) were captured at the close of 1557; but these were isolated possessions and not parts of a compact dominion. Early in 1562 Bhārmal of Amber (modern Jaipur) acknowledged his overlordship, and the city of Mertā was conquered with the help of the Kachhwāhās a few months later. These latter acquisitions were of real political importance and paved the way for the extension of Akbar's suzerainty over almost the whole of Rajasthan. The success of imperial troops over the Jodhpur fortress in 1563 seems to have been temporary, and for a little over five years Akbar was involved in other more pressing domestic affairs and had no leisure to think of conquering any part of Rajasthan. He bestowed his immediate attention on the project as soon as he was free from the Uzbek convulsions.

*This article forms part of the Author's three-volume work on Akbar the Great which is in preparation.

Rupture with the Rana.

Akbar gave priority to Mewar as he rightly felt that the reduction of this premier Rajput state would prepare the way to the submission of other Rajput rulers who were not so strong and hostile as the Sisodias of Mewar. This ancient dynasty had ruled over an extensive territory with its capital at Chittor since the 6th century A.D., and had for some time claimed suzerainty over most parts of what is now called Rajasthan. Rana Sāngā, the father of the then ruler Udaya Singh, had measured swords with Akbar's grandfather Babar and had narrowly missed the honour of victory over this Central Asian conqueror. No member of this family had sullied his reputation by bowing his head before a Muslim ruler; nor had any lowered his pride by agreeing to a matrimonial alliance with a Muslim sovereign, however exalted or mighty. Though not as courageous and warlike as his ancestors, Udaya Singh had resolved not to submit to or recognise Akbar as his suzerain. He and his people looked upon the Kachchwāhā king of Amber with contempt¹ for having compromised his dignity by giving his daughter in marriage to Akbar. Such an attitude on the part of the Rana naturally wounded the young emperor's pride and, although no cause or even pretext was necessary in view of his settled policy and ambition, it furnished a sufficient *casus belli* against the lord of Chittor, who had given further provocation by affording shelter to Baz Bahadur, the ex-ruler of Malwa.

Akbar marches to Chittor.

On August 30, 1567, Akbar proceeded on a hunting expedition with the double purpose of suppressing the rebellion of the Mirzas in Malwa and of conquering Chittor, and on reaching Dholpur asked Prince Sakti Singh, the second son of Rana Udaya Singh, who had been offended with his father and joined the Mughal emperor, whether he would fight on his side in an expedition against his father. Akbar is reported to have said that most of the great men of India had submitted to him, but the Rana had yet not done so, and, therefore, he proposed to march

1. No medieval Hindu, however low in social status, liked a marriage with a Muslim, though of royal blood, as in Hindu eyes the mere touch of a Muslim was defilement or pollution.

against him and humble his pride. Sakti Singh, who shared with his clansmen the love of their homeland, discreetly left the royal camp and hastened to inform his father that Akbar intended to undertake an expedition against Chittor. Meanwhile the emperor had continued his march and occupied the fort of Sivi Supar (Shivapur), captured Kotāh, and appointed Shah Muhammad Qandhari to take charge of it.²

Suppression of the Mirzas' Rebellion.

When the camp reached Gagrāun, Abul Fazl's elder brother Faizi was for the first time received in audience at the end of September. His reputation as a scholar and a poet had reached Akbar who had consequently summoned him to court.

As Akbar had resolved to undertake personally the conquest of Chittor, which had defied many an earlier invader, the duty of suppressing the rebellion of the Mirzas in Malwa devolved on Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan and his colleagues, Shah Budāgh Khan, Murad Khan, Haji Muhammad Khan Sistāni and some other officers who held assignments in Malwa and were sent there. As the imperial army reached Ujjain, the Mirzas were shaken, and they collected at Mandu. Ulugh Mirza died about this time, and his brothers offered no resistance, and fled towards Gujarat. They took shelter at the court of Chinghiz Khan. Malwa was cleared of the rebels and a peaceful resettlement of the province was carried out.³

Akbar at Chittor.

A preliminary step taken by Akbar was the despatch from Gagrāun of a contingent of his troops under Asaf Khan to conquer the fort of Māndal which lay on the road to Chittor and forty miles short of it. Another army under Hussain Quli Khan was sent after his arrival at Chittor to pursue the Rana who was reported to have left the defence of Chittor in the hands of Jaimal Rathor, the defender of Mērtā, and had taken shelter in the hills of Udaipur and Kumbhalgarh. The first of these contingents performed the duty assigned to it and returned to join the royal camp at Chittor. Asaf Khan defeated Rawat Ballu Solanki and

2. A.N., II, 301-303; T.A., II, 214-215, M.T., II, 102; *Farishta*, I, 257.

3. A.N., II, 313; M.T., II, 102.

occupied Māṇḍal and Rampurā. Hussain Quli Khan, however, only raided the country as far as Udaipur and brought much booty, but failed to trace the Rana. Akbar reached the vicinity of Chittor on October 23, and next day moved to the foot of the fort and encamped in the wide plain north-east of it. He made a circuit of the gigantic fort, had its base surveyed by expert engineers, and took note of its defences and weak points. It took one month to complete the investment of the fortress, which was well-defended and provisioned. It is situated on a four-to-five hundred feet high isolated hill, rising steeply from the surrounding plain, and is three miles and a quarter in length from north to south and some 1,200 yards in breadth, in the centre, from east to west. Its circumference at the base is a little over eight miles. The surrounding plain, many miles in area, constitutes a hindrance to its defence, and the presence of a hillock called Chittori at a short distance east of it affords facilities to an invader. The royal palaces, other residential buildings, and markets were all situated within the fortifications, and the modern town below the base in the west came into existence long after Akbar's time. The fort had seven gates in the two zigzag bends of its fortifications, the most important of which were Ram Pōl on the west, Suraj Pōl on the east and Lakhota Bari on the north. On the eve of Akbar's invasion Rana Udaya Singh along with his family had left for the hills of Girwā (modern Udaipur district) in pursuance of the decision of his nobles and officers, who were aware of Akbar's strength and resources, and his firm determination to reduce Mewar, and were consequently apprehensive about the welfare of the ruling family.⁴ Udaya Singh had provided the fort with means of defence, stationed therein 8,000 gallant Rajputs under the command of Jaimal Rathor and one thousand expert musketeers from Kalpi, and supplied provisions for several years. For miles together he had laid waste the surrounding country in order to deprive the invading army and its beasts of burden of food and fodder.⁵

4. *Vir Binod*, Vol. II, 74-75. Attempts have been made by a few modern writers to prove that Udaya Singh was a brave and valorous soldier. This is not borne out by the facts of his career. Though not really a cowardly person, he was not as brave and fearless as his father Sanga or his son Pratap or even most members of the Sisodia dynasty.

5. *A.N.*, II, 314, 322-323 (for the number of Rajput troops and musketeers from Kalpi); *T.A.*, II, 216.

The Siege of Chittor.

Akbar tried one after another three plans to capture the formidable fort. Even before it was completely besieged, the Mughals every day made spirited assaults, but these were repulsed with slaughter. The emperor soon realised that rash attacks on the well-fortified and ably defended walls meant useless loss of life and ordered selected portions of the walls and bastions to be mined, filled with gun-powder and set on fire so as to breach them. It was then time to launch assaults. Accordingly three mines were dug under the cover of the three principal batteries, viz., the emperor's special battery under Hasan Khan Chaghtai, Rai Patr Das and a few others opposite the Lakhota gate of the fort on the north, the second battery under Shujaat Khan, Todar Mal and Qasim Khan, the chief engineer facing Suraj Pöl gate on the east, and the third under Asaf Khan at the Chittori hill opposite the Ram Pöl gate on the south. At the same time a *Sābāt* or covered way of two parallel walls of the length of bowshot was to be erected very near the foot of the fort facing the Lakhota gate. A large mortar capable of throwing half a maund heavy ball was cast on the spot in the presence of the emperor. These preparations for battering the fort frightened the garrison, who opened parleys, offering to recognise the Mughal suzerainty and to pay an annual tribute. But Akbar insisted on the Rana's personal attendance, which the garrison declined to agree to, and hence the negotiations fell through. The defenders consequently resolved to fight to the bitter end, and showered arrows, stones and balls on the trenches from the walls and bastions of the fort. The Mughals suffered casualties at the rate of one hundred a day and tried to protect themselves with shields of raw hide and rushed through with the construction of the covered way. Akbar literally poured money to encourage the diggers of the mines and makers of the covered way, besides the troops. On the 17th of December one of the two mines facing the northern facade of the fort exploded with terrific noise, shattered the northern bastion from its very foundation and killed a large number of Rajputs who had gathered there. The Mughals who had kept themselves in readiness for an attack rushed forward to force their entry through the breach. At that time the second mine (adjacent to the first) exploded suddenly, and blew to pieces 200 Mughal assailants and 40 Rajput defenders. Of

J. 20

these 200 Mughals who fell, 100 were men of note and 20 were so illustrious as to be personally known to the emperor. The Rajputs soon repaired the breach by building as high a wall as the original one. The third mine exploded near the battery of Asaf Khan in the south, killing nearly 30 members of the garrison, but causing no damage to the wall of the fort. Akbar now felt that the fort was not likely to be conquered merely by mining operations, and he must fire on the people inside the fort and destroy their lives, houses and property before he could hope for their submission. So he concentrated on the completion of the covered way (*Sābāt*), encouraged the masons and the soldiers by his personal presence, and frequently fired his gun from its shelter. He spent one day and two nights in the apartments on the top of the roof that covered the two walls of the *Sābāt*. The *Sābāt* was ready under the supervision of Todar Mal and Qasim Khan and from its shelter the Mughals kept up a constant fire from their heavy guns and mortars, the balls falling inside the fort and hitting the garrison. Akbar occupied a suitable place in the *Sābāt* and not only directed the operations but also took personal share in shooting. The Rajputs replied equally effectively, killing many Mughals of distinction and exposing Akbar to imminent danger from which he escaped narrowly more than once. Yet as the result of continuous firing from the imperial batteries there were a few breaches in the northern wall. At the dead of the night of 23rd February the garrison under the personal supervision of Jaimal crowded into the breach in order to repair it and prevent the invaders from entering the fort. Akbar noticed Jaimal in the chief's armour and without knowing who he was fired his famous gun *Sangrām* at him. Jaimal was instantly⁶ killed. The garrison lost heart, and during the night made preparations for a final struggle. Three hundred Rajput ladies performed *jauhar* by throwing themselves into burning fires at a number of places to save their honour in the event of a capitulation of the fort. The command of the garrison now devolved on Patta, a Sisodia chief next to Jaimal in rank, and the brave Rajputs donned yellow robes in grim determination to fight and die a glorious death.

6. G. N. Sharma: *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors* (1954), 76 F.N. The view of G. H. Ojha (vide *Rajputana Ka Itihas*, Vol. II, pp. 727-728) that Jaimal was only wounded in the leg and died fighting next morning, is not borne out even by unimpeachable Rajput sources.

There was no question of defence; it was one of sacrifice. They flung open the gate at dawn on 24th February and faced the advancing Mughals, sword in hand.

The last Phase; Fall of Chittor

Although the breaches of the fort walls were abandoned by the Rajputs during the second half of the night, yet the amazed Mughals collected together and kept themselves in readiness throughout the night. Early in the morning, 300 noted elephants, with swords in their trunks, were marched forward from the front of the *Sābāt* to the gates of the fort. The Rajputs fell on them desperately, caught hold of their tusks, and slashed the trunks of many of them. A most bloody battle that defies description took place. Ishwar Das Chauhan with great daring seized the tusk of the ferocious elephant Madhukar with one hand and struck his dagger with the other. Similar feats were performed by many a Rajput hero. But their valour proved to be of no avail against a huge array of mountain-like elephants, who killed most of the defenders and trampled a large number under foot. The brave Patta himself was trampled to death near the temple of Govind Shyam. There was fighting in the streets and the carnage lasted till midday. Heaps of the dead were scattered in every house and lane; but the number of the slain was very great in front of the Rana's palace, the temple of Mahadeva, and near the Rampura gate. Akbar, accompanied by his principal officers, went into the fort to have a look at the Rana's capital and his wrath was so much inflamed on account of a most stubborn resistance offered by the garrison that he ordered a general massacre of the people. Thirty thousand of them were killed in cold blood. There were in the fort 8,000 fighting Rajputs, 1,000 musketeers and 40,000 peasants. Most of these fell victims to Akbar's misplaced anger—an indefensible act which Abul Fazl tried in vain to justify. He was particularly keen to inflict punishment on 1,000 musketeers from Kalpi, who were in the Rana's service, and were responsible for a great execution among the royal troops by their unflinching marksmanship, but these escaped by a stratagem. They disguised themselves as Mughals and on the pretence of taking out their wives and children, as if they were prisoners, reached a place of safety.⁷

⁷ A.N., II, 314-323; M.A.Q., 176-183; T.A., II, 216-219; M.T., II, 104; Farishta, I, 257-258.

Akbar stayed at Chittor for three days in order to make arrangements for the administration of the fort and the surrounding country. Chittor was constituted a district of the empire and Asaf Khan was appointed its governor. On 28th February he left for Ajmer. He had taken a vow before the commencement of the siege that, if victorious, he would walk to the shrine of Muin-ud-din Chisti at Ajmer as thanks-giving. In fulfilment of this vow he walked in the hot weather of early summer a few stages from Chittor to Māndal where he was persuaded by a message from the priestly attendants of the shrine to take a conveyance as the Khwaja had appeared to them in a vision and had wished that the emperor might ride. But he performed the last stage of the journey on foot and reached Ajmer on the 6th of March. After 9 days' stay there he left for Agra by way of Alwar and Narnaul, and reached the capital on April 13, 1568.⁸

Temporary submission of Sulaiman Karrani.

During the siege of Chittor reports were received of the submission of Sulaiman Karrani, younger brother of Taj Khan whom he had succeeded as ruler of Bengal and Bihar. He maintained a large army of loyal Afghans and coveted Zamaniya which was in charge of Asadullah. This Asadullah had been in the service of the late Khan-i-Zaman after whose death he opened negotiations with Sulaiman with a view to delivering the fort and territory of Zamaniya to him. When Munim Khan governor of Jaunpur, heard about it, he contacted Asadullah and persuaded him to make over the fort to him. Having been discomfited Sulaiman arrived at a friendly understanding with Munim Khan and it was arranged that the latter should meet Sulaiman who would recognise Akbar's suzerainty and arrange for the reading of the *Khutba* in his name. Sulaiman welcomed him near Patna, held a feast in his honour, and arranged for the reading of the *Khutba* and issuing of coins in Akbar's name. But the Afghans behaved treacherously and planned to arrest Munim Khan and put him to death. Munim Khan got scent of their perfidious intention and hastily beat a retreat to Jaunpur. Bayazid Sulaiman's son, and Lodi, his prime minister, tried to pacify Munim Khan. Munim had not

8. A.N., II, 324, 328-329; M.A.Q., 184-185; T.A., II, 220-221; M.T., II, 105; *Farishta*, I, 258.

yet reached Jaunpur when the news of the successful termination of the siege and capture of Chittor arrived there. Sulaiman's submission proved to be a temporary affair. He was an ambitious ruler and had already invaded Orissa more than once. Now he marched on Orissa once again, and secured possession of it by fraud, and put the raja to death. Ibrahim, his rival, who had taken refuge with the raja of Orissa, was arrested and slain. There was a great extension of Sulaiman's territory and strength, and he did not feel inclined to accept the position of a vassal to Akbar.⁹

Second Rebellion of the Mirzas.

It will be recalled that the Mirzas had fled from Malwa to Gujarat in October, 1567, and received asylum at the court of Chinghiz Khan who had taken possession of Champaner, Surat and Broach after the death of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat, and was now meditating the conquest of Ahmedabad, then in the possession of Aitimid Khan. So he welcomed the Mirzas and marched along with them against Aitimid Khan. Aitimid Khan was defeated in a battle and Chinghiz Khan occupied Ahmedabad. He rewarded the Mirzas by assigning to them territory in the neighbourhood of Broach; but as the latter were turbulent by nature, they encroached upon a large territory and created strife. Chingiz Khan, therefore, drove them away to Khandesh. From Khandesh the Mirzas raided Malwa. Akbar sent an army under Sadiq Khan and others, who were designated for the conquest of the fort of Ranthambhor, to Malwa and deputed another army under Qulich Khan and a few other commanders to reinforce Sadiq Khan. When these troops reached Sironj they were joined by Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, and at Sarangpur Shah Budagh Khan reinforced them with his contingent. The Mirzas who had reached near Ujjain now fled to Mandu in confusion. They were pursued and driven off to the bank of the Narmada. Many of their men were killed. The Mirzas now retreated to Gujarat which they considered to be a fit place to fish in, as Chingiz Khan who was opposed to them had been assassinated. The royal troops, therefore, returned to Malwa. The Mirzas obtained possession of a large part of Gujarat and occupied important forts, like Champaner and Surat.¹⁰

9. A.N., II, 325-327.

10. A.N., II, 329-331; T.A., II, 222-223; M.T., II, 107; *Farishta*, I, 258.

Transfer of the Atka Clan from the Panjab.

In pursuance of his policy not to allow any important class or family to get a permanent hold in any part of the country, Akbar decided to transfer the sons and relatives of the late Shams-ud-din Atka Khan from the Panjab, which they had held in assignment for a pretty long time. He summoned the officers and jagirdars of that province who reached the capital in September 1568. The emperor transferred Mir Muhammad Khan entitled Khan Kalan who held the office of governor of the Panjab to the district of Sambhal, Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan to Malwa, and Shariff Khan to Kanauj; but Mirza Aziz Koka, son of Khan Kalan who held the title of Khan-i-Azam, was allowed to retain his assignment of Dipalpur (in the modern Montgomery district) in the Panjab. Husain Quli Khan was transferred from Nagaur to the governorship of the Panjab and was given the title of Khan Jahan.¹¹

Shihab-ud-din Ahmad appointed Diwan of Khalsa.

At this very time Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan was summoned from Malwa and appointed diwan of *Khālsā* (reserved lands). As the work of the office of the wazir had grown tremendously and could not be coped with by Muzaffar Khan, it was decided to split it into two departments, namely, diwan of *jagir* lands and diwan of *Khalsa*. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan introduced some reforms in the revenue administration. He abolished the annual settlement of revenue, "which was a cause of great expense and led to embezzlements, and established a rate (*Nasq*), and by his acuteness suppressed the fraudulent."¹²

Conquest of Ranthambhor.

Soon after the fall of Chittor, Akbar matured his plans for the capture of Ranthambhor which was a formidable fortress, next only to Chittorgarh, in Rajasthan. Accordingly he appointed Sadiq Khan, Baba Khan Qaqshal, Samanji Khan, Safdar Khan, Bahadur Khan, Dost Khan Sahari and some other officers under the leadership of Ashraf Khan to besiege that fortress. But this army had to be recalled owing to the outbreak of the second rebel-

11. *A.N.*, II, 332-333; *T.A.*, II, 223; *M.T.*, II, 106.

12. *A.N.*, II, 333.

lion of the Mirzas in Malwa. When this rebellion was quelled, Akbar decided to proceed against Ranthambhor¹³ on February 10, 1569.

The celebrated fort of Ranthambhor, situated in the centre of a mountainous region, was in the possession of Surjan Hara, who had strengthened its fortifications and stocked it with adequate provisions. Akbar made a circuit of the fort and had its base surveyed. He then mounted the top of an adjacent hill from where he reconnoitred the citadel which was now very closely besieged. Batteries were established all round the hill, but the Mughal battering mortars produced little impression on its gigantic walls. Akbar, therefore, ordered the erection of *Sābāts*. Qasim Khan, the chief engineer, and Raja Todar Mal the wazir, who were experienced in the art, were commissioned to accomplish this work, and a lofty *Sābāt*, as high as the fort itself, was constructed opposite to the Ran Gate. Great culverins, each of which was dragged over the level ground by 200 pairs of oxen, were carried over the hillock of the Ran by a crowd of 'iron-armed' bearers (*kahars*). These culverins, capable of throwing thirty maund iron balls and sixty maund stone balls, began battering the walls of the fort, and soon effected a breach in the wall and pulled down the houses inside the fort. As Akbar fixed the 19th of March for a general attack and capture of the fort, Surjan Hara was shaken and made overtures for peace through Bhagwant Das, Man Singh and other nobles, and sent his sons Duda and Bhoj on the 18th with an offer of surrender. Akbar accepted the offer and sent the young princes back to their father in the fort. On the 22nd Surjan himself met the emperor and was received with favour. He asked for three days' time to evacuate the fort. Akbar agreed and on the appointed day Surjan vacated the fort with his family and baggage and delivered the keys to the emperor. The fort of Ranthambhor thus fell into the hands of Akbar within the space of one month. The story narrated in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" by James Tod and believed by V. A. Smith that Akbar along with Raja Bhagwant Das of Amber went to the fort in the disguise of a servant and negotiated terms with Surjan Hara is not supported by any contemporary Persian authority and

13. A.N., II, 330, 334-335; T.A., II, 223; M.T., II, 107.

is incredible. Anis-ud-din Mihtar Khan was appointed commandant of the Fort of Ranthambhor and Akbar left for the pilgrimage to Ajmer, and on return journey accepted the hospitality of Raja Bhagwant Das at Amber. He returned to Agra on May 10 and took up his residence in the newly completed Bengali Mahal in the Agra fort.¹⁴

Capture of the Fort of Kalinjar

Akbar now resolved to obtain possession of the fort of Kalinjar which was the third most important citadel in Central Hindustan. It was under the sway of Raja Ram Chandra of Bhātha who had acquired it by the payment of a large sum of money to Bijli Khan, the adopted son of Bahar Khan, entitled Azam Humayun, who was a notable officer of Islam Shah Sur. The emperor despatched a powerful force under the command of Majnun Khan Qaqshal under whose orders were placed Shaham Khan Jalair and some other notable officers. They besieged the fort. Raja Ram Chandra who had in 1563 acknowledged the suzerainty of Akbar for his paternal state of Bhātha was already overawed by the news of the fall of the forts of Chittor and Ranthambhor which were reputed to be impregnable. He felt that it was futile to defend Kalinjar against an immeasurably superior army. So he sent an offer of surrender. Akbar thereupon ordered the raising of the siege, and appointed Majnun Khan to take charge of it. Kalinjar thus came under Akbar's possession without fighting (August 1569). Raja Ram Chandra was allowed to retain possession of all his treasure and property and was given pargana Arail near Allahabad in assignments.¹⁵

About this time an envoy from the Raja of Cochin in South India waited on Akbar with the gift of a remarkable knife whose touch was supposed to have had healing effect.¹⁶

Birth of Prince Salim.

Akbar, who was a little more than 27 years of age, was keen to have a son, who should live to inherit the vast kingdom that

14. A.N., II, 333-340; M.A.Q., 186-191; T.A., II, 224; M.T., II, 107-108; *Farishta*, I, 258; *Nainsi*, 2; *Ojha*, II, 731. W. Haig (*vide C.H.I.*, IV, 101) gives May 20, which is not correct.

15. A.N., II, 340-341; M.A.Q., 192-194; T.A., II, 226; M.T., II, 120.

16. A.N., II, 241-242.

he had created. Two children were born to him, but they had died in their infancy. Akbar consequently used to visit saints to have their blessings. He made a vow that he would walk to the mausoleum of Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti at Ajmer, if God bestowed on him a son. He waited on Shaikh Salim Chishti, who had his hermitage in a cave in the hills of Sikri, 23 miles west of Agra. In one of his visits he asked the Shaikh 'in a state of distraction' as to how many sons he should have. The saint replied that he would have three sons. Akbar then said, "I have made a vow that, casting my first son on the skirt of your favour, I will make your friendship and kindness his protector or preserver." The Shaikh approved of the idea and congratulated the emperor. When Akbar's Rajput queen, the Amber princess, expected confinement, she was sent to the Shaikh's hermitage along with some servants, male and female, and other attendants. There prince Salim, the future Jahangir, was born on August 30, 1569. The happy news was conveyed to Akbar at Agra. In accordance with a popular belief that when a son was born after long expectation his father should not see him for sometime, the baby was kept in Sikri and was entrusted to the care of loyal servants. He was given the name of Sultan Salim. "After my birth," writes Jahangir in his autobiography, "they gave me the name of Sultan Salim, but I never heard my father whether in his cups or in his sober moments call me Muhammad Salim or Sultan Salim, but always Shaikho Baba."¹⁷ The prince's birth was celebrated with great splendour. The celebrations lasted for seven days, all state prisoners were set free and poets lavishly rewarded, among them one Khwaja Husain Marvi alone getting two lakhs of tankas for an Ode composed for the occasion. The emperor devoutly undertook a pilgrimage on foot to Ajmer in fulfilment of his vow. He started from Agra on January 20, 1570, and in 16 stages reached the Khwaja's shrine where he spent several days in devotion and charity. He returned to Agra on May 2 by way of Delhi after visiting his father's mausoleum and other shrines of that city.¹⁸

17. T.J., Vol. I, 1-2.

18. A.N., II, 343-345, 349-352; M.T., II, 108-109 and 120-124; M.A.Q., 195-200; T.A., II, 226-228; Farishta, I, 258.

Birth of Murad.

On June 7, 1570, Akbar's second son Murad was born at Fatehpur Sikri¹⁹ As thanksgiving Akbar again made a pilgrimage to Ajmer, and setting out from Agra on September 23, spent a few days of Ajmer.²⁰ He had the fort of Ajmer repaired and fortifications of the city enlarged. New buildings, palaces and halls were erected inside the fort. Nobles and officers were required to build for themselves residential houses and gardens. The emperor left Ajmer for Nagpur on November 3, 1570, where he arrived on 5th November and stayed for fifty days. Here he reclaimed one of the three spacious tanks, which he named Shukra Talab.²¹

Rajasthan submits to Akbar.

At Nagaur the emperor received the rulers of some of the states of Rajasthan, who had not yet submitted to him and entered into friendly alliances with them. Chandra Sen, son of Maldeva, the ruler of Jodhpur, paid a visit to Akbar and was received with royal favour. Rai Kalyan Mal of Bikaner together with his son Rai Singh had an interview with Akbar and entered into a friendly alliance with him. Akbar married Kalyan Mal's brother Kahan's daughter, took Rai Singh in his service and permitted Kalyanmal to return to Bikaner as he was so fat that it was difficult for him to ride a horse. Jaisalmer also became a vassal state and its ruler Rawal Har Rai gave his daughter in marriage to Akbar. Raja Bhagwant Das was sent to Jaisalmer to bring the princess to the royal camp. Thus by the end of 1570 all important rulers of Rajasthan, except the Rana of Udaipur, submitted to Akbar and recognised him as their suzerain. They entered Akbar's service as his vassals and were enrolled as mansabdars of high rank.²² This success, it may be surmised, must have been the result of the emperor's consummate diplomacy and unfailing tact no less than that of his policy of firmness and liberal toleration. As for the Rana, he had lost nearly one-third of his territory besides his capital Chittor; he now transferred the seat of his government

19. W. Haig (vide *C.H.I.*, IV, p. 102) wrongly gives 7th July. Muharram 3, 978, A.H. falls on 7th June.

20. *A.N.*, II, 353; *M.A.Q.*, 207; *T.A.*, II, 228; *M.T.*, II, 132.

21. *A.N.*, II, 356-357; *M.A.Q.*, 208-210; *T.A.*, II, 229; *M.T.*, II, 133.

22. *A.N.*, II, 358-359; *T.A.*, II, 229-230; *M.T.*, II, 133; *Farishta*, I, 258-259.

to Udaipur and continued to offer resistance from his retreat in the hills.

During Akbar's stay at Nagaur, Baz Bahadur, ex-ruler of Malwa, weary of his wanderings, came and submitted to the emperor. He was appointed a mansabdar of one thousand.

Akbar at Pak Patan.

From Nagaur Akbar paid a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Farid at Pak Patan (Ajodhan) in the Panjab where he stayed for a few days. There he accorded permission to Muhibb Ali Khan, son of Mir Khalifa, prime minister of Babur, to conquer Thatta. This permission was given on account of the importunity of Nāhid Begum, wife of Muhibb Ali Khan, who was a daughter of Qasim Khan Koka, a most faithful officer of Humayun. As Sultan Mahmud of Bhakkar declined to yield Muhibb Ali Khan passage through his principality, the latter attacked Sultan Mahmud and defeated him. Muhibb Ali then besieged the fort of Bhakkar in which Sultan Mahmud had taken shelter. After capturing this fort, the Mughal army proceeded to acquire Thatta and besieged the fort, which was eventually captured.²³ On account of Prince Murad's illness Akbar's stay at Pak Patan was prolonged by a few days. When the prince had recovered, he marched to Lahore by way of Dipalpur, where Mirza Aziz Koka entertained the emperor. Akbar arrived at Lahore on May 17, 1571. During his return journey, he halted at Hisar where on 5th July he punished Lashkar Khan, who held the high offices of Mir Bakhshi, Mir Arz and Tawaji Begi as he had come drunk to the court one day, which the emperor considered to be a great offence. He was tied to a horse's tail, paraded in that condition and then imprisoned, and was released a few months later (end of September 1571) after he had paid a fine of fifty thousand rupees. The office of Mir Bakhshi was conferred on Shahbaz Khan. From Hisar Akbar performed a pilgrimage to Ajmer on July 21, whence he returned to Fatehpur Sikri, reaching there on 17th November 1571.

Foundation of the City of Fatehpur Sikri (November, 1571).

On his return Akbar decided to build a palace and other residential buildings and offices at Fatehpur Sikri. He considered this

23. A.N., II, 361-363; M.T., II, 134-135; T.A., II, 333-335.

24. A.N., II, 363-365; M.A.Q., 215-218.

place as lucky for himself and therefore, desired to live there. "In as much as," writes Abul Fazl, "his exalted sons (Salim and Murad) had taken their birth in Sikri and the God-knowing spirit of Shaikh Salim had taken possession thereto, his holy heart desired to give outward splendour to this spot, which bears spiritual grandeur." Akbar had formed the design of converting Fatehpur Sikri into a city soon after the birth of Salim and now (November 1571) he had the leisure to direct his attention to the project, and issued instructions to his architects and engineers to design a city, and erect a palace for his residence. Nobles and officers were asked to build mansions for themselves. A city wall with gates was erected on three sides of the city, the fourth side on the west being protected by an extensive lake many miles in area. The ridge of the hill was levelled and charming palaces and gardens were built on it. On the three sides of this sloping hill were erected offices, Khanqahs, schools, baths, and markets, and a few beautiful gardens were laid out on the levelled plain of the hill and in the city down below. In a short time a great and populous city came into existence. Akbar gave it the name of Fatehabad, which popularly became known as Fatehpur Sikri.²⁵

A brief account of the construction work is given by Father Monserrate, who was an eye witness of the operations. The stones were brought ready made, chiselled to shape according to design, and fixed up in their proper places and the city arose as if by magic within a short space of time. The place, which had once been a wilderness, infested by tigers and other ferocious animals, was now a splendid city more extensive and populous than London of the sixteenth century.²⁶

On January 4, 1572, Akbar honoured his Wazir Muzaffar Khan by accepting a grand entertainment at his newly built and profusely decorated mansion in the city of Agra. Curiously enough within a few months, this favourite minister was dismissed and exiled to Mecca. His offence is said to have been his loss of temper at a prolonged game of *Chaupar* at which attendance of high officers was compulsory and in which he had lost heavily.²⁷

25. A.N., II, 365; M.A.Q., 238-242; T.A., II, 225.

26. Commentarius.

27. A.N., II, 365-366 and 368; M.A.Q., 219-225.

Akbar and Indian Nationalism

BY

DR. MOHAMMAD YASIN, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.,
Assistant Professor of History, University of Lucknow

Gibbon has remarked that though the title of "the Great" has been bestowed by historians upon several rulers, in the case of Charlemagne alone has it been actually embodied in the name. But we may add to this the name of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar who was great not because of his brilliant military career or of his far-reaching political and financial reforms. His greatness lay in his nation-building scheme which put him a cut above other great oriental potentates.

India, before partition, was a sub-continent. No more than that. The diversities of race, religion, culture and language rendered the problem more complex and her title secure. Notwithstanding these the fundamental unity of this country goes unchallenged. But how far this unity has been achieved? It was an aspiration of the rulers in the past to materialise their dream of unity and reach the cherished goal of *chakravartin*. The methods adopted for the fulfilment of this desire were mainly military. As soon as the strong hand of a ruler was removed and the central power became weak, a host of semi-independent states came into existence.

Hinduism may be regarded the first religion that flourished in this country. It is very difficult to define Hinduism. It is a cosmopolitan creed having innumerable systems of thought and philosophy. All the other religions before the advent of Islam into India lost their identity and submerged themselves into one great whole.

Islam.

The introduction of Islam into India marks a definite feature in the history of this country, political as well as cultural. Islam is a practical religion. If a person recites *kalema*, follows certain

fundamental principles and observes rules laid down for the guidance of the believers, he is a Muslim, a true devotee. If he is guilty of negligence, or does something contrary to the rules and principles of the religion, he shall receive punishment on the Day of Judgment. But there is no '*via media*' in Islam. There is no compromise on the fundamentals. Even sufis, the Muslim mystics, were condemned as heretics, and mysticism was discouraged in Islam. It was only due to the efforts of Al-Ghazzali that Sufis came to be regarded as religious philosophers.

Such an uncompromising factor was introduced into India in the beginning of the eighth century, but it was not before the thirteenth century that it made any noticeable impression. Hinduism which had absorbed all the new elements found itself in great straits. Islam was the very contrast of Hinduism. It was diametrically opposed to the latter and a compromise appeared impossible. Hindus and Muslims were totally and fundamentally opposed to each other. They had different customs, manners, dress and modes of life.

A race began between the new-comers and the old inhabitants of the country for political supremacy. There was a continued struggle, a tug-of-war, and it has been remarked, "that the war between the two people, that was really a struggle between two different social systems, the one, old and decadent, and the other, full of youthful vigour and enterprise, came to an end favouring the latter."

Dynastic Designs.

The Muslims established their dominance; but the Hindus were subdued and overpowered by military strength and, with the aid of new tactics, and whenever they got a chance they rose in rebellion, defied the Muslim power and planned to overthrow the yoke of Muslim servitude. They failed to reconcile themselves to the new regime, nor was any attempt made to obtain their good will and loyalty for the infant Muslim empire.

The first three centuries of Muslim rule in India were a period of experiments in the political and military spheres. How to ensure the continuance of a particular dynasty was the main concern of the rulers. The system of government was essentially military despotism, based on military strength, and any rising or

act of sedition was rewarded by a general massacre. Shamsuddin Iltutmish and Ghiyasuddin Balban were anxious to make the throne secure for their dynasty and laboured hard for it, but the Hindus were neglected and not regarded competent enough to share in the construction of the imperial structure. Alauddin Khalji wanted to be absolute and Hindus were trampled down. Mohammad Tughlaq certainly deserves the praise of a historian for his benevolent and tolerant attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects. But he was too busy with his new schemes and had no time to set up any healthy pattern of state policy. Firuz Tughlaq and Sikander Lodi were reactionary to the core, and Hindus did not play any part in the politics of the day.

Sher Shah.

Sher Shah was the first ruler who hit on the right point and showed the way in the right direction. To quote Prof. Qanungo, "The accession of Sher Shah marked the beginning of that era of liberal Islam which lasted till the reaction of Aurangzeb's reign. Sher Shah may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation." He was the first Muslim ruler, who studied the good of the people. He had the genius to see that the government must be popularised, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration. He gave up the policy of coercion towards Hindus. Hindus were trusted and admitted to important positions in the army. One of his best generals was Brahmjit Gaur, who was sent in pursuit of Humayun after the battles of Chausa and Bilgram. Todar Mal rose in the time of Sher Shah. He thought that if Hindus and Muslims worked together, it would contribute to the stability of the empire. He wanted that both Hindus and Muslims should live amicably.

Unfortunately, the reign of Sher Shah was too short, and the experiment did not have a full chance. However, his reforms suggested fresh lines of approach to his successors. The legacy of his reign is most important.

It is true that the condition of Hindus was never better before than in the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah, but there is a vast difference between Akbar and Sher Shah. Sher Shah was

an orthodox Muslim; he was not like Akbar. Among the Mughal rulers of India, Babur had no time, nor capacity for any constructive work, and to erect a healthy edifice. Humayun got no chance to make a start in this direction. It was reserved for Akbar to take up the work of reconstruction in the light of lessons and experiments recorded by three centuries of Muslim rule in Northern India.

A Narrow View.

It is evident that the question had not been tackled till that time in a proper manner. It was an uphill task. The motives ascribed to Akbar by his opponents in introducing the nation-building project betray their prejudiced outlook and hostile attitude. Vincent Smith has pointed out that Akbar was influenced by his Hindu wives, and so he adopted a conciliatory policy towards Hindus. Nothing more can be said to discredit the great emperor. This is to take a very narrow view of noble intentions and ideals. Matrimonial alliances with non-Muslim ladies had nothing new in it. Of course, there was a peculiarity in the case of Akbar. Formerly non-Muslim ladies were married after their conversion to Islam, but Akbar allowed them to profess their own faith. It was something unique but the precedent had already been set up by the Ottoman Turks who married Christian princesses without getting them converted to Islam.

Kings are exceptions, and so was Akbar. It should be noted that there was no inter-communal marriage system in vogue, and it never received any encouragement at the hands of Akbar (Badauni, B.I.S., Vol. II, page 391). The national policy of Akbar had nothing to do with inter-communal marriages. Colonel Tod's criticism that Akbar's policy, though hidden, was more suicidal and injurious to the interests of Rajputs than Aurangzib's may be justified only on the grounds of sentiment. To say that Akbar created a caste of outcaste Rajputs is an assumption devoid of reality. Akbar bore no ill-will against Rajputs, nor against any section of his people. Rajputs were given what they wanted—jagirs, high posts and opportunities to rise. They were prevented from cutting the throats of one another. Hinduism flourished in his reign and the revival of Hindu literature took place.

Child of the Age.

A clear mind, free from all bias and prejudice, like '*tabula rasa*' of Locke, is needed to appreciate the state policy of the true son of the Indian Renaissance and Reformation. The age of Akbar was an age of construction, of reform, of intense activity tending towards integration. Abul Fazl is right when he remarks that the sovereign understood the spirit of the age and he attempted to abide by the requirements of the time. He made up his mind to play the role of a nation builder, and so he was the true child and sponsor of the age in which he lived.

It is true that when the sixteenth century dawned compromise and adjustment between the various sections of the population were dominant notes. But there was still much to be done. There had remained still some angularity which had to be rounded off. The fundamentals had remained unchanged and almost unaffected. The contribution of Akbar lay in the recognition of this spirit and taking it up to an imperial level. It is a misnomer to call his policy that of toleration.

The conviction was brought home to his mind that one of the causes of the rapid disappearance of the state established by Babur and continued by Humayun was its foreign character, that is to say, that the Mughals were not accepted either by the remanent of the Pathan chiefs or by the Hindus in general as the sons of the soil. If, therefore, a lasting imperial institution was to be developed this serious flaw had to be removed as early as possible. He was very well equipped to undertake this work. His mind was free from all prejudices, religious, political and cultural.

Not only this. In the previous centuries in the history of India, there had been great Sultans who formed extensive empires but few were equipped to build up a nation. The Government was not popularised and their foundation remained weak and did not ensure permanence and stability. Akbar saw into it and resolved to broadbase his empire on ideals which would at once be high, noble, just and impartial.

Cardinal Features.

Experience had taught him that it was unwise to depend merely upon his co-religionists. Firstly, because it created in the latter an overweening sense of self-importance; secondly, because

it brought into existence reasonable resentment from the excluded section of the population. Necessity demanded a policy of conciliating the Hindus and discontinuance of the policy of repression. It was a great blunder to ignore the predominant element of the population. Hence, two important items in his political programme were "equal treatment to every individual" irrespective of creed and "services open to talent." These may be described as the cardinal features of Akbar's policy. It was intended to create a counterpoise against those who so long had been revelling in the consciousness of their superiority. Moreover, to him as a student of comparative religions, the ideal of '*chakravartin*' made an irresistible appeal because it satisfied both Hindu and Muslim traditions and at the same time the achievement of the ideal would elevate him to a position never attained by any ruler before in the Turkish period.

It is in the framework of this large canvas that we can appreciate and understand Akbar's policy towards the Rajputs. The Rajput policy was a part and parcel of a more comprehensive ideal, an ideal which was dear, almost sacred, to the great monarch. Rajputs were still regarded the cream of Indian society, the repository of unpolluted Indian culture. If they could become friendly to the Mughals, it was certain the mind of Hindu society would undergo a radical change. They were the bravest of warriors and their intellect could be utilised in the construction of the new political edifice upon which Akbar set his heart.

Din-i-Ilahi.

Thus we find that Akbar embarked upon an enterprise which was the need of the hour, a noble cause. It was a troublesome enterprise, unique in its character. To bring two elements closer, to piece them into a thread which was fundamentally opposed requires rare powers and hence Akbar appeals to our admiration and deserves the praise he has received. Our attachment to him knows no bounds. What he did was to realise this ideal. He tried to approach the problem from every angle. The *Din-i-Ilahi* or *Tawhid-i-Ilahi* (the Divine Monotheism), the political sham-religion, was adopted as a means to achieve this end. The people must be made God-loving without bothering about the details of the religion and other orthodox associations. In the words of Dr. Tara Chand, "Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* was not an isolated freak of

an autocrat who had more power than he knew how to employ but an inevitable result of the forces, which were deeply surging in India's breast, and finding expression in the teachings of men like Kabir. Circumstances thwarted that attempt, but destiny still points towards the same goal." The literary activities of Akbar's reign were most fruitful. He wanted to create a cultural meeting-ground with Persian as the medium. He got books from Arabic and Sanskrit languages translated into Persian. The educational policy and social reforms contributed towards this sacred cause, the building up of an Indian nation and the creation of an Indian nationality.

Unification.

A word about Akbar's policy of conquest and unification of almost the whole country. Edward Terry has compared him to a "great pike in a pond preying upon his weaker neighbours." Vincent Smith has accused him of the love of power and wealth. But every student of political science knows it well that without political unification, national unity is an impossibility. Akbar endeavoured to reconcile the jarring factors into a wholesome one.

But his policy was undone. Though Jahangir and Shahjahan maintained the traditions of the previous rule they ruled as true Muslims and a complete reaction took place in Aurangzeb's reign. But we know Akbar's labour was not fruitless and its effect was lasting. The people were made loyal and devoted to the throne and even in Aurangzeb's time Hindus fought against their brothers to secure the glory of the Mughal crown. Akbar undoubtedly achieved the permanence and stability of the Mughal Empire for a time and it was nothing but the lingering effect of the efforts of the Great Emperor that kept the Mughal dynasty running after Aurangzeb though in the hands of most incapable successors. Akbar's endeavour to realise the Aryan ideal is still worthy of imitation by all statesmen.

An Early Inscription at Tiruchirapalli *

BY

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M.A., D.Litt.,
*Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of
 Madras.*

Tiruchirapalli is a thickly populated city on the banks of the Kāvēri and the headquarters of the district that goes by the same name. In the heart of the city is a big rock which is called in Tamil *malai* and contains the temple of Ucci-p-pillaiyār on the top. Behind this boulder there is an overhanging rock which forms a recessed cavern and contains early vestiges. The cavern lies on the ledge of a rock above a rock-cut temple attributed to the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I. It faces west and commands a picturesque view of the River Kāvēri for a few miles along its course. The approach to it is a long narrow edge of the rock skirting the northern flank of the hill; and a portion of the approach has to be negotiated by crawling on all fours underneath a projecting boulder, a false step meaning a fatal drop down the precipitous side. On the platform outside the cavern measuring about 30 feet by 25 feet, there are scooped out in the live rock a few beds smoothed and provided with pillows. The beds which are about four feet long and one and a half feet wide may be considered to be rather cramped for comfortable sleeping. A few of the stone pillows show traces of obliterated writing of about the fifth century A.D. recording possibly the names of the occupants of the beds. One of these is said to contain the name of Cirā. Evidently the name Cirāppalli owes its origin to this label.¹ But unfortunately

* A paper submitted to the Nineteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Bhuvaneshwar in 1959.

1. The Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1937-38 contains the following remarks about it. (Pt. ii. p. 78). "At Trichinopoly which was visited during the year, some interesting discoveries were made. Its ancient name as found in the hymn of Jñānasambanda in the *Dēvāram* is Chirāppalli and the same occurs also in the long verse inscription of about the 11th century A.D., engraved in the Pallava cave on the hill. This name

previous letter. (Vide: விஷ்ணு ராசா) in the Kasākkudi plates
of Nandivaman Pallavamalla II.⁵

The formation of the first letter *ka* and of the symbols of the medial *u* attached to the letter *tu* and the last letter read as *hu* does not support the contention that the label has been written in the Grantha script. In the Grantha of the period the vertical stroke of *ka* is doubled either completely or at least in the lower portion. But here it is only a single stroke and not a doubled one. Similarly the symbol for the medial *u*, usually found in the Grantha script of the period is a vertical stroke at the bottom of the character, also is doubled in most cases. But here the mark to denote the medial vowel is in the shape of a crescent. The fourth and last character which has been read as *hu* and taken to represent the *visarga* (*ḥ*) is not written in this form anywhere. The hook-like curve on the left at the beginning of this letter is not found for the letter *ha* in any other record of the period.⁶ We do not also know of any other instance where the *visarga* (*ḥ*) has been written as *hu*. The dot on the second letter has been taken as an *anusvāra*. In Sanskrit as also in Telugu, the hard consonant occurring after an *anusvāra* is not doubled. Again when consonants are doubled it is usual to have both the aspirated and unaspirated ones as of the same variety as found here. Under the circumstance it is difficult to treat the record as having been written in the Grantha script.

The label is to be taken as written in the Tamil script, and in the Tamil language, and read as கட்டண (kaṭṭuṇā) taking the dot on the second letter as indicating the pure consonant according to the rules of the Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam*.

The word is made up of *kāṭṭu* + *un* + *ā* negative, and may be interpreted as 'one who is not bound; or 'one who has transgressed the bond (of attachment)'. cf. *kāṭṭunāṇ* 'one who has been bound'; *kāṭṭunni* 'one who suffers himself to be bound.'

Thus the term *kattunā* is something like *vitārā* and indicates one who is free from the bounds of worldly attachment. The word

5. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Plate XI.
6. Especially Nos. 127, 128.

6. Especially Nos. 137, 138 and 140 of 1938.

kaṭṭu also means control or regulation and thus may be taken as indicating 'one who is not bound by regulations'. We know that Pallava Mahēndravarmaṇ took pride in assuming such titles. If so it is possible that *kaṭṭuṇā* is one of his titles in pure Tamil. We know some of his titles like *Citrakārapuli* (tiger among artists) *Kūrumbu*, etc. though sounding like Tamil are really mixed with Sanskrit and Telugu. The term *kaṭṭuṇā* would appear to be the first title of Mahēndravarmaṇ in pure Tamil.⁷

The following is an eye copy of the photograph of the inscription :

7. This paper is based on the photograph of the impression of the inscription kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, for which my thanks are due to him.

(Continued from p. 31 of Volume XXXVIII, April, 1960)

Culture—Contacts in South India

BY

T. K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A., L.T.,

Retired Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras

Another South Indian exponent of Śaivism was Kumārila (eighth century).⁹⁸ A master of several languages, he carried on propaganda against Buddhism and Jainism like the Nāyanmārs. He revived respect for the authority of the *Vedas*, but could not revive the use of *Vedic* sacrifices. Śaṅkara (end of the eighth century) was a Brāhmana born in North Travancore. He travelled throughout India, staying at Ujjain, Vārānasi, Kāśmīr, Nepal and Assam. Though he advocated the use of *Vedic* sacrifices, he recognised the *Āgama* rites of worship. He set up Maṭhas at Badarīnāth in the North (U.P.), Dvaraka in the west (Kāthiāwār), Pūri in the east (Orissa) and Śrīṅgeri in the south (Mysore). His followers were the Advaitins of whom the most important was Appayya Dikṣita who was patronized by Venkata II of Vijayanagar. It is held by some that Kāśmīr Śaivism, whose literature begins in the ninth century A.D., developed on the basis of the system of Śaṅkara. The Advaita philosophy developed by Śaṅkara diverges from the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy which developed later. Tāyumanavar,⁹⁹ who lived in the seventeenth century during the time of Tirumala Nāyak of Madurai, developed the idea of union with a formless being resembling the Advaitic Supreme Soul, and, thus, can be regarded as trying to harmonise Advaitism and Śaiva Siddhāntism. He was a Vellāla who is said to have been instructed by a Mouna-Guru. Tāyumanavar influenced Rāmaliṅga (nine-

⁹⁸. It is noteworthy that in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Śaivism was widespread in India. Mihiragula, Yaśōdharman and Śaśanka were all adherents of Śaivism, as also Harṣa in his early life.

⁹⁹. Mr. Ayyāsāmi (Tāyumanavar 1952) dates him to about 1713-55 or 1760 on the ground that his father was serving Vijayaṅga Chokkanātha Nāyak (1706-32) who was succeeded by his wife, Mīnākṣī (1732-36).

teenth century) whose sublime prayers are contained in his *Arutpā*. The vague theism of some of the Siddhas who conceived of God as Parañjōti or Veṭṭaveḷi shows the influence of these different cults of Śaivism.

South Indian Śaivism included a number of other cults also. Some of these seem to be inspired by Tantric practices. A few of the rudiments of these practices could be traced to the *Atharva Veda*. Tantrism is a degraded form of yōga which seeks to obtain through supernatural methods either material objects or union with God. The magical power of the mantras which is exaggerated in Tantrism was well recognised in the *Vedas* and is accepted in the *Āgamic* worship in temples.¹⁰⁰ In the Tantras, the mantra is reduced to mystical sounds like hrīm, hraum etc. Tantrism also believes in the mystic power of diagrams (yantras) and the miraculous powers of gestures (mudras). Worship is often accompanied by sacrifices of animals, and sometimes of human beings. Tantrism can be associated with any faith. Buddhism developed Tantric practices in some areas.¹⁰¹ Tantrism as applied to Śiva-worship in South India is first heard of in the Pallava period when there arose the sects of the Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas.¹⁰² The farce of Mahendravarman I, *Mattavilāsaprahasanam*, ridicules the Kāpālikas and the Pāśupatas. The farce says that the Kāpālikas drank liquor out of human skulls. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* gives the description of a Kāpālika. The Kālāmukhas also ate their food in

100. We hear in the *Kathā sarit sāgara*, for example, that King Samarabāla who wanted to conquer his enemies 'worshipped Śiva daily by his auspicious names referring to 68 excellent parts of his body.' (Tawney's Trans., ed. by Penzer, Vol. IV, p. 199).

101. We find importation of these in Mahāyāna books like *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Samādhirāja* composed by the end of the Gupta period.

102. The Pāśupata cult was preached by Kuśika who claimed to be a pupil of the founder, Lakulīsa, at Mathura even in the 2nd century A.D. The details of this cult cannot be ascertained; but, a sculpture at Mathura of the Gupta period depicts the self-immolation of a devotee to Śiva. Dr. Mahalingam points out that the Pāśupatas (of whom the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas were sub-sects with only minor distinctions) who were given to cruel practices in early times began to adopt milder ways in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries in South India. This change was evidently due to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava revival by the Nāyanmārs and Ālvārs. (*The Pāśupatas in South India*—article in the *Journal of Indian History*, April 1949, p. 51).

human skulls and besmeared their bodies with ashes of cremated human corpses. Śaṅkara preached against these sects; but the Kālāmukhas seemed to have continued to exist right up to the time of Vijayanagar. We hear of the Pāsūpatas even in the Vijayanagar period. The northern affiliation of these sects is illustrated in the description of Bhairava, one of their favourite deities, by Śēkṣilār in his *Periyapurāṇam* as Uttarāpathīśvara (the god who came from the north). Several Cōla inscriptions mention gifts to this deity. Vīraśaivism is asserted by Dr. Nandināth to be derived from the Kālāmukha sect.¹⁰³ We hear of a class of Vīraśaivas called Arādhya in the Telugu land. Vīraśaivism was fostered by the Kākatiya king, Pratāparudra, who patronized the Vīraśaiva writer, Sōmanātha, who was a proficient scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannaḍa. The Kālāmukhas were widely prevalent in the Kannaḍa country also. A variety of Vīraśaivism which developed here is the Līngāyeta faith. It was founded in the twelfth century by Basava, the minister of King Bijjala. Vincent Smith remarks¹⁰⁴ that the Līngāyets "worship Śiva in his phallic form, reject the authority of the *Vedas*, disbelieve in the doctrine of re-birth, object to child marriage, approve of the marriage of widows, and cherish an intense aversion to Brāhmins, notwithstanding the fact that the founder of their religion was himself a Brāhmin." The Līngāyets continue to exist even today in the Kannaḍa country. Unlike the Līngāyets, the Arādhya believe in the *Vedas*.

That certain Vīraśaivas continued to offer human sacrifices for a long time is indicated in an inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇadevarāya which mentions a Vīraśaiva offering to Śiva of Śrīśailam the heads of a number of Jainas.¹⁰⁵

Śaivism was very popular in South India. Its spread is indicated in a typical instance. The Śaivite work *Prabhulīngatīlā* is in Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil.¹⁰⁶

103. *Handbook of Vīraśaivism*.

104. *Early History of India*, p. 450. Devarāya II of Vijayanagar favoured them.

105. *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1915, p. 93.

106. The Tamil version is ascribed to Śivaprakāśa Swāmi (17th century). The popularity of Śaivism is indicated in the fact that Śaivite religious literature is three times that of the Vaiṣṇavite.

Let us now turn to Vaiṣṇavism in South India.¹⁰⁷ The Māyōn of the Mullai region is a black god who plays on the flute. A ritual dance connected with his worship is the kuravaikkūttu performed by the cowherd women. There is an elaborate description of it in *Silappadhikāram*.¹⁰⁸ Another kind of ritual dance in his honour called kuḍakkūttu is also mentioned in the *Silappadhikāram*,¹⁰⁹ and, perhaps relics of it survive in the Uriyaḍi of the present day. We must now enquire about the relation of this god to Viṣṇu. In the *Rig Veda*, Viṣṇu is not a separate deity. He is simply the sun and inferior to Indra. By the later *Vedic* period, he becomes an important god. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that Kṛiṣṇa-Vāsudeva was a great teacher who arose in the Vṛiṣṇi clan at Mathura possibly before the sixth century B.C. as he is mentioned in the *Caṇḍōgya Upaniṣad* as the son of Devaki.¹¹⁰ He became identified with Viṣṇu. The story of Kṛiṣṇa as a cowherd boy he would assign to the early centuries of the Christian era. If so, it is possible that the idea of the cowherd god playing on the flute and adored by cowherd women might have been supplied from the south even before the Saṅgam Age. The *Silappadhikāram* shows clearly the identification of Viṣṇu with Māyōn. It refers to the efficacy of the 'Eight Letters' (meaning Namōnārayanāya).¹¹¹ In the *Kuravaippāṭṭu* of the same work,¹¹² incidents of Vaiṣṇavite stories like eating butter from the pots of the Gōpis, and acting as a messenger to the Pāṇḍavas are referred to. The same canto refers to Viṣṇu measuring the three worlds with his feet. It may be noted that the *Rig Vedic* Sun who took three strides across the Universe became the later Trivikrama. The *Silappadhikāram* also refers to the role of Viṣṇu as Narasimha.

The further development of Vaiṣṇavism is strongly characterised by the development of the doctrine of devotion to the deity.

107. On the basis of certain Tamil expressions which the Rev. H. Heras has claimed to have deciphered in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. L. B. Keny identifies Nārāyaṇa as one of the gods of the Indus Valley (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* XXIII, pp. 250-6). The validity of these theories has not yet been satisfactorily established.

108. *Aicciar-kuravai*, Canto XXVII.

109. Canto VI, 11.54-55.

110. *Caṇḍōgya* III.17.6. Vāsudeva is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV.3.98).

111. Canto XI, 11.112-34.

112. Canto XXVII.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar holds that the doctrine of Bhakti to Hari as the personal god is expressed in its earliest form in the *Bhagavad Gita* which he assigns¹¹³ to the period 400—200 B.C. Of course, the doctrine of Bhakti has been traced to the Vedic hymns and the word 'Bhakti' occurs in the *Upaniṣads*. Pāṇini also mentions the word.¹¹⁴ But, the doctrine is clearly set forth only in the *Bhagavad Gita*, for instance, the stanza 'Give up all religious paths and take refuge in Me alone. I shall deliver thee from all sins. Sorrow not.'¹¹⁵ This idea is further developed in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which Dr. Majumdar believes to be later than the seventh century A.D. Some authors think that the *Bhāgavata* was written in South India, and there is ample warrant for this conjecture, as even by the Pallava period, Vaiṣṇava saints called Ālvārs had elaborated here a devotional cult. The Ālvārs who were twelve in number belonged to all parts of South India.¹¹⁶ They belonged to all castes. Kulāśekhara was a king of Kerala and was also the author of the Samskr̥it poem, *Mukundamāla*. He was regarded as the avatāra of the Kaustubha. Tirumaṅgai Ālvār was a Kaḷḷa by caste, and was the incarnation of the Śārṅga. His *Sīriya Tirumaḍal* and *Periya Tirumaḍal* express the idea of devotion in the Nayaka-Nāyaki bhāva. Tirumalisai is said to have been brought up by a hunter and was proficient both in Tamiḷ and Samskr̥it. Toṇḍaradip̄p̄oḍi and Periyālvār were Brāhmanās. Tirupāṇālvār was an untouchable. There was even a woman, Āṇḍāl, who imagined herself to be the bride of the deity of Śrīraṅgam and her *Tirumoli*

113. Article in the *Cultural Heritage of India* (Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial Vol. III) 'Religio-philosophic Culture in India'.

114. IV, iii, 95, 98.

115. XVIII, 66.

Sarvadharmān pariḍyajya mamēkam Charanam Vraja |
Aham thvā sarvapapēbyoh mōkshayishyām

116. Though the Ālvārs could be generally ascribed to the period, 200—800 A.D., there is great controversy regarding the dates of the various Ālvārs. One of them, Poygai, is assigned by some even to the saṅgam age; but, others think that the Poygai of the saṅgam period was different and assign this Ālvār to the 7th century A.D. Nilakanta Sāstri would consider him not later than the 5th or 6th century A.D. He thinks that the earliest of the Ālvārs were Poygai, Bhūtam (perhaps 550) and Pey. Tirumalisai was, perhaps, the contemporary of Mahendravarman I. Tirumaṅgai was the contemporary of Nandivarman II (middle of the 8th century) whose Vaikunṭha-perumāl Temple he calls Paramēśvara-viṇṇagaram. He seems

regards¹¹⁷ him as her lover. The most important of all the Ālvārs was Nammālvār (or Saṭhakōpa or Māran). Unlike other Ālvārs who were only the incarnations of Viṣṇu's ornaments or weapons, Nammālvār was believed to be the avatāra of Viṣvaksēna, head of the retinue of Viṣṇu. He was a Vellāla, but was greatly learned in the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads*. His poems are so important that his *Tiruvāimoli* has been called by Vedānta Deśika of the fourteenth century as the *Drāmiḍōpaniṣad*, and the Vaiṣṇavites regard his poems as the four *Vedas* in a Tamil form. A Brāhmaṇa, Madurakavi, became the disciple of Nammālvār. The Ālvārs urged that there was one God, Viṣṇu, and that devotion is the only path to salvation, not austerities. Their emotional creed called for self-surrender (prapatti).

The teachings of the Ālvārs became later the basis of Vaiṣṇavite philosophy. Nāthamuni (824-924), a great Vedic scholar of Śrīraṅgam, popularised the poems of the Ālvārs by having them sung in the temples.¹¹⁸ He also supplied the beginnings of philo-

originally to have been a chief. Periālvār was the contemporary of Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya (815-862). His daughter, Aṇḍāl, and other Ālvārs, Tiruppān and Tondāraḍippoḍi (or Vipranārāyaṇa) belonged to the same period. Madhurakavi is held the minister of Pāṇḍya Varaguna and was a Brāhmaṇa. His guru was Nammālvār whose hymns are next in size to those of Tirumaṅgai. Gopinātha Rao assigns Nammālvār to the first half of the 9th century, though some place him earlier. Nilakanta Śāstri (*History of South India*) gives the following order:—Poygai, Bhūtam, Pey, Tirumaḷisai, Tirumaṅgai, Periālvār, Aṇḍāl, Tiruppān, Tondāraḍippoḍi, Kulāśekhara, Nammālvār and Madhurakavi. See also Dr. Krishnaswāmy Aiyangar—*Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*. The word—Ālvār—means Diver (into the qualities of God). As in the case of the Nayanmārs, the number includes a woman and an outcaste.

117. That Aṇḍāl felt herself pre-destined to be the consort of the Lord is clear from her verse:—

அவரைப் பிராயத் தொடங்கி யென்றும்

ஆதரித் தெழுந்தவென் தடமுலைகள்

துவரைப் பிரானுக்கே சங்கற்பித்துத்

தொழுது வைத்தேறெல்லை விதிக்கற்றியே.

Aṇḍāl is called also Kōḍai (Gōḍa in Sanskrit).

118. He set up the gurupīṭha at Śrīraṅgam. The *Nālāyira Prabandham* (Group of 4,000 verses) includes the *Tiru-antādis* of Poygai, Bhūtam, Pey and Tirumaḷisai, *Tiruvāimoli* of Nammālvār, *Perumāl Tirumoli* of Kulāśekhara, *Periār Tirumoli* and *Tiruppallāṇḍu* of Periālvār, and many hymns of Tirumaṅgai like the *Tirumaḍals*, *Periya Tirumoli*, *Tāṇḍakams* etc.

sophy to this cult. His great work was that he proved that these Tamil poems were not inferior to Samskr̥t sacred literature, so much so that his collection of these Tamil hymns—the *Nālāyira Prabandha*—came to be regarded as equal to the *Vedas*. Yamunācārya or Ālavandār (918-1038 A.D.), grandson of Nāthamuni, elaborated the Viśiṣṭdvaita philosophy further. His grandson was the famous Rāmānuja (1017-1137). Born in Chin- gleput District, he worked mostly in Śrīraṅgam. He is said to have visited Dvāraka, Ayōdhya, Vārānavi, Kāśmīr, Badari and Pūri. Hostility of the Cōla king, Kulōttuṅga I, made him seek the patronage of the Hoysāla ruler, Bīṭṭideva (1110-1152). By 1137, Bīṭṭideva had become the master of the whole of the Mysore area. He was converted from Jainism by Rāmānuja and assumed the name of Viṣṇuvardhana. Rāmānuja now settled down in Mysore for a time, founding temples like that of Melkōṭe. There settled in Mysore along with him Tamil Vaiṣṇavas like the Heb- bars. Later, Rāmānuja returned to Śrīraṅgam. Rāmānuja had held Samskr̥t works like the *Vedās* equal to the Tamil *Praban- dhas*. But, after him, this harmony disappeared. The Vaḍakalais or the Northern School attached greater importance to the Sam- skrit canon, and stressed the use of Samskrit. The Tenkalais (southern school) emphasised the importance of Tamil hymns like the *Prabandhas*. By the 14th century, the two sects also devel- oped philosophical differences. When the Tenkalais held that the soul, when it surrendered to God, was automatically saved, the Vaḍakalais believed that the soul has also to exert itself to win the grace of God. Piḷḷai Lōkācārya (13th century) was the founder of the Tenkalais and his teachings were spread by Maṇa- vāla Mahāmuni (1370-1444) in his commentaries on the religious works. The great maṭha of this school is at Vānamāmalai. To the Vaḍakalais belong the maṭha at Ahōbila set up by Sātha- kōpa, a contemporary of Devarāya II of Vijayanagar (16th cen- tury), and the maṭha of Parakāla patronised by the Mysore royal family. The great Vaḍakalai scholar, Vedānta Deśika (1268- 1369), was the author of many works in Tamil and Samskrit. Of his 120 works, 30 are in Tamil. The majority of the temples belong to the Tenkalais.

Ritual worship in Vaiṣṇava temples is regulated by works called *Pāncarātra Samhitas*. The result of the development of Vaiṣṇavism was not merely the production of works in Samskrit

and Tamil, but also the growth of a new style of writing called Maṇipravāḷam which is a mixture of Samskr̥it and Tamil. It is believed by some that this was begun by the Jaiṇas. After Rāmānuja's time, many commentaries were written in this style.¹¹⁹

Madhva or Āṇandatīrtha (twelfth century) was born in South Kanara. He also travelled all over India, though he had his ministry chiefly in the West Coast. His Dvaita philosophy was accompanied by strong devotion to Kṛiṣṇa for whom he built the temple at Uḍipi. He also set up Maṭhas of which the most important is that at Uḍipi. Vyāsaraṃya, a great Mādhva teacher, was a contemporary of Kṛiṣṇadevaraṃya of Vijayanagar and was patronized by him. Vijayendratīrtha (sixteenth century) who died at Kumbakōṇam was said to have mastered all the sixty-four *kalās*. In the seventeenth century lived Rāghavendratīrtha, another great scholar.

Nimbārka (twelfth century), a Telugu Brāhmaṇa who was born in the Bellary District, tried in his Bhēdābheda philosophy to reconcile the teachings of Rāmānuja and Madhva. Nimbārka lived much of his life at Brindāvana in North India. A new development had now taken place in North India. The Harivamśa and the Bhāgavata which deal with the sports of Kṛiṣṇa with the Gōpīs do not refer to Rādhā. It is not clear when the cult of Rādhā-Kṛiṣṇa began. Excavations at Pahārpūr show that the origin of this could be traced to the sixth century A.D. But, it is only by the 10th century that Rādhā is referred to in Samskr̥it literature. Her name appears in a benedictory verse in certain inscriptions of Munja of Mālwa (973-994). The Rādhā-cult became important only after Jayadeva, the court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengāl (1179-1203) celebrated the love of Rādhā and Kṛiṣṇa in his *Gīta Gōvinda*. But, it is worthy of note that the *Silappadhikāram* refers to Rādhā under the name of Nappinnai.¹²⁰ The name—Rādhā—appears in

119. The Maṇipravāḷa style became popular in Kerala also.

120. The story of Nappinnai persisted in Tamil literature. An instance is the following passages from Aṇḍal's *Tiruppāvai* 19 and 20:—

கொத்தலர் பூங்குழல் நப்பின்னை கொங்கைமேல்

வைத்துக் கிடந்த மலர்மாற்பா, வாய்திறவாய்

*

*

*

செப்பன்ன மென்முலைச் செவ்வாய்ச் சிறுமருங்குல்
நப்பின்னை நங்காய், திருவே, துயிலெழாய்.

certain Prākṛit works from the second century. It is permissible to guess that the story of Nappinnai travelled north and became the story of Rādhā. Caitanya in the 16th century elevated the cult to a lofty spiritual level. But, it was Nimbarka who spread the cult and it was another South Indian—Vallabha of the 16th century—who brought into the cult elaborate ceremonies and festivals. His cult, however, took root only in Gujarāt and Rājaputāna. Even now, his followers recruit their priests from the Telugu Brāhmaṇas who are related to his family.

Religious development in South India was very important, as this influenced the general development of Hinduism throughout the country. The Bhakti movement of South India began to influence North India in a marked degree from the fourteenth century, and its stress on devotion to God was helped also by the impact of the influence of Islam on North Indian Society. Rāmānanda, who is believed by some to be a South Indian, drew his inspiration from Rāmānuja. He concentrated his devotion on Rāma. Some think that Rāmānanda was the preceptor of the father of the Mahārāṣṭra saint, Jñāneśvara. If so, the Bhakti movement in Mahārāṣṭra would seem to be connected with that of North India and South India. But, this view may not perhaps be correct, as Jñāneśvara was a contemporary of the Yādava king, Rāmachandra (1271-1310) and Rāmānanda is ascribed at the earliest to 1290. Eluttacan (seventeenth century) popularised the Rāma-cult¹²¹ in the Keraḷa region. The Mahārāṣṭra cult of Rukmiṇī-Viṭṭhala which was propagated by Jñāneśvara and his followers was popularised in the Kannaḍa region by Purandharadāsa (early sixteenth century) and his followers. Kriṣṇadevarāya was a great devotee of Viṭhoba (Viṭṭhala).

It is possible that the female deity of the Indus Valley who is also found in association with the sacred Pipal tree¹²² might have also become assimilated into the Āryan system of deities. The Vedic religion, at first, gave prominence only to male deities, goddesses being of secondary importance. Uṣas and Rātri were

121. The Rāmā-cult was distinctly northern, though its development is a matter of controversy. In the *Rig Veda*, Rāma appears only as a man (X.93—14 and 15) and Sīta, as an agricultural deity (IV. 57—6 and 7).

122. Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley*, Lecture 4. J, 24

merely poetic fancies. The conception of the primitive mother-goddess soon affected Āryan religious ideas. Śiva had his consort Durgā or Pārvatī, and Viṣṇu had Lakṣmī. By the Saṅgam Period, the primitive mother-goddess of the south had also become identified with Durgā. The goddess Korāvai who was worshipped before the armies embarked on wars is addressed as Durgā in the *Silappadhikāram* which describes a ritual dance in her honour.¹²³ It also refers to her slaying Mahiṣāsūra and praises her as the consort of Śiva. It is noteworthy that the Indian mother-goddess never became a love-goddess as the mother-goddess in other lands, for instance, Ishtar of Babylon, Hathor of Egypt or Aphrodite of Greece. The characteristic form of the Indian mother-goddess was Kālī. The *Maṇimekhalai* mentions a temple of Kālī in the burning-ground. In the familiar process of admitting Drāviḍian deities into the Hindu pantheon, the old goddesses of villages were given a status as manifestations of the divine Śaktī, mostly Pārvatī or Kālī. Mīnākṣī at Madurai may well have been a local goddess who was later made the consort of Śiva. So also the goddess Kumārī whom Jaṭavarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya calls by the significant title 'Tennavartam Kuladaivam' (the family deity of the Pāṇḍyas).¹²⁴ Cape Comorin was already holy when *Periplus* was written, as it refers to 'Comari' as a sacred bathing place. An inscription of Rājaraṇja Cōla refers to the temple here as 'Kanniyā Bhagavatiyār Kōil'. Another example is provided in Cāmuṇḍī of Mysore. Cāmuṇḍī seems to have been worshipped in North India also at one time. Bāna in his *Harṣacarita* refers to the temple of Cāmuṇḍī. Bhavabhūti (8th century) mentions in his play, *Mālatī-Mādhava*, that the hero goes to the temple of Cāmuṇḍā which was the burning ground and rescued Mālatī when she was about to be sacrificed there. Another instance is Bhagavati in the Kerala region. How far this primitive cult of the mother goddess has affected Śaivism is seen in the importance attached to Kālī as the śakti of Śiva, and in the concept of Ardhanārīśvara. The concept of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and the belief of some Vaiṣṇava sects that the devotee must not worship the male deity alone

123. *Veṭṭuvar-vari*, Canto XII. The *Maṇimekhalai* mentions a shrine of Sarasvatī.

124. His inscription endowing a gift to the temple (*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. VI, p. 18ff).

Along with Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism were also practised in the saṅgam period.¹²⁸ *Paṭṭinappālai* refers to Bud-

125. Sculptures at Māmallapuram include Durgā as Mahiṣāsura-mardani.
126. Eliot gives a good account of the Durgā Puja.

126. Sculptures at Māmallapuram include Durgā as Mahiṣāsura-mardani. for Durgā) in Assam. Human sacrifices were offered here till the British Government stopped them in 1834. It is said that, on the occasion of the dedication of the temple in 1565 the heads of 140 women were presented to the deity in gold plates.

127. Dr. Minakshi has certain interesting observations on this in her *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, Ch. XII, pp. 182-5.

128. The Jaina religion must have penetrated into South India long before 300 B.C. According to Jaina tradition, the Jain apostle, Bhadrabāhu, led a great migration of Jainas from the north to Śrāvana-belgōla which the

dhist and Jaina monasteries and there are references to them in *Maduraik-kāñci* and other Saṅgam works. There is the tradition that Iṭaṅkō, author of the *Silappadhikāram*, was a Jaina. *Maṇimekhalai's* explanation of the origin of misery and the path to Nirvāṇa is taken completely from the *Tripitakas*.¹²⁹ The *Maṇimekhalai* also refers to the famous Buddhist sage of Kāñci—Aravaṇa Aḍigaḷ. The early Tamil inscriptions in the Brāhmi script assignable to the third century B.C. seem to be Buddhist. But, all sects—Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist—lived in perfect harmony. Seṅguṭṭuvan is said to have worshipped both Śiva and Viṣṇu before he started on his Northern expedition.¹³⁰

The decline of Buddhism and Jainism in South India was due to the revival of the Brāhmanical faith by the Nāyanmārs and the Ālvārs. Religious persecution never played an important part in causing this decline. In South India, Jainism was patronized by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.¹³¹ The Western Gaṅgas patronized it in Mysore where it continued to flourish under the Hoysālas. Jaina colonies were numerous in the Tamil country. Jainism had a great centre at Tirucirāppallī and in a suburb of Kāñci called Jina-Kāñci.¹³² The *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* of the tenth century was a Jaina production. Vincent Smith is wrong in assuming that, at the instigation of Sambandhar, Nīrṇarasir Nedumāraṇ, the Pāṇḍyan king, impaled all the Jaines in Madurai.¹³³ Religious intolerance was not

Mauryan Emperor, Candragupta accompanied. Buddhism also must have infiltrated before Aśoka sent his missionaries. Dr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri discovered "cave-beds" in Madurai and Tirunelveli districts where Jaina and Buddhist ascetics seem to have lived. A similar cave with an early inscription ascribed to the first century B.C. was found in the Rock Fort, Tiruccirāppallī. Ancient rock-shelters at Māmaṇḍūr (near Kāñci) have inscriptions in Tamil in Brāhmi script resembling the Aśokan script, thus proving that Buddhism penetrated to South India long before the Christian Era.

129. Canto XXX. 11.51-103. Swāminātha Iyer's arguments that Iṭaṅkō was a Śaivite are not convincing. Kanakasabhai believes that he was a Jaina.

130. Canto XXVI, 11.60-67. *Vaṇcikkandam*.

131. The Jaines were the chief originators of Kannaḍa literature. Rice says 'Until the middle of the 12th century, it is exclusively Jain'. (*The History of Canarese Literature*, p. 12).

132. In the 5th century A.D., the Jaina scholar, Sarvanandi, composed his Prakṛit work *Lōkavibhaṅga* in a celebrated Jaina monastery in South Arcot District.

133. See Nilakanta Śāstri, *Historical Method in Relation to Problems of South Indian History*, pp. 16-17.

characteristic of Hindu kings and Jainism still continued. As regards Buddhism, it was dominant in South India only in the Kṛiṣṇā Valley, where the Ikṣvākūs of the third century A.D. were its great patrons. During their rule flourished Nāgārjuna who is supposed to be an Āndhra Brāhmanā who later became a great Buddhist philosopher.¹³⁴ After the Ikṣvākūs, Buddhism declined in this region. The Śālankāyanas, who became gradually masters of the territory which was once under the Ikṣvākūs, were ardent worshippers of Śiva. Buddhism was never dominant in the Tamiḷ land, though Yuan Chwang refers to Kāñcī as a centre of Buddhist studies. He noticed that there were hundred Saṅgārāmas and ten thousand Bikṣus there. Buddhist works like *Kuṇḍalakeśi* were produced in Tamiḷ. The Buddhist writer, Buddhāmītra, composed in the eleventh century the Tamiḷ grammar, *Vīracōḷiyam*. Both Rājarāja I and Kulōttuṅga I made grants to the Buddhist monastery at Nagappaṭṭiṇam.

Harmony prevailed amongst all religious sects.¹³⁵ The Cōlas, though Śaivites, built temples of Viṣṇu. In many temples, both Śiva and Viṣṇu were worshipped. An instance of this eclecticism is seen in the Tanjore temple. As Fergusson points out,¹³⁶ "All sculptures in the gōpuram belong to the religion of Viṣṇu and everything in the courtyard belongs to that of Śiva". The temple has also a few Buddhist structures. In the Hāzāra Rāmasvami temple at Hampi built in the Vijayanagar period, though it is a Viṣṇu temple, images of Skanda and Ganeśa are found. Acyutarāya of Vijayanagar, a devotee of Viṣṇu, made donations to the Śiva temples at Kāñcī and Kālahastī.

134. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, where Nāgārjuna worked, continued to be a great centre of Buddhist learning and religion.

135. King Dāmōdaravarman of the Ānanda Dynasty was a Buddhist, but performed the Hiraṇya-garbha (*Epigraphica Indica* XVII, 328 ff). The Kaḷamba princes, Kṛiṣṇavarman and Mrigeśavarman, performers of Aśva-medha, made grants to the Jainas (*Indian Antiquary* VI, 24) Amōghavarṣa, the Jaina Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince, offered a sacrifice to Mahālakṣmī (Sanjan Plates, *Epigraphia Indica* XVII, p. 248). T. A. Gōpinath Rao discovered many Buddhist images in the Kāmākṣi Temple at Kāñcī (*Indian Antiquary* 1915). A Kumbakōṇam record refers to the gift of land by villagers to a local Buddhist temple (292 of -927). A part of Kāñcī.

136. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Book IV, ch. 3, p. 344.

The worship of trees is unknown to the *Vedas*. On the other hand, the tree cult is conspicuous in the Indus Valley culture. The pīpal tree is found in many seals of the Indus Valley. Along with other pre-Āryan usages, this tree cult must also have been absorbed. Thus developed the worship of the Aśvatha (pipal) and the Tulasī plant. It is a common sight in South India to find the Aśvatha tree and the Nimba tree (neem tree) planted together. They are said to be 'married'. A platform is built around the trees which are worshipped. Women consider it meritorious to walk round them 108 times on Mondays when they happen also to be new moon days. The *Silappadhikāram* refers to a temple of the Kalpaka tree. In course of time, certain other trees came also to be associated with certain sacred spots and gained sanctity. We have instances of this in the Jambu tree in Tiruvānaikāval, the Kadamba tree at Madurai, the Mahila tree at Tiruvorriyur etc.¹³⁷

(To be continued)

137. Curtius refers to the worship of trees. We can compare the Buddhist adoration of the Bodhi Tree. The curious reader can peruse the many quotations from Tamil classics in Vidvān G. Subramania Pillai's *Tree-worship and Ophiolatry*. Further references are Cook's article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., Vol. 24) on Tree-worship, Conway's article on Mystic Trees in the *Frazer's Magazine*, Vol. 2 and Dynock's article in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, (Vol 2, pp. 80-91).

The Vijayavada Group of Cave Temples

BY

DR. M. RAMA RAO

Professor of History, S. V. University

There is a group of interesting Brāhminical cave temples in and around Vijayavada, an important town in coastal Āndhradēśa, situated on the northern bank of the river Krishna. There are two caves in Vijayavada, five in the neighbouring village of Mogal-rajapuram and five in the village of Undadvilli, situated on the opposite bank of the river in the Guntur district.¹ Eight of these caves have been described briefly by Longhurst² but they deserve careful and detailed examination. The date and authorship of these caves are matters of dispute and this problem awaits solution. These cave temples are of great importance for a study of the evolution of art and architecture of the post-Sātavāhana period.

All these caves are dedicated to Brāhminical deities and contain either one or three cells. Some contain fine sculptures. A number of architectural features found in them are traceable to the Sātavāhana period. Many of these features are to be found in the cave temples excavated in South India by the Pallava king, Mahēndravarmān and his successors. Some of these features are also to be found in the temples of the early Vēṅgī Calūkyan period.

The caves of Vijayavada

There is a long lozenge shaped hill at the western end of Vijayavada town on the bank of the river Krishna opposite the barrage recently constructed. There are three excavations on the western slope of the hill which are of no interest to the antiquarian. There are two caves on the eastern slope of the hill which are of great importance. Of these, one is excavated at the foot of a projection of the hill and the other is about three hundred yards higher up and reached by a flight of steps.

1. I examined these caves on 4th and 5th May, 1960.

2. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 17.

Cave I: Longhurst has described this cave as a small two-celled shrine each cell having a portico before it. He has noticed a frieze of swans over the doorways of the shrines and below the *kapōta* or cornice, the gable ornament on the *kapōta* and traces of figures of *dvārapālakas*. This short description is both incomplete and inaccurate. The cave contains not two cells but three. There is reason to presume that all the cells had a portico before them. There are many important architectural features which have escaped the attention of Longhurst.

This cave is rectangular in plan and consists of an open portico with eight pillars in the front with the *aṅkaṇa* or intercolumnal space occupied by a low parapet covered all over with sculptures. Behind this there is a *mahāmaṇṭapa* and an *ardhamāṇṭapa* constituted by two rows of pillars. The back wall of the *ardhamāṇṭapa* is in the shape of a concave curve and in the curved portion are excavated three cells at varying distances in the interior. These three shrines are separated from each other by two short walls projecting from the back wall of the *ardhamāṇṭapa*. The rock itself forms two walls at the southern and northern extremities.

There are four openings in the front part of the cave, two before the first shrine, one before the central shrine and one before the third shrine in the south. The low parapet which is in between these openings is in two sections. The outer side of this wall is sculptured all over. It seems to contain the figures of lions and standing deities. Further identification is not possible because the wall is much worn out.

Beyond the parapet is a row of seven pillars with corresponding pilasters in the northern and southern walls. Only the lower part of the lower *caturam* of these pillars is visible.. It is probable that like the pillars of the row beyond, these pillars are also cubical pillars without base or capital. The roof above these pillars is gone and there is open space now above these pillars. Beyond these pillars there is another row constituting the intervening space into the *mahāmaṇṭapa*. In the northern wall of this *maṇṭapa* are four niches, three of them empty and one containing the figure of Ganapati. This deity has four hands and holds *mōdaka* in the lower right hand on which rests the tip of the trunk. In the next row are one pilaster in the southern wall and

three pillars in line with it. The space between these pillars and the back wall constitutes the *ardhamanṭapa* of the first shrine. There is a short projecting wall at right angles to the back wall. The rock wall to the south which is at right angles to the back wall contains a *kōṣṭa* or niche with the figure of a *dvārapālaka* inside it. This *dvārapālaka* wears a turban like headdress with a horn protruding on either side of it. He stands in *tribhāṅga* leaning to the left. There is a big *gadā* between his legs and on its handle rest his two hands. Above him are three individuals seated in *padmāsana*. The short projecting wall on the north also contains a niche with a *dvārapālaka*, standing in *vytyastapāda* leaning to the right with his right hand resting on a *gadā* and the left in *kaṭihasta*. There are four sitting individuals above him.

The back wall contains the entrance of the shrine in the centre and a *makaratōraṇa* niche on either side of it. The portion beyond these niches is empty. Both the niches contain standing figures inside which are too worn out to be identified. Above these niches is a row of geese and above it the *kapōta* or cornice. There are three rafter ends above the *kapōta*. The wall beyond the *makaratōraṇa* niches also contains the row of geese and the *kapōta*. The shrine entrance contains two pilasters, one on each side. The upper beam is decorated with a row of geese. Above this row is the moulded *kapōta*. There is a row of lions above the *kapōta* of both the entrance and the side niches, four above each niche and six above the entrance, supporting the roof above.

The cell beyond the entrance contains a narrow *antarāla* and the *garbhagriha*. There is a square hole in the centre of the *garbhagriha* intended for locating a *liṅga* or an image.

The second shrine is separated, by two short walls projecting from the back wall, from shrines Nos. 1 and 2. Each of these short walls contains a niche with a *dvārapālaka*. The *dvārapālaka* in the niche in the wall to the south stands leaning to the left, wears a horned headdress and rests both his hands on a *gadā*. The *dvārapālaka* in the niche in the northern wall stands in *vytyastapāda* leaning to the right and rests his right hand on a *gadā* and presses his left hand against his stomach. The back wall contains the shrine entrance in the centre and a *makaratōraṇa* niche on either side of it. The niche to the south contains the figure of a deity standing in *dvibhāṅga* leaning to the left with

his left hand resting on the *kaṭi*. The niche on the opposite side contains the figure of a deity standing in *vytyastapāda* leaning to the right with his right hand resting on a *gadā* and the left pressed against the stomach. The entrance of the shrine is similar to that of shrine No. 1. The cell beyond contains an *antarāla* and *garbhagriha* with a hole in the centre of the *garbhagriha*. There are traces of *nāsikas* or gables on the *kapōta* of the shrine entrance.

The third shrine which is to the north is mostly ruined. It is farther in the interior. The entire rock above this shrine has fallen and disappeared. The shrine entrance is closed by a brick wall.

Annexe cell: There is a small single-celled shrine to the south of this cave temple reached by a short flight of steps. This is a plain cell with nothing worthy of notice.

Cave II: This cave, locally known as the Akkanna-Madanna cave, is situated about three hundred yards higher up and reached by a flight of steps. This cave which is 48' 4" long and 29' 4" broad consists of an *adhiṣṭāna*, a flight of steps in its centre, three rows of six pillars each with corresponding pilasters forming an open verandah, a *mahāmaṇṭapa* and an *ardhamāṇṭapa* and the back wall with three cells excavated into it.

The cave stands on an *adhiṣṭāna* which consists of *upāna*, *gaḷa*, *jagati* or moulding, *paṭṭa*, another *gaḷa* and a plain *kapōta*. The flight of steps in the centre has a moon stone before it.

Among the pillars above the *adhiṣṭāna* the stumps of three pillars to the right of the steps and three to the left are seen. They seem to have been cubical pillars without base or capital. Like the pilasters at either end they too must have had an octagonal shaft in between two massive rectangular portions. The pillars of the next two rows are octagonal throughout and have no base or capital.

The back wall contains three shrines with entrances projecting forward. The wall beyond these entrances is empty. The entrance of each of the three shrines is on a low *vēdi* and flanked by an empty niche on either side. It is surmounted by a *kapōta* plain and undecorated. Above this *kapōta* are four beam heads and over them a *paṭṭa* supporting the roof.

There is a fine animal frieze on the beam between the last octagonal pillar in the north and the pilaster next to it, in the first row. This frieze contains the figures of a lion running, and an elephant walking with the trunk hanging.

The Caves of Mogalrajapuram

The village of Mogalrajapuram is now almost a part of the growing town of Vijayavada. There are several hills round this village some of which are now being quarried for stone. These hills contain five caves which are of great architectural value.

Cave I: This cave is nearest the town of Vijayavada and excavated in the eastern face of a hill and faces the east. It is 21' 4" long and 20' 4" broad and 8' high.

It consists of two rock walls in the north and south with open space between them. These walls do not have any *kōṣṭas* or niches. Beyond this open space there is a *maṇṭapa* of three rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters in the northern and southern walls. It has a plain *adhiṣṭāna* below. The back wall of the *maṇṭapa* has a projecting part containing an entrance in the centre with a *kōṣṭa* on each side. Beyond the entrance is a shrine, 6' long and 3' broad.

The facade of the cave consists of a broad flat *paṭṭa* or band above the pillars in the front row. Above this band is a row of dwarfs in various poses. There is no *kapōta* or cornice above this row of dwarfs.

The pilasters and pillars are cubical with an octagonal shaft in the centre and a curved bracket capital above. The pilaster in the front on the southern side contains, at its base, a *Pūrṇakumbha* adorned with a cross ribbon. There is a horizontal beam above the pillars of the front row. On the northern part of this beam between the pillar and pilaster is a row of dwarfs in various poses and also a row of geese.

The back wall of the *maṇṭapa* contains empty space at the extremities and a projecting portion in the centre. There is an entrance in its centre flanked by two *kōṣṭas*, one on each side. Each *kōṣṭa* has two pilasters containing in the upper half the *kālaśa*, *taḍi*, *padma*, *iḍai* and *phalaka* and a capital with the *tarāṅga* or roll ornament on the underside. The northern *kōṣṭa*

contains a peculiar *dvārapālaka* figure. This *dvārapālaka* stands leaning to the left holding a long sword or spear in his right hand and resting the left hand on a shield. He is in the *vytsyastapāda* pose.

The entrance in between the *kōṣṭas* is reached by a short flight of steps with a moon stone before it. The upper beam is decorated with a row of lotus petals. There is a *kapōta* surmounting the entrance and both the *kōṣṭas* on its sides. It contains one *nāsika* or gable over each *kōṣṭa* and two above the entrance. All the *nāsikas* contain human heads inside. Above the *kapōta* are three rafter ends.

The Garbhagriha contains parts of a vedi

Cave II. This is the largest and most beautiful of all the caves in this place. It is excavated on the northern side of a hill and faces the north.

This cave consists of an open space in the front enclosed by rock walls in the east and west with two *kōṣṭas* or niches in the west wall. Beyond is a *maṇṭapa*; 31' 4" long, 15' 3" broad and 8' high. It contains in the front two pillars and two short projections of the rock on either side, dividing the front into three openings. Beyond these pillars is another row of four pillars with corresponding pilasters in the north and south walls. Beyond is the back wall into which three shrines, each about 6', have been excavated.

The *adhiṣṭāna* of the cave contains *upāna*, *gaḷa*, *tripaṭṭa*, another *gaḷa* divided into compartments by short pilasters and a moulded *kapōta* or cornice. Of the four niches in the east wall enclosing the open space, one contains the figure of Gaṇapati. This deity is seated with his left leg folded and resting on the seat and the right bent at the knee and upraised. He has the head of a real elephant and only two hands. The palm of the right hand rests on the right knee and the trunk rests on it. The left hand holds a *daṇṭa*.

The facade of the cave is beautiful. The two rock walls, one on each side of the pillars in the front row, contain figures of *dvārapālaka* in niches or *kōṣṭas*. The *dvārapālaka* on the eastern wall stands leaning to the left with his left hand resting on the

tip of a *gadā* and the right resting on the *kaṭi* or waist. He wears a horned headdress. A long snake starts on his right hand and stretches across the chest and its hood emerges out of the left shoulder. The *dvārapālaka* on the western wall stands leaning to the right with his right hand resting on a *gadā* and the left resting on the stomach. At the end of each of these two short walls there are pilasters. Between these pilasters are two massive pilasters with octagonal shafts in the centre and curved bracket capitals above whose underside is adorned with the *tarāṅga* or roll ornament with a plain band or *paṭṭa* in the centre. Above the pillars the *prastara* is plain. Above the *prastara* is a moulded *kapōta* adorned with three *nāśikas* or gables surmounted by *śiṃhalalāṭas*. Each of these gables has a lotus scroll on either side at the bottom. These gables are located above the opening below. The *nāśika* on the east contains three heads, representing Brahma; the central and western *nāśikas* contain two heads each representing Śiva and Viṣṇu with their consorts. Above the *kapōta* there is a broad band containing a row of animals, five lions with tails curled above, one elephant and one bull, all in vigorous poses. Above this animal frieze is a fine figure of Śiva as *Naṭarāja* with the portion below the waist broken. This deity is represented as dancing on the prostrate body of the *apasmārapuruṣa*. He has eight hands.

There are a few sculptures on the pillars and pilasters of this cave temple. There is a fine representation of Śiva dancing on the pilaster adjacent to the rock wall on the east. Standing with his legs apart, this deity has two hands, the right stretched to the right side in *katihasta* and the left bent at the elbow and placed on the left side of the chest adjacent to the arm pit. Jaṭas emanate from the head alround. There is a representation of *Gajēndra-mōkṣa* on the first pillar in the front row to the east. To the left is the elephant yelling out with its trunk upraised and the makara catching its right hind leg. To the right is Viṣṇu with two hands flying on Garuḍa, one resting on the head of the elephant and the other upraised in *vismaya*. On the south face of the second pillar of the front row there is a sculpture showing Pūtanā suckling Kṛṣṇa. There is a worn out female figure on the west wall at right angles to the back wall of the *maṇṭapa* to the west.

In the back wall of the *maṇṭapa* are excavated three shrines each with a projecting entrance. Each entrance is on a raised

base on which are two pilasters with the entrance between them. The entrance of the central shrine and the *vēdi* below project a foot further. All the three entrances are surmounted by *kapōtas* or cornices which are plain. There are two rafter ends above the *kapōtas* of the side shrines and four above the *kapōta* of the central shrine.

Cave III: This is a simple and plain cave temple, situated about a hundred yards higher than the road level and reached by a flight of rude steps cut on the side of the hill.

This cave consists of two crude pillars, without base or capital, in the front with short walls on either side. The *maṇṭapa* beyond is 18' 3" long, and 19' 9" broad. There is a single cell in the back wall of the *maṇṭapa*, 7' 7" long and 7' 4" broad.

The facade of the cave consists of a narrow flat *paṭṭa* or band above the two pillars. There is no *kapōta* above.

Cave IV: This is a small single-celled cave facing the south and dedicated to Goddess Durgā. It consists of two rock walls in the east and west in the front and two pillars beyond with corresponding pilasters. The *maṇṭapa* beyond is 15' long and 12' 9" broad. There is a cell 6' square in the wall.

The pillars are plain and cubical with octagonal shafts in the centre and with no base or capital. Above these pillars are two plain *paṭṭas* or bands. These are surmounted by a moulded *kapōta* or cornice adorned with three empty *māsikas* or gables with shovel-head tops. Above the *kapōta* are two bands with four rafter ends between them.

The entrance of the cell is reached by a short flight of steps with a moon stone before it. The wall on either side of the entrance is plain. The back wall of the cell contains a shallow niche in which there is a half relief figure of Durgā sculptured. This deity stands facing the right with her right foot resting on a small stool and the left stiff and resting on the ground. She has four hands, the upper right holding *triśula*, the lower right resting on the bent knee and the lower left in *kaṭihasta*. The upper left hand is worn out. There is a low rectangular platform below this niche.

There are two niches to the west of this cave of which one is empty and the other contains the standing figure of Viṣṇu with four arms. There are five niches in the east wall. These contain the sculptured figures of Śiva with four hands dancing on the prostrate body of the *apasmārapuruṣa*, Brahma with three heads and four hands holding *kamaṇḍalu*, *akṣamālā* and *pustaka*, another standing figure, a representation of Viṣṇu standing with *saṁkha* and *cakra* in the two upper hands, *gadā* in one lower hand and the other lower hand in *kaṭihasta*, and a figure of Gaṇapati with the head of a real elephant and two hands.

Cave V: This is a triple-cell cave facing the north. It has two short projecting walls on the east and west and two cubical pillars without bases or capitals with short projecting rock walls on the sides forming three openings. The *maṇḍapa* beyond is 26' 6" long and 5' 6" broad. There are three cells in the back wall, each 7' 6" square. The entrances of these shrines are level with the wall and do not project. The facade above the pillars has a low *kapōta* or cornice without any decoration. Above it is a row of swans.

The caves of Undavilli

There is a big four storeyed cave in this village noticed by previous writers and four more smaller cave temples not described so far.³

Cave I. This is the main or four storeyed cave popularly known as the temple of Anantaśāyi.

The ground floor of the cave is irregularly excavated and incomplete. Its ground level is varying and not uniform. It has a *maṇḍapa* of three rows of six pillars each and one pilaster at either end. There are seven openings between these pillars which are all cubical and without base or capital. The facade has a low flat *kapōta* or cornice containing an inscription in Telugu characters of the ninth century.

3. There are many other minor excavations and carvings of animals etc. on this hill.

The first storey is in four sections from south to north and reached by a short flight of steps cut in the rock at the right end of the ground floor. At the top of this flight of steps to the left there is a rectangular niche in the rock wall and above it the rail ornament in three sections. Above is a frieze of two lions and one elephant in vigorous poses. The first section is opposite the flight of steps. It has, in the front, an open space between two rock walls on the north and south. There is a niche in the north wall adorned with the rail ornament. On the south wall opposite there are two long inscriptions. Beyond the open space is a low *adhiṣṭāna* with a flight of steps in the centre. Beyond these steps is a *maṇṭapa* of two rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters. These are cubical pillars with an octagonal shaft in the middle. They have simple curved bracket capitals. The back wall of the *maṇṭapa* contains the entrance of a cell with a *Kōṣṭa* or niche on either side. Each niche has two pilasters and a *makaratōraṇa* above. There is a distended *makaratōraṇa* above the entrance. The beam above the pillars of the front row contains a row of swans with their wings open. Above is the moulded *kapōta* decorated with three *nāsikas* or gables with a spade-head top. Above the *kapōta* are seven figures which are too worn out to be identified. Above these figures is an ornament in three sections containing three horizontal rows of rafter ends with two beam heads between them.

The second section is to the north of section I and reached through an opening in the north wall. It consists of a *maṇṭapa* with four rows of four pillars each with the corresponding pilasters in the northern and southern walls. All the pillars are cubical and contain the *taraṅga* or roll ornament on the underside. At the base of the second pilaster to the south there is the figure of a woman standing with her right leg bent and the right hand resting on the right thigh and the left hand held up in *vismaya*. Five pillars and two pilasters in this section contain the full lotus medallion on the rectangular block at the top.

The third section is to the further north and reached from section II through an opening in the northern wall. It contains a *maṇṭapa* of two rows of two pillars each with four corresponding pilasters in the walls. All these pillars and pilasters have on their underside the *taraṅga* or roll ornament with a *paṭṭa* or fillet in the centre. Two pillars contain the lotus medallion.

The fourth section is in the extreme north and at a lower level. It consists of a *maṇṭapa* of two rows of two pillars each and two corresponding pilasters in the walls. These pillars and pilasters are like those in section III. There is an empty cell excavated in the back wall of this *maṇṭapa*. There is an empty niche in the back wall of this cell with a low *vēdi* before it. One pilaster contains the lotus medallion and two contain the figures of swans. There is a niche in the south wall at right angles to the back wall of the *maṇṭapa* with a sculpture representing a man being seated with the right leg bent and resting on the seat and the left hanging. The left hand is on the left thigh and the right is bent at the elbow and upraised. There is one woman to the right and two to the left. A boy stands below before a *Pūrṇakalāśa*. On the rock wall to the south there is a fine miniature temple of the *Nāgara* order.

The second storey consists of a pillared *maṇṭapa* and an open portico before it. This *maṇṭapa* contains six pillars and a pilaster in the south wall in the front row, a short rock wall projecting behind the first pillar in this row, six pillars and a pilaster in the north wall in the second and third rows and five pillars and a pilaster in the north wall in the fourth row. To the north of these rows of pillars there is a huge figure of Viṣṇu-Anantaśāyī. There are three niches in the south wall. The outer or eastern side of the short projecting wall behind the first pillar of the first row contains the figure of a *dvārapālaka*, standing leaning to the left with the right hand in *kaṭihasta* and the left resting on a *gadā*. A snake starts on his right hand runs across the chest and emerges above the left shoulder. At the end of the south wall there is a fine niche of two pilasters with a flat *kapōta* above them and a solid *nāsika* or gable surmounting all with a lotus scroll on either side at the bottom. On the beams above the front and second rows of pillars towards the northern end there are two rows of dwarfs opposite each other. The pillars in the front row are surmounted by a *kapōta* decorated with ten *nāsikas* each with a spade-head top and a human head inside. Above the *kapōta* is the series-*kūṭa-śālā, kūṭa, śālā, kūṭa, śālā* and *kūṭa*. All the pillars of the *maṇṭapa* are cubical and contain on the under-side the *taraṅga* or roll ornament with a *paṭṭa* or fillet in the middle. They are adorned with many sculptures—viz—a bearded sage, man playing *mridanga*, *chauri* bearer, *Gajēndramōkṣa*, lions,

elephants, Viṣṇu, Varāha with Pṛthvī, Narasimha, Vāmana and Bali, Trivikrama and Sītā under the aśoka tree. The open portico before the *maṇṭapa* contains on its eastern edge the figures of three bearded sages and two lions. The large image of Anantaśāyī found at the northern extremity of the *maṇṭapa* is hewn out of the rock. It represents Viṣṇu as lying on the seven coiled body of Śeṣa with the hoods spread above his head. The deity keeps the right hand folded at the elbow under the head and holds up the left hand, also bent at the elbow, in *vismaya*. There is a man at the feet of the god sitting on his knees and keeping his hands in *anjali*. Beyond the feet of the god are the two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha. On the wall are to be found the figures of Brahma with four hands seated in padmāsana on a lotus and of four other flying gods keeping their right hands in *vismaya*. On the back wall of the *maṇṭapa* are the figures of the Vaiṣṇava *ālvārs* and a fine figure of Viṣṇu seated in padmāsana on a Sēśa. He holds saṁkha and cakra in the two upper hands and keeps the lower hands in *abhaya* and *varada*.

The third storey contains a narrow open space and a wall to its west decorated with ten pilasters. Two simple plain cells are excavated into this wall.

Cave II. This cave temple is to the south of the main cave or cave No. I. It contains two plain empty cells and a frieze of two lions and two elephants above it. There are two niches above this frieze, and one of them contains the figure of Viṣṇu holding saṁkha and cakra in the two upper hands, gadā in one lower hand and keeping the other in *kaṭihasta*.

Cave III. This cave is to the south of cave No. II. It contains a single-celled shrine. There is open space in the front enclosed by two rock walls on the two sides a *maṇṭapa* on a low *adhiṣṭāna* containing two rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters in the walls and two niches in the walls between the pilasters. The back wall of the *maṇṭapa* contains a central entrance with a *kōṣṭha* on either side. There is a moulded *kapōta* above the pillars in the facade decorated with three *nāśikas*, one containing three heads and another containing two human heads. The heads in the third are worn out. The pillars are cubical without base or capital.

The *kōṣṭas* in the back wall are adorned with a *makaratōraṇa* with dwarfs seated on the neck of the *makaras*. There is a lotus but above the *tōraṇa* in the centre. Inside the *kōṣṭa* are the figures of *dvārapālakas* standing in *Samabhaṅga* with the right hand resting on the right hip and the left resting on a *gadā*. The pilasters of the *kōṣṭas* are fully developed and contain the *kalaśa*, *tadī*, *padma*, *idai* and *palaka*. There is a *makaratōraṇa* above the entrance also and there are two human heads, one on either side of its central projection.

Cave IV: This cave is situated to the north of the main cave and reached by a narrow pathway cut in the hill side. It consists of an open space in the front enclosed by rock walls on the sides, a low *adhiṣṭāna*, a *maṇṭapa* with two rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters in the walls and the back wall containing a shrine entrance with a *kōṣṭa* on either side.

All the four pillars are cubical and have curved bracket capitals. The two pillars and pilasters in the front contain sculptures which are much worn out. There is the lotus medallion on two pilasters in the interior.

The *kōṣṭas* in the back wall have distended *makaratōraṇas* above them extending to the sides and not hanging below. The *kōṣṭa* on the south contains the figure of a woman standing with her right hand upraised and the left kept in *kaṭihasta*. To her left is another woman carrying a basket on her head.

Cave V. This cave is also on the same hill but just behind the village. Its front has fallen and it is now occupied by an *Erukala* family.

This cave has in the front a wide open space enclosed by rock walls on the sides each with an empty niche. Beyond is a low *adhiṣṭāna* on which there is a *maṇṭapa* containing two rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters in the walls. Beyond is the back wall with three shrines excavated into it. The pillars are cubical and have curved bracket capitals. In the northern part of the back wall there is a fine shrine with its entrance spanned by a *makaratōraṇa* whose plume like part hangs below. The upper beam is decorated with a row of geese. The architrave above the *makaratōraṇa* is adorned with lotus petals. The moulded *kapōta* above contains at the ends *nāsikas* with

human heads inside. There is an elephant at each end above the *kapōta* supporting the roof. The shrine to the south has a *kōṣṭa* on either side of the entrance containing the figures of *dvārapālakas*, with a snake emerging above the left shoulder. Above the *kapōta* of this shrine there is a row of two lions and two elephants supporting the roof.

Miniature shrines: These shrines are carved on the rock to the farther north of cave No. III. Two of them contain a *linga* on *vēdi* inside. One is on an *adhiṣṭāna* having *upāna*, *tripaṭṭa*, another *paṭṭa*, *gaḷa* cut into compartments by short pilasters, and a flat *kapōta* above all. One shrine has a single pilaster on the sides of the entrance while the others have double pilasters. Above the pilasters there is a moulded *kapōta* without any decoration. Above this is a narrow *paṭṭa* or band with four rafter ends above. Then there is a wide *paṭṭa* and two narrow bands above. Above these bands there is the *gaḷa* cut into compartments by four pilasters. One shrine has a plain *Nāgara śikhara* and a stone *kalaśa* above. The śikharas of the other shrines are decorated with a *nāsika* or gable with a spade head top. Inside the *nāsika* are two pilasters with a beam head between them. These shrines are *alpa-prāsādas* of the *ēkatala* type and *Nāgara* order.

Derivation of architectural features

Most of the architectural features found in these cave temples can be traced to the architecture of the Sātavāhana period (236 B.C.-210 A.D.) or its representations in the sculptures of the period. Massive cubical pillars without base or capital and with octagonal shafts in the middle are to be found in the Buddhist caves of Samkaram and Kuntupalli in coastal Āndhradēśa. Many lime stone pillars of this type have been found at Amaravati and Buddham.⁴ Full and half lotus medallions are commonly found on the pillars in the monasteries of Buddhist *tīrthas*. They are also found on the pillars of the railing of the *mahācaitya* of Amaravati. Animal friezes are found on the *aṇḍa* or dome of the *mahācaityas* of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda and at the base

4. I have seen many such pillars being put to various uses by the inhabitants of Buddham village near Bapatla, in the Guntur district.

of half lotus medallions on pillars.⁵ The *Pūrṇakalaśa* as a decorative device is widely known to the architects and sculptors of the Sātavāhana period.⁶ The niche with pilasters and a flat *paṭṭa* above adorned with *nāsikas* surmounted by a *triratna* symbol, found among the sculptures from Nagarjunakonda⁷ seems to be the prototype of the *kōṣṭa* decorated with *kapōta* and *nāsikas* on it found on either side of the shrine entrances in the cave temples described above. A sculptured slab from Nagarjunakonda with four pilasters having a *kapōta* above with a *nāsika* or gable over each pilaster below and forming three openings, each containing a sculptured panel,⁸ is suggestive of the facade of the cave temples. One Nagarjunakonda sculpture of a *maṇṭapa* of four pillars with a moulded *kapōta* above and a flat *paṭṭa* or band above⁹ it is just similar to the upper part of the facade of some of the cave temples. Some of the pilasters in these cave temples which are fully developed and which contain the *kalaśa*, *taḍi*, *padma*, *idai* and *palaka* are similar to pilasters found on the vertical edges of the frames of some of the sculptures obtained from Nagarjunakonda.¹⁰ Sculptures from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda contain many buildings which resemble the *kūṭā* and *śālā* found on the facade of the main cave at Undavilli and many of the Pallava caves at Bhairavakonda and Tonḍamaṇḍalam. The member found on the top of some of the gables on the *kapōta* of some of the cave temples resembles the *triratna* symbols found in a row above the frieze of running lions at the base of the *aṇḍa* of the *mahācaityas* of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.¹¹ The frieze of dwarfs found on the beams of some of these cave temples, sometimes carrying a garland, is found on the *mahācaitya* of Amaravati.¹² The low parapet before cave No. I at Vijayavada with ornamental decorations resembles the parapet found in the Buddhist caves of Kanheri, Nasik and Undavilli. The vehicle in which the *Bōdhisatva* is shown as descending to the earth¹³ is

5. *Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.*, no. 54.

6. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI c.

7. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXII b.

8. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIV a, XL a and XLI a.

9. *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVI a.

10. *Ibid.*, XX b and XXI a.

11. *Ibid.*, Pl. XIX c, XXIV c and XLIII a.

12. *Ibid.*, XIV d.

13. *Ibid.*, XIX d.

suggestive of the *śālā* which figures on the facade of the caves above the *kapōta*. A member containing an *adhīstāna*, railing and a bell-shaped top with a surmounting *kalaśa* found in one of the Amaravati sculptures is suggestive of the Nāgara type of *kūṭa* found alternated with the *śālā* in the cave facades. The *Punya-śālā* from Jaggayyapeta with a compartment on either side of the entrance is suggestive of the shrine entrance in the cave temples with a *kōṣṭha* on either side. The upper part of the building with a big gable in its centre suggests the *śālā* decorated with a *nāsika* in the series-*kūṭa*, *śālā*, *kūṭa*. The *vrkṣacaitya* of Amaravati, a multi-storyed building with its front decorated with *nāsikas*, is suggestive of the *kapōta* decorated with the *nāsikas*. The rafter ends which figure below and above the *kapōtas* in the cave temples are used in the caves of the Sātavāhana period like those of Karla. One of the caves at Bhaja has, on either side of the entrance of a cell, the figures of Indra and other gods which is suggestive of the entrance guarded by *dvārapālakas* found in the cave temples. Cave No. 20 at Bhaja has in its back wall two cells guarded by *dvārapālas* on either side. At Gutnupalli are to be found a main entrance surmounted by a big gable and dummy entrances on the sides also surmounted by smaller gables suggestive of the entrance with *kōṣṭhas* on sides all surmounted by *kapōtas* with gables found in the cave temples. Above the entrance of cave No. 3 at Nasik the beam is extended on either side and worked into a curved projection which resembles the distended *makarātōraṇa* found at Undavilli.

It is thus apparent that most of the architectural features of these cave temples were derived from models of the Sātavāhana period which were available in large numbers and in a good condition in the post-Sātavāhana period.

Date and authorship of the caves

The date and authorship of these cave temples are matters of dispute. Longhurst held that all these are Pallava caves¹⁴ and assigned them to the reign of Mahēndravarmān I (600-630 A.D.).¹⁵ This view seems to be untenable. It is true that Mahēndravarmān

14. Longhurst described the main cave at Undavilli and left others out of account.

15. *Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.*, no. 17, pp. 22-30.

ruled over the Guntur district for some time. It is generally agreed that he was originally a Jaina and became convert to Śaivism in the later part of his reign.¹⁶ The cave temples excavated by his orders in South India and dedicated to brāhminical deities must therefore be ascribed to the later part of his reign. The Early Čālukyan king, Pulikēśin II, defeated Mahēndravarman about 620 A.D. and occupied the Guntur district, thus putting an end to Pallava rule over this district which commenced about 260 A.D.¹⁷ Subsequently, Pulikēśin's younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana and his successors ruled over this region. There is therefore no possibility of Mahēndravarman ruling over this area during the later half of his reign and excavating the cave temples here. Nor is there any evidence to show that the Pallavas ever ruled over the region to the north of the Krishna wherein lay the cave temples of Vijayavada ad Mogalrajapuram. This area was under the rule of the Sālankāyanas and Viṣṇukunḍins before the establishment of Eastern Čālukyan rule in 624 A.D.¹⁸ For these reasons it cannot be held that the Vijayavada group of caves are Pallava caves excavated during the reign of Pallava Mahēndravarman.

Architecture too points in the same direction. The caves excavated by Mahēndravarman and his successors in South India have been carefully studied in recent years.¹⁹ It is stated that these caves belong to three phases of the Mahēndra style and one phase of the Māmalla style of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. We are concerned here with the first phase of the Mahēndra style.²⁰ One distinguishing feature of this phase is the rarity of the cave facade being ornamented with the *kapōta* or cornice containing *nāsikas*. The cave of Dalavanur is the only exception. *Kapōtas* of this description are common at Undavilli, Mogalrajapuram and Vijayavada. Secondly, most of the southern caves of this phase contain pillars and pilasters decorated with the lotus medallion but this feature is found only in one cave

16. R. Gopalan—*The Pallavas*, p. 90.

17. This is my date of the Pallava conquest of the Ikṣvakus. See Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Souvenir, p. 29.

18. N. Venkataramanayya—*The Čālukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 55.

19. K. R. Srinivasan—*"The Pallava Architecture of South India"* in *Ancient India*, no. 14., pp. 114-138.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-127.

at Mogalrajapuram and two caves at Undavilli. Another feature is the *taraṅga* with *paṭṭa* on the underside of the pillar capital which is common in the southern caves but found only in one cave at Undavilli and one in Mogalrajapuram. As against the *dvārapālaka* figures found on either side in the cave facades at Dalavanur, Mandagappattu, Tiruchirappalli and other places in the south they are found only in one cave at Mogalrajapuram. The *kōṣṭa* adorned with the *makaratōraṇa* is found only in the Dalavanur cave while it is common in the Vijayavada group. The pilasters in both groups of cave are also different. Thus the Vijayavada group of cave temples seem to be different from the Pallava group of South India.

Some writers have ascribed the Vijayavada group of caves to the Viṣṇukunḍins. The arguments generally advanced in favour of this view are (1) that a lion is found at the base of two pillars in the main cave at Undavilli and that it also figures on the seal of the copperplate grants of the Viṣṇukunḍins, (2) that a lion and vase figure on the obverse and reverse of a few copper coins obtained from coastal Āndhradēś, that these are Viṣṇukunḍin coins and that the *Pūrṇaghāṭa* found on the base of a pilaster in one of the Mogalrajapuram caves and the lion found on two pillars in the main cave at Undavilli are reproductions of these obverse and reverse symbol of the copper coins. But the lion is also found in one of the caves at Siyamangalam in the south. The *Pūrṇaghāṭa* as a decorative motif is well known in the Sātavāhana period and was in vogue for several centuries before the period of the Viṣṇukunḍins. The ascription of the lion and vase coins to the Viṣṇukunḍins is entirely conjectural and lacks corroboration. One writer²¹ has recently advanced two more arguments in favour of this view.—(1) that the Viṣṇukunḍins of coastal Āndhra were related to the Vākātakas of central Deccan and that therefore there was a flow of Vākāṭaka architectural tradition into the lower Krishna valley and (2) that a number of scattered sculptures in and round Vijayavada are of the Viṣṇukunḍin period. As pointed out previously, most of the architectural features of the Vijayavada group of cave temples could have been derived from Sātavāhana and post-Sātavāhana models

21. C. Sivaramamurti—*Early Eastern Cāluḷyan Sculptures*, pp. 10-22.

22. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, pp. 143-146 and *Ind. Ant.* V., pp. 50-53.

like the Kulimahātāraka temple of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇ at Dālura and the temple of Viṣṇuhāra at Kandukuru in coastal Āndhra.²² The Viṣṇukunḍins did not have the need to borrow Vākāṭaka motifs from the Ajanta caves. The grounds on which the sculptures round Vijayavada are ascribed to the Viṣṇukunḍins are doubtful. The Vijayavada group of caves are more refined and advanced in style than the caves of Mahēndravarman's time. They cannot therefore be of a date earlier than the middle of the seventh century A.D. The Viṣṇukunḍins disappeared about the end of the first decade of the seventh century. Further, none of the five copper-plate grants of the Viṣṇukunḍins refer to any temple, its construction or gifts made to it. For these reasons it cannot be held that the Vijayavada group of caves are of Viṣṇukunḍin origin.

A close examination of these caves indicates their date. They possess certain features which are to be found in the caves of the second phase of the Mahēndra style assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries and the caves of the Māmalla style of the late seventh century. The Durgā temple of the Koṭikalmaṇṭapam is suggestive of the Durgā temple at Mogalrajapuram. The projecting shrine entrances surmounted by *kapōtas* found in the second phase of the Mahēndra style are found in the caves of Mogalrajapuram and Undavilli. Like the caves of the Mamalla style, the facade of the second storey of the Undavilli cave is decorated with a row of *kūṭas* and *śālās*. Like the Mahiṣamardani cave of South India the shrines in cave no. 1 at Vijayavada contain a portico before the shrine. These comparisons also indicate a late seventh century or early eighth century date for the Vijayavada group of caves.

Some architectural features of this group of caves resemble features found in well known temples of the Eastern Calukyan period, found at Bikkavolu and Chebrolu. The *makaratōraṇa* niches and entrances with *kapōta* above in both cases are exactly alike. The row of dwarfs and geese is another instance.

For the reasons mentioned above the Vijayavada group of caves have to be ascribed to the later half of the seventh century at the earliest. This was the period of Eastern Calukyan rule in coastal Āndhradēśa following the withdrawal of Mahēndravarman to the south.

TH

by
Stu
syn
ma
his
fir
geo
his
Wi
dra
aut
con
out
Ary
and
and
obs
it s
role
of
Ind
mig
aut
pro

in
leg
Bh
ma

Reviews

THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION OF THE PEOPLE OF ASSAM TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D., by P. C. Choudhury, M.A. (B.H.U.), Ph.D. (Lond.). Deputy Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam. Gauhati 1959. Pp. xvi and 538. Two maps and five plates at end. Price Rs. 30/-.

This good sized volume is substantially the thesis prepared by the author at the London School of Oriental and African Studies during the years 1951 to 1953 under the competent and sympathetic guidance of Professor A. L. Basham. It is a systematic and comprehensive account of the political and cultural history of Assam during the period covered by the book. The first four chapters (up to p. 118) deal with the sources, the geographical factor and the linguistic and racial problems of pre-history. Prehistory is perhaps the weakest section of the book. Without a first hand knowledge or real mastery of the material drawn upon, the author has summarized rival views of different authors without being able to offer an integrated picture for the consideration of the reader. Not only in this section, but throughout the book the author attaches much significance to the pre-Aryan Alpine element in the Assamese population and culture and traces many diverse usages and customs to them. Naraka and his successors are taken to have been Alpines. Another obscure element which is pressed into service a little too often as it seems is the Magians of Iran who were assigned an important role on rather slender grounds by Dr. Spooner who even spoke of a Zoroastrian period of Indian history. It is a pity that the Index does not contain the words Alpine and Magians which might have enabled the reader to get a connected view of the author's opinions on these subjects. In fact the Index has only proper names.

Chapter V is the early political history of Assam arranged in four sections, the first one on the Bhaumas being quasi-legendary. This is the best part of the book and the reign of Bhāskara Varman is dealt with fully and the author with legitimate pride calls him 'the illustrious monarch of Eastern India'.

A long section running to about fifty pages describing the Administration of Early Assam with the aid of literary and epigraphic sources also forms part of the chapter on Political History. The last chapter VI is called Cultural History, and the subject is treated pretty thoroughly under five heads: Social life, Economic condition, Literature and Education, Religion, and Monuments. Harṣa the author of the *Ratnāvali* is identified with a homonymous ruler of Assam (397-8); Viśākhadatta of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, and Pālakāpya of the *Hastyāyurveda* are also held to have written in Assam; so also Abhinavagupta, a Buddhist scholar who engaged in controversy with Śāṅkara. Kautilya, however, in the author's view, cannot be claimed for Asam though others have done so.

The book is on the whole a scholarly and exhaustive work conceived in a spirit of loving patriotism and executed on the whole with good judgment and critical acumen. It might have been several pages shorter if the long citations of the rather monotonous and stereotyped descriptions from inscriptions and literary sources had been omitted, only reference being given to them. Sometimes historians mistake rhetoric for history and irrespective of material obstacles and historical probabilities drag kings from one end of the continent to the other because their *praśasti* writers include all the countries in their panegyric. Even without such a definite provocation, the weak Cālukya ruler Kirtivarman II is said to have come into conflict with Harṣa of Assam (219-20). There can be no doubt that the Śrī Harṣa mentioned in the Samanagad epigraph of Dantidurga was the Kanauj emperor who suffered discomfiture at the hands of Pulakeśin II; the reference is not to a contemporary engagement but a past event that redounded to the glory of the Cālukya army that was overthrown by Dantidurga in the eighth century.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN CHINA, by Joseph Needham F.R.S. with the collaboration of Walter Ling, Ph.D. Volume 3, Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1959. Pages xlviii and 878. £ 7.10 net.

This is the third, and so far the biggest volume, in Needham's epochmarking seven volume project of which full details were

furnished by the eminent author even when the first volume in the series was published in 1954. That volume was of the nature of Prolegomena to the magnificent enterprise, setting forth the plan of the entire work, its bibliography, and the geographical and historical background, and ended with a long section on 'conditions of travel of Scientific ideas and techniques between China and Europe'. After this exciting overture, the author undertook, in the second and much larger volume, the presentation of the fascinating and at times stirring picture of the intellectual and philosophical background for Chinese science. The Chinese, he pointed out, insisted on an organic approach to Nature, and on this approach he bestowed the designation of 'Scientific Humanism'. In the present volume he embarks upon his systematic study of the development of the natural sciences in China.

The first section is on Mathematics, from arithmetic and metrology to geometry, trigonometry, algebraic equations and binomial coefficients; it culminates in an important discussion of the relation of mathematics to science in ancient and mediaeval China as compared with the West. Needham holds that the Zero was inspired by Chinese thought and practice, and that the place-value system of decimal notation was known to the Chinese long before the third century A.D. He says that 'the finding of the first appearance of the Zero in dated inscriptions on the border line of the Indian and Chinese culture areas (in Indo-China) can hardly be a coincidence' (p. 12). Again, 'It will thus be seen that behind the "Hindu" numerals, as the West subsequently knew them, there lay two thousand years of place-value in China' (p. 14). On the Zero, Needham says elsewhere: 'perhaps we may venture to see in it an Indian garland thrown around the nothingness of the vacant space of the Han counting board' (148). In the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Indian scholars were employed in the Astronomical Bureau at the Chinese capital (p. 37). Chinese mathematics had its roots in social and administrative necessities. Land mensuration and survey, granary dimensions, the making of dykes and canals, taxation, rates-of-exchange—these were the practical matters which seemed all important. Of mathematics 'for the sake of mathematics' there was extremely little (153). Remarkable technical achievements were effected without adequate scientific theory; indigenous Chinese science and technology was thus Vincean as it may be styled—

recalling the relative theoretical backwardness of Leonardo da Vinci, and not Galilean (160). There was a regression in later times, and when the Jesuits entered upon the scene, there was no one even able to tell them of China's past mathematical glories. To the intriguing question why the Chinese having advanced so far did not proceed further and anticipate modern science, Needham is inclined to find the answer in the absence of the profit motive in Chinese society. 'Apparently a mercantile culture alone was able to do what agrarian bureaucratic civilization could not—bring to fusion point the formerly separated disciplines of mathematics and nature knowledge' (p. 167-8).

Dr. Needham then turns to the Sciences of the Heavens—astronomy and meteorology, fields in which the Chinese achievement has been very much under-valued in the West. The Chinese were the most persistent and accurate observers of celestial phenomena before the Renaissance. Though geometrical planetary theory did not develop among them, they thought out an enlightened cosmology, mapped the heavens correctly using coordinates, and kept records of eclipses, novae, meteors, and the like, still useful today. They also constructed many fine astronomical instruments and invented the equatorial mounting and the clock-drive. The record of Ricci's discussions of astronomy with Chinese scholars shows that their ideas sound in many ways more modern today than his own Ptolemaic-Aristotelian world-view (172). After an extensive survey of Chinese astronomical literature, Dr. Needham concludes: 'In a word, the Chinese astronomers were practically free from the cramping orthodoxy of Hellenistic and mediaeval Europe which supposed that the heavenly bodies were fixed to a series of concentric material spheres with the earth as centre. The Chinese may have had no deductive geometry, but they had no crystalline spheres either' (223). The Indian *nakṣatra*-system and the *hsieu* of the Chinese developed separately in ancient times, but were brought into relation to some extent in later ages when Sino-Indian cultural contacts so much intensified (254). Assuredly ancient Persia was one of the intermediate stages in the transfer of Babylonian ideas to China and India, and Persian astronomical terms have been detected in Chinese Buddhist writings by Huber (257). Dr. Needham concludes the section on Astronomy by stressing the fact that since Maspero denied in 1930 that anything could be known of Chinese astronomy be-

fore the 6th century B.C. at best, it has become evident from the study of oracle bones that it would be possible to say a good deal about Chinese astronomy in the middle of the second millennium B.C., not from uncertain legend but from very concrete inscriptions. 'The study of this material is only now beginning and more finds must be expected. Possibly they will throw light on the eastward radiation of primitive astronomy from the lands of the Fertile Crescent' (460).

In the realm of meteorology, until modern times there was, on the whole, more knowledge of, and interest in, the phenomena of tides in China than in Europe. A. C. Moule wrote in 1923 an exhaustive monograph on the Hangchow bore and the history of tidal theory in China, including a bibliography of descriptions of the bore. The Chinese had a clear priority as to the systematic preparation of tide-tables which go back to the ninth century A.D. at least; in the eleventh century they were much more enlightened on the theory of the subject than the Europeans until the Renaissance (494).

The last part of the volume is devoted to the Sciences of the Earth: Geography and Cartography, Geology and Mineralogy. Dr. Needham distinguishes parallel traditions of scientific cartography and religious cosmography in East and West and discusses orbocentric wheel-maps, the origins of the rectangular grid system, sailing charts and relief maps, Chinese survey methods, and the impact of Renaissance cartography on the East. Lastly, there are full accounts of the Chinese contributions to geology and mineralogy—a sphere in which Needham has no western predecessors. The Chinese were responsible for several empirical discoveries and inventions of great interest, and about 1070 A.D. Shen Kua foresaw the de-forestation of his country, and thought that the 'inexhaustible' supplies of oil in the earth could be used as a substitute for wood (609). Mineralogy goes back further and catalogues of different kinds of stones, ores, gems, and minerals were being made already in antiquity—here the ancient and mediaeval 'Lapidaries' (corresponding to the Herbals and Bestiaries) of Europe can be matched with (and sometimes are found to have been surpassed by) those of India and China.

Pages of mathematical calculations, star-maps, astronomical instruments, seismographs, surveying and prospecting, terrestrial

maps, fossils and mineral techniques illustrate the text at every step and aid the reader to follow the argument. The pictures, moreover, are many of them published for the first time.

Interpreting the Chinese mind and thought in modern terms is a difficult task requiring a unique combination of qualifications which Dr. Needham is seen to possess in abundant measure. He brings to his task a mind trained in the Natural Sciences, fully acquainted with the results of modern research and endowed with a capacity to handle with ease the wider concepts of the philosophy of science; he has also an innate sympathy with Eastern thought and a transparent mastery of the Chinese texts of different types and ages. The richness of the material he presses into service and the depth of insight with which he interprets it is indeed amazing. This great book is perhaps the most striking attempt at historical synthesis and the study of intercultural relations ever attempted by a single scholar. Its completion will make it an unexampled achievement in the history of scientific thought and research, and scholars the world over will await with eager interest the appearance of the succeeding volumes.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

JONATHAN DUNCAN AND VARANASI, by V. A. NARAIN, Ph.D. (London). Calcutta 1959, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, pp. 240, price Rs. 12.50.

This relatively short monograph is substantially the thesis submitted and approved for the Ph.D. of the University of London. It comprises seven chapters of unequal length and a conclusion of about ten pages. It has a good bibliography and index, but no table of contents or preface. Chapter I is a brief introduction of two pages which explains the scope of the work and the reason for the omission of the later career of Duncan (after 1755) as Governor of Bombay, the reason being primarily lack of time and space. Little is known of the early career of Duncan before he was made writer in the East India Company in 1771 when he was sixteen. From that date his career is traced succinctly with the aid of all the available documents. Duncan's work in the period covered lay principally in Benares where he became Resident from 1787 when Lord Cornwallis chose him as the best person

for the place because as he wrote to Dundas, Duncan 'is held in the highest estimation by every man, both European and native, in Bengal, and, next to Mr. Shore, was more capable of assisting me, particularly in revenue matters than any man in this country'. The sad condition of Benares at the time Duncan took charge is described in Chapter III, and Chapter IV, the longest in the book, treats of Duncan's economic policy under the heads: Land revenue, Indigo, Opium, and Tariffs. Chapter V is on Justice and Law and Order, and Chapter VI, under the title 'Duncan and Indian Society' treats of his measures of social reform, the establishment of a Sanskrit college to promote the study of Indian laws and religion, his suppression of female infanticide, improvement of sanitation and roads, etc. Duncan had a partiality for the Brahmans and is credited with having discovered Sarnath. He was sent over to Malabar during 1792-94 to help organize the administration of the territories taken from Tipu Sultan by bringing his experience in Benares to bear on the newly acquired country (Cr. VII). Duncan impressed successive Governors-General—Hastings, Macpherson, Cornwallis and Shore—by his work, and left behind a name for goodness and efficiency, so that, as Bishop Heber noted in 1824 nearly thirty years after Duncan had left Benares, the people used to call a kind and liberal administrator 'Duncan Sahib ka Chota bhai'. The book is well written and well produced though a few mistakes have escaped correction in proof. One wishes the author gets an opportunity of completing the work on Duncan by dealing with his work in Bombay as well.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE SOMA-HYMNS OF THE RG VEDA: A fresh interpretation, Part II (RV. 9.16-50), by S. S. Bhawe, Reader in Sanskrit, M. S. University, Baroda, M. S. University of Baroda Research Series, No. 5; Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960, pp. 152 plus 10; price Rs. 5.50.

The work begun in Part I is continued on the same lines as before except for the omission of the differentiation between the longer and shorter notes on each hymn into two classes A and B. The study of hymns deity-wise is not new and has been found helpful in the elucidation of difficult points. Ludwig followed the method in his translation, Oldenburg translated the Agni hymns

J. 23

in mandalas 1-4, Velankar did all the Indra hymns and has begun further work on the Agni hymns. Renou's monograph on the Uṣas hymns in *Études Vediques et Paniniennes* III is an even closer parallel to Mr. Bhawe's work. The importance of Soma is clear from the fact that the deity commands the whole of the ninth maṇḍala and six other hymns elsewhere. The Soma hymns have been studied specially by other writers like Hillebrandt (*Vedische Mythologie* I) and Lüders (*Varuna* I), but those studies are made from a more or less exclusively mythological standpoint; Mr. Bhawe gives more attention to the linguistic and philological. The work is admittedly difficult and Indian scholars with the requisite learning for such work are none too many. As an Indian and a Hindu steeped in the traditional lore of the country, the author possesses certain natural advantages which the most eminent and earnest foreign scholar may not be able to acquire. The method of applying Pāṇini's rules to Vedic interpretation is sought to be justified and illustrated in detail by a new commentary (in Sanskrit) on one hymn (9.16) by Pandit Manishankar V. Upadhyaya of Baroda which figures as an Appendix (pp. 113-42). The further progress of Mr. Bhawe's work will be watched by scholars with great eagerness.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

CHINESE SECRET SOCIETIES IN MALAYA (A Survey of the Triad Society from 1800 to 1900), by L. F. Comber. Published by J. J. Augustin, Incorporated Publisher, Locust Valley, New York.

A monograph published by the Association for Asian studies, this book seeks to reveal the part played by the Chinese secret societies in Malaya during the last century. These secret organisations, otherwise known by the name of Triad society, have proved themselves to be powerful factors influencing the political and social life of the country.

In the first two chapters the author gives a brief account of the Chinese secret societies which have been flourishing in Indo-China, Hawaii, Thailand, India and in China proper. Against this background the activities of the Triad society in Malaya during the 19th century are described in the rest of the book.

For the background section, i.e., for the first two chapters, Mr. Comber uses Chinese texts which have not been consulted before, and for the main part of the book, he makes use of Government archives, newspapers and other indigenous historical sources. He has had immense opportunities of knowing things first hand, for he has lived in Malaya for over 12 years, including nine years as an officer of the Malayan Police.

The birth place of the society was in Fukien Province of south China and since the Chinese settlers in Malaya had largely come from south China it is but natural that they brought the society with them, although the exact date of its importation is unascertainable. These Chinese secret societies first came to notice in Penang in 1840, about thirteen years after their Chinese settlement in the region. These secret organisations indulged in dangerous conspiracies against government and frequently rose in open rebellion. It is known that branches of the Triad society in Singapore, Penang and Malacca were in active contact with each other. The members had to take an oath of 'blood brotherhood' and a pledge never to disclose any of the society's secrets to non-members. Lawlessness and confusion prevailed as a consequence of the activities of these societies. Murders and gang robberies occurred frequently.

For a time the Government officials did not take serious notice of this organisation; they merely regarded it as a nuisance. But soon the activities of the Triad assumed dangerous forms; many conspiracies and revolts appeared. Widespread risings like the Chinese Funeral Procession Riots of 1846, the Singapore Riots of 1851 and 1854, and the Penang Riots of 1867 are examples. Moreover, by the end of the 19th century the Chinese secret societies had become notorious centres of gambling. A Commission of Enquiry appointed by the government in 1886 revealed the vast extent of gambling undertaken by these secret societies.

When Sir Cecil Clementi Smith arrived in Singapore in 1887 as Governor of the Straits Settlement, the problem of Chinese secret societies was attempted to be tackled vigorously. He was convinced that the policy pursued till then was one of vacillation and a scandal to British administration. Therefore, he recommended to the Home Government the total suppression of the secret societies. The ordinance decreeing this came into force on

January 1, 1890. Though it brought temporary suppression, the evil was not eradicated, for the secret societies continue to be as active to-day as they were then.

However, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, the Governor, instituted in 1889 a system of Chinese Advisory Boards, consisting of Chinese gentlemen in each settlement whose advice would be sought by the Government on matters affecting Chinese interests. These boards were functioning in Singapore and Penang, but Malacca lagged behind in this respect. Though the boards discussed and settled a wide range of topics, they did little in respect of the crucial question, namely, the suppression of Chinese secret societies.

Fearing trouble, however, several secret societies dissolved themselves. But many still continued to operate clandestinely; several so-called "harmless societies" came into existence. In fact, the position at the turn of the century was that Chinese secret societies were as strong and dangerous as they had ever been.

The book provides much useful information for the first time. Mr. Comber is objective and unbiased in his treatment of the subject. Eleven illustrations, two maps, eight interesting Appendices and an useful bibliography are provided. The book is excellently produced. It is desirable that either the same author or some other equally competent writer provides a detailed treatment of the subject down to the day of Malayan independence.

K. K. PILLAY

"THE DĪPAVAMŚA", edited by Dr. B. C. Law and published by the Ceylon Historical Journal, Price Rs. 10/-.

"The Dīpavamsā", the earliest written book on Ceylon, was first edited and translated from the original Pali text into English in 1879 by Herman Oldenberg. However, for a long time now, Oldenberg's work has not been available in the market. Dr. B. C. Law, whose interest on Buddhistic studies is well known, now publishes this book as a special issue of the Ceylon Historical

Journal (Vol. VII—July 1957 to April 1958—Nos. 1-14). He provides a transliteration as well as a translation of the text into English. Besides, he writes an introduction in which he examines the nature and historical value of the *Dīpavaṃśa*.

The *Dīpavaṃśa* was written in the 4th century A.D., nearly two centuries before the *Mahāvaṃśa* appeared. Despite the legendary lore which envelops it, the *Dīpavaṃśa* is of some value as a source of the history of Ceylon.

The main theme of the *Dīpavaṃśa* is the conquest of Laṅkā, both politically and culturally. However, the religious background dominates the entire account. In respect of political history, it provides little more than a bare outline of events—from the time of Mutaśiva to Mahāsēna. Further, the account is characterised by frequent repetitions. Its narrative is dull and monotonous. Fantastic and incredible genealogies are provided in respect of certain personalities connected with the spread of Buddhism.

Certain dynasties and kings that should have been mentioned, are per chance omitted; for instance, the *Dīpavaṃśa* is silent about the Nandās. Further, the information provided by the *Dīpavaṃśa* about the art and architecture of Ceylon which began during the reign of Dutthagamani is meagre, clumsy and vague.

The whole work is surcharged with the religious motive. The first part of the chronicle (Chapters I to VIII) deals with the establishment of the Buddhist faith. The history of Buddhism given in it closes precisely with the account of the foundation of the Buddhist Holy Order in the island by Mahinda and Saṅghamitta. The nine chapters at the end (Chapters IX—XVII) are really an elaboration of the work of the Buddhist Holy Order.

The publication fills a void and so is to be warmly welcomed. In respect of translation, certain passages have been rendered in a far too literal manner. They are capable of improvement; for example, see Chapter XVII. V. 72 and Chapter XXII. V. 76.

K. K. PILLAY.

LANDMARKS OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN ASSAM,
by K. N. Dutt, M.A., B.L., Published by Lawyer's Book Hall,
Gauhati, Assam (Price Rupees Four).

Assam passed into British hands in 1826 as a result of the First Burmese War (1824-26). For nearly six centuries prior to this Assam had been an independent kingdom under the Ahom kings. The Assamese had built up traditions of heroic defence of their motherland against repeated Muslim invasions during the hey-day of Muslim rule over India. Little wonder that Assam put up a stiff resistance against the British almost from the beginning of the establishment of their rule.

In this book Prof. K. N. Dutt has given an outline of the freedom struggle in Assam. There were early insurrections like the rebellion (1828) of Comdar Kunwar, a prince of the Ahom royal family, the risings of the Khasis (1829) and of the Singphos (1830), but all of them failed on account of the superior military organization of the British. The attempts of Assamese leaders like Maniram Datta Dewan to collaborate with Indian patriots in the rest of India in their risings of 1857-59 were foiled by the British.

Between 1860 and 1900 there were several agrarian outbreaks, protesting in particular against the high rates of revenue. From the beginning of the present century there appeared a widespread national awakening accompanied by a cultural renaissance. The Assam Association which was founded in 1903 promoted the growth of political consciousness in the land. Soon the Assamese identified themselves with the nationalist movement, which developed in the rest of India. Prof. Datta has indicated the role of Assam in the Indian struggle for Independence, particularly from the days of the Partition of Bengal down to the attainment of Independence in 1947.

Patriots like Ambicagiri Roychoudhary, Gopinath Bardoloi and Bishnuram Medhi faced and overcame difficult situations during the course of the struggle. Women, too, made laudable sacrifices. During the 1942 Revolution girls like Kanakalata and old women like Bhogeswari Pukanin and Kashuli Nath became martyrs to the national cause.

Though the account given in the book is rather sketchy, it serves to bring to the fore certain distinct features of Assamese history. Firstly, thanks to the teaching of the religious reformer, Sankaradeva, Assam has been perfectly free from the curse of 'Untouchability' for nearly five centuries. Secondly, Assam is the only state in North India, which successfully repulsed almost all the Muslim invasions in medieval times. It is however, remarkable that Hindu-Muslim amity flourished in Assam even when communal strife of the worst form disfigured the history of several other provinces of India. Many Nationalist Muslims of Assam identified themselves whole heartedly with the freedom struggle. But when Pakistan emerged and the Muslim Leaguers tried to group Assam with Eastern Bengal, the move was successfully opposed by leaders like Gopinath Bardoloi.

While the book is a welcome addition to the knowledge of the freedom struggle in Assam it cannot but be stated that alongside of this, an assessment of the positive achievements and drawbacks of the British rule should also be made. That would have helped to furnish a balanced estimate and a true picture of the past.

The book under review provides a useful bibliography. There are, however, several misprints. Photographs of certain leaders of Assam are reproduced well.

K. K. PILLAY.

AHMED SHAH DURRANI, by Ganda Singh, M.A. (Alig); Ph.D. (Panj) (Published by Asia Publishing House).

It is sometimes doubted whether perfectly objective history can ever be written. But few deny that despite the difficulties, the aim should always be to reach the goal of objective history. One of the steps which may help the realisation of this aim is that of writers of the professedly 'opposite or hostile camp' attempting the reconstruction of the history of particular periods or the biographies of certain personalities.

We have here the fine example, set by Dr. Ganda Singh, a Sikh, and therefore, presumably 'hostile' to the Afghans, presenting the biography of the 'Father of Modern Afghanistan'. The

result is admirable; he has not imported any prejudice in interpreting the character and achievements of the Afghan ruler; nor has he yielded to the temptation of gilding the lily and extolling the virtues of his hero. While doing justice to the intrinsic worth of the man, Dr. Ganda Singh has done nothing to hide or explain away the weaknesses which Ahmad Shah had in common with his fellowmen.

Various difficulties had to be faced by the author in the preparation of this biography. There is a dearth of authentic records of Ahmad Shah's activities. Further, most of the available materials are in the Persian language, and the author has had to ransack various libraries in search of them. The Marathi records as well as the important Sikh sources, '*Prachin Panth Prakash*' of Ratan Singh Bhangu and '*Banasevali Namah Dasan Patshahianka*' by Kesar Singh Chhibbar, still in manuscript form have been fully utilised.

The author opens the narrative by tracing the rise of the Abdalis, the Afghan tribe and their rebellion against Nadir Shah. The Abdali chiefs had been driven out of Afghanistan, but later, by the kindness of Nadir Shah they were restored to their original homes in Herat and Qandahar. After the death of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Khan, the future Ahmad Shah Durrani, was chosen as the chief of the Afghans.

Ahmad had to face many difficulties in his early life. His father had died within a few months of his birth. He had to suffer imprisonment for a time along with his brother.

Later, Nadir Shah who took a liking for young Ahmad Khan enrolled him as an officer on his personal staff. It was in this capacity that he accompanied the Persian conqueror on his Indian, Turkish and other campaigns. He soon distinguished himself by his courage and loyalty and was raised to the position of treasury officer. When in 1739 Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jah, then Viceroy of the Deccan, happened to see Ahmad Khan at Delhi, he perceived in him signs of greatness and predicted that he was destined to become a king.

The most important epoch of his career appeared when after the death of Nadir Shah, the Afghans chose him as their chief.

Ahmad rose equal to the task; he effected the organisation of the Afghan tribes and the consolidation of his kingdom. Then occupying Kabul and Peshawar, he began his invasion of India, where the condition of the Panjab tempted him to follow the footsteps of Nadir Shah. He undertook on the whole eight invasions of India. Though he won several victories including the epoch-making battle of Panipat in 1761, he lost the Panjab ultimately to the Sikhs who became masters of the country from the Indus to the Jumna. Meanwhile he had to suppress rebellions near his own kingdom and his career was one of incessant activity.

This maker of Afghanistan was not only a born soldier and leader of men, but also a humane ruler, an able administrator and a patron of learning and literature. Ahmad Shah was affable, good natured and unostentatious, simple in his dress and could hardly be distinguished from his chief nobles in this respect. He was equally simple in his food which was free from multiple courses and unnecessary dainties. Ferrier says that Ahmad Shah was "free from most of the crimes commonly found in the individuals of Eastern nations such as drunkenness, whether from wine or opium, duplicity, avarice, cruelty".

Though it is not known whether Ahmad Shah ever attended any school for his education, the fact remains that he was not only literate, but also well-versed in the national languages of the country. Possessing a fairly good taste in poetry, he himself composed simple verses charged with emotion. He displayed keen interest in the construction of towns and buildings. He laid the foundations of the modern city of Qandahar, constructed ramparts around Kabul, and built a rest house for Afghans at Mecca.

Ahmad Shah's greatest achievement was to free his people from the yoke of foreign domination and to consolidate the various Afghan lands into one political unit. His government, according to Ferrier "resembled much more a federative republic, of which he was the head, than an absolute monarchy".

Pursuing a policy of religious tolerance, he treated the Shias, Christians and others liberally. He introduced social reforms particularly with a view to raising the status of women; he strongly advocated the remarriage of widows.

Always evincing a great concern for his soldiers, he freely distributed the spoils of his wars among his men whom he always looked upon as partners in his gains. The author of the book discusses why Ahmad Shah failed to found a permanent power in India and concludes that he failed partly because he had no intention of making India his home and partly because the Sikhs had by that time risen to great power. The Marathas, though defeated at Panipat, were still powerful. Moreover, he had to contend with occasional rebellions at home and in Khurasan. He died in his 50th year on account of diabetes and an incurable ulcer on his nose.

The author has chosen to provide a substantial part of his work in Appendices which cover nearly a hundred pages. It appears that the appendices on "Civil Administration", "Military Administration", "Coinage", and "his relations with the Company" could well have been incorporated in the body of the book. The details on genealogy, chronology and bibliography furnished in the Appendices are quite useful.

Dr. Ganda Singh is to be congratulated warmly on having produced the first comprehensive biography of Ahmad Shah Durrani. Truth is the ideal he has had in view and he has presented the matter in a lucid and attractive style.

K. K. PILLAY.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: M. V. Ramana Rao: S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, (1959), Pp. X + 355 + II: Rs. 10.00.

This is a brief, compact and popular survey of the history of the Indian National Congress from its foundation to the election of Smt. Indira Gandhi as its President in 1959. It contains a foreward by Indira Gandhi and U. N. Dhebar. In attempting this book three considerations seem to have been upmost in the author's mind. "One was that it was to be short and the second was that it should be brought up-to-date". The author adds, "it may be said that this is not an objective study and that it has been written with a certain bias for the Congress. I have no need to offer an apology to meet this criticism. Necessarily, a Congress-

man, who for thirty years had been connected with the Congress actively, loved it passionately and owed loyalty to it which was almost fanatical, could not divest himself of that bias. In fact it was intended to be a history of the Congress by a Congressman, primarily for Congress workers". In all these aims, it is needless to say, that he has appreciably succeeded; all the important details of the eventful history of the Congress are well summarized and an attempt has been made to evaluate them. The reviewer may, however, stress that while the author is free to place his own interpretations and judgments, there should not be any bias in the presentation of facts of any case, as understood by different quarters. And even within the Congress there were several shades of opinion, so that it might not always be possible to talk of any definite 'Congress' point of view. Whether any intra-mural prejudice too is a necessary function of a Congress-historian is more than this reviewer can say. In discussing the Gandhi-Subhas conflict during the Tripuri session of 1939, for instance, the author has brought out the Gandhian case well, but has done less than justice to Subhas.

The author has noted, here and there, the sad deterioration in the morale of Congressmen in recent times, though he has not attempted to go deep into the question. It is in a way difficult to gain a good perspective of recent events and thus his account of the history of the Congress since 1950 reads like a chronicle spiced, however, with quotations from the speeches of leaders. Nevertheless, the book has achieved, in a large measure, the aims its author set before him. If it is not a serious research into the history of the Congress it is not intended to be so, either. The objective and academic historian of the Congress is yet to be.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

BUDDHA DHAMMA (A HIGHER AFFIRMATION), by G. C. Lall, Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, (1959), Price Rs. 5. Pp. xvi + 251.

The teachings of the Buddha and the earlier sacred Buddhist literature have been critically studied by many scholars. In the interpretation of the philosophy and religion of a leader or

reformer one must be very careful, for it must be in absolute consonance with his cherished beliefs and observances. In this book under review Mr. G. C. Lall attempts to give a new meaning to the religion of the Buddha, the second largest religion of the world.

In a brief introduction the author describes the exóteric, esoteric and the exotic aspects of religions in general and shows how the teachings of the Buddha constitute a *via media* between extreme asceticism and extreme rationalism. After describing the background behind the future greatness of the Buddha and the cravings of the young spirit for the realisation of the ultimate goal, Mr. Lall dwells at length on the truths of *Antiya*, *Anatta* and *Dukkha*. The Buddha's emphasis on the middle path is next described with profuse illustrations. Two chapters are devoted to an account of the *Brahmaviharas* and the *nirvana*. The *nirguna* aspects of the teachings of the Buddha take one chapter. An account of the grandeur of the personality and preachings of the Enlightened take seven chapters of the book. The human elements in the personality of the Buddha receive sufficient attention, as for example, the manner in which he suffered to redeem a suffering humanity and preached an ideal of a casteless and classless society. The penultimate chapter of the book explains how *Karma* makes one free. The concluding chapter envisages a new way of life and gives not less than twenty-two basic maxims for a peaceful world. The book ends with a glossary of Sanskrit and Pali words.

Mr. G. C. Lall is optimistic that the teachings of the Buddha will be the sole panacea for the troubles of the world. Though opinions on some of the interpretations that he has made may not be accepted by all, no one will doubt that Mr. G. C. Lall has approached his work in an ardently analytical spirit. Printing mistakes just like the one we find on p. 69 (cospel for gospel) may be avoided in the succeeding editions of the book.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

HINDU GODS AND HIDDEN MYSTERIES, by Govinda Krishna Pillai, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. iii + 126, Rs. 4. Foreign 1 \$; 7 sh. 6 d.

The study of the conception and representation of Hindu Gods is one of absorbing interest, and Govinda Krishna Pillai attempts to unfold in this little book their hidden mysteries. He approaches the subject with the notion that all Gods are man made, and humanises them completely. He says that the instincts of fear and desire in men have led to the worship and veneration of the Gods. The book contains eleven chapters, each devoted to the study of a God or a group of Gods. In the first chapter dealing with Mountain and Earth Divinities the author thinks that the former was earlier and that the first Mountain God that was worshipped was Śāṣṭha, rather than Śiva. The advent of the Earth Goddess indicated a settled form of life among primitive men. Śiva is described as a God without any form or attributes and as one who came to be worshipped in his different aspects. The different attributes of Śiva were later separated from him and each attribute was conceived as a separate God like Indra, Aśvins, Sūrya, Vēlāyudha etc. (p. 12). Vēlāyudha and Gaṇeśa were made the sons of Śiva. The realisation that God has no form of particular shape made people worship shapeless stones, leading to the worship of Lingams. The author feels strongly that it is wrong to call the highly symbolised and spiritually conceived image of Śiva lingam as Phallus, and that the popular form of Śiva worship is devotional and servile. The other important Gods of the Hindu pantheon are then dealt with in detail. Among them are Kālī, Agni, Sūrya, Chandra, the Aśvins and Pūshān. It is said that originally months were counted from Full moon to Full moon (p. 53). Among the Stellar Gods, it is said that the Aśvins like that of Indra originated in India, and was not brought by the Aryans. It is suggested that the word Indra may have originated from a combination of *Indu* (the Moon) and *Ra* (the Sun). In Brahman the Hindus made the highest conception of God. Viṣṇu has been conceived as a cosmic being and given personal qualities when treated as a personal God e.g. Kṛishṇa.

Some of the generalisations appear to be rather too sweeping and based on inadequate evidence. For example it is difficult to accept his theory of the antiquity of Śāṣṭha worship when com-

pared with that of Śiva for the available evidence suggests that it was the other way about. The book is not free from printing mistakes. In Chapter VIII dealing with Varuṇa the title on pages 81, 83 and 85 are given as Indra. *Etiru* (the Tamil word used for bull) is obviously a mistake for *eritu* (p. 93).

T. V. MAHALINGAM

S. S. HUSAIN: A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF BENGALI MANUSCRIPTS IN MUNSHI ABDUL KARIM'S COLLECTION. Published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca Museum, Dacca. Pp. xxviii + 589 + xxix. Price: Rs. 20/-.

This work is in the main an English translation of Ahmad Sharif's edition of Munshi Abdul Karim's Descriptive catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts and will certainly be useful to scholars who do not know Bengali but are interested in the history and literature of Bengal. The collection is very valuable and will help the reconstruction of the entire history of the Middle Bengali literature.

The lengthy introduction which begins with a brief life sketch of Abdul Karim discusses his contributions to Bengali literature and dwells at length on the nature of the 'puthis'. 'Puthi' is a Bengali word whose closest approximation in English would be 'manuscript'. The 'puthi' conforms to certain established rules structurally like invocation, colophon, dating, an explanatory note setting forth the author's purpose and providing a brief account of the subject matter etc.

In the Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts that follows, each manuscript has been numbered and information about the writer and title of the manuscript is furnished. The beginning and ending of each manuscript and a brief account of its subject-matter are also given. The Appendix at the end gives a chronological list of Muslim writers and their works from the fourteenth century. The collection and publication of 584 manuscripts requires immense patience and careful study. The yeoman service rendered by Munshi Abdul Karim and Ahmad Sharif in collecting and cataloguing these manuscripts of historical and

literary importance will ever be cherished by the historians of Bengal. Syed Sajjad Husain, who has edited the English version deserves congratulations for his learned introduction.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MUSLIMS IN BENGAL (DOWN TO A.D. 1538), by Abdul Karim: Published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, East Pakistan: 1959: Pp. xvii + 252. Price Rs. 15/-.

In this book the author is concerned with the problem of the fundamental changes that the society of mediaeval Bengal underwent as a result of Muslim rule in the area. After an elaborate discussion of the original sources—archaeological, numismatic and literary—for a study of the subject and the political background he examines the distinct contributions made by the Sultans, Scholars and the Sufis to the growth of Muslim Society in Bengal. Then comes an analytical study of the composition of the society and the daily life of the people during the period.

Abdul Karim feels that the catholicity and the cosmopolitanism that prevailed in Bengal in dire contrast to the conditions in other parts of the country helped the development of a distinct individuality among the Muslim community of Bengal.

The author quotes original authorities profusely wherever necessary to substantiate the conclusions and inferences drawn by him. The treatment is thoroughly historical and documented. The work confines itself to the period ending with 1538 and works of a similar nature, studying the impact of the Muslim and British rule and the French and Portugese settlements not only over Bengal but also over each of the different parts of India will be welcome additions to the growing literature on the Social History of India.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Annals of the Vol. XXXIX, Parts III-IV, Poona.*
 1. *Harappan: Vedic: Proto-Historic*, by T. G. Aravamuthan.
- II. *Bihar Research Society—The Journal of the Vol. XLIV, Parts I & II, Patna.*
 1. *Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture* by Dr. H. L. Fain.
 2. *The Accounts of Safdar Ali, the Mir Munshi of Todar Mal, and of Ram Das Kachchawaha* by Kanha Bard of Kachchawahas of the Village Achalpurah in Jaipur State, by Shri Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya.
 3. *Bhandikala of Bhoja's Gwalior Prasasti*, by Prof. Dasharatha Sharma.
 4. *Significance of Religious Data in Kautilya's Arthashastra*, by Dr. B. P. Sinha.
 5. *The Home Land of the Aryans*, by Ramcharitar Singh.
- III. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Vol. XIII, No. 2, Madras.*
 1. *Mayuravarma—Carita (Marathi)* Edited by Sri K. Thulajaram Kshirasagar.
- IV. *India Quarterly—A Journal of International Affairs, Vol. XVI, No. 2, New Delhi.*
 1. *Twenty-Five Years of Indian Socialism*, by Aloo J. Dastur.
- V. *The Indian Review, Vol. 61, No. 9, Madras.*
 1. *The Problems of India's North-East Frontier*, by Prof. B. Chakravarty.
- VI. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the Vol. IX, No. 3, Baroda.*
 1. *Lothal—A Port?*—Umakant P. Shah.
- VII. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the Vol. IX, No. 4, Baroda.*
 1. *The Puranic Chronology of the Mauryan Dynasty* by H. G. Shastri.
 2. *Excavation of a Buddhist Stupa and a Vihara at Devni-Mori near Shamalaji—North Gujarat*, by S. N. Chowdhary.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
—
Pr

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*,
Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya*, *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*,
Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
15. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review*, Madras.
18. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review*.
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.

Printed by G. Srinivasachari, B.A., at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street,
Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXVIII, Part III

December, 1960

Serial No. 114

CONTENTS

REFLECTIONS ON ARCHIVAL ORGANISATION IN INDIA—by V. K. Bawa, I.A.S. ..	473	HISTORY—ITS FUTURE ROLE IN FOSTERING HUMAN UNITY—by Dr. Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri, F.R.A.S. (London) ..	581
THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT TAMILAHAM—by Dr. N. Subrahmanian, M.A., Ph.D. ..	485	SOME TERMS IN ANCIENT LAND GRANTS—by Dr. Lallanji Gopal ..	587
SOME ANCIENT SCULPTURES AND TERRACOTTAS FROM RAJASTHAN—by R. C. Agrawala, M.A. ..	497	KARNATAK AND ORISSA (<i>Political and Cultural Links</i>)—by Prof. P. B. Desai, M.A. ..	593
PIRATES AND CONVICTS: BRITISH INTEREST IN THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY—by Nicholas Tarling, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.) ..	505	PRESS—AND INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, 1858 TO 1909—by M. M. Ahluwalia, M.A., Ph.D. ..	599
MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONCEPTION OF POLITICS—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	527	THE IMPERIAL PRATIHARAS: MAHENDRAPALA I AND MAHIPALA (<i>A Revised Study</i>)—by Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt. ..	605
THE ANCIENT CITY OF SAKALA—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S. ..	533	SYSTEM OF ESPIONAGE IN THE NITISARA OF KAMANDAKA—by Dr. R. K. Dikshit ..	627
QUALIFICATIONS AND SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS—by D. B. Diskelkar ..	547	SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LAKULISA AND OTHER PASUPATA TEACHERS—by Dr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi ..	635
EVOLUTION OF 'DWARF DVARAPALA' ON THE STUPA SLABS AT NAGARJUNAKONDA — by T. V. G. Sastri ..	567	CULTURE—CONTACTS IN SOUTH INDIA—by T. K. Venkataraman, M.A., L.T. ..	645
REVIEWS ..			653
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS ..			637
OUR EXCHANGES ..			689



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Journal of Indian History

CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

1. DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., HON.Y., D.LITT., *Emeritus Professor, University of Lucknow.*
 2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandali, Poona.*
 3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., *College of Indology, Hindu University, Benares.*
 4. PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB, B.A. (OXON), *Professor of History, University of Aligarh.*
 5. PROFESSOR D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., *University of Poona.*
 6. DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON).
 7. A. N. TAMPPI, B.A. (OXON), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, *formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.*
 8. SURANAD. P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., *Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.*
 9. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., *formerly Principal, University College, Trivandrum.*
 10. DR. YOUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS), *Osmania University.*
 11. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., *University of Lucknow.*
 12. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON), *Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay.*
-

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription: Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-65 Naye Paise

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15

Half page cover : Rs. 8

Full page inside : Rs. 10

Half page inside : Rs. 6

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to :—

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Editor,
Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

JOURNAL *of* INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,

*Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum.*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (Oxon.)

*Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.*

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,

*formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.*

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (Oxon.)

*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*



केमणि न्यज्यते प्रसन्दभ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

Published by

THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

यह पुस्तक नितरित न का जाय

NOT TO BE ISSUED

CONTENTS

REFLECTIONS ON ARCHIVAL ORGANISATION IN INDIA—by V. K. Bawa, I.A.S.	.. 473
THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT TAMILAHAM—by Dr. N. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 485
SOME ANCIENT SCULPTURES AND TERRACOTTAS FROM RAJA- STHAN—by R. C. Agrawala, M.A.	.. 497
PIRATES AND CONVICTS: BRITISH INTEREST IN THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY —by Nicholas Tarling, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.)	.. 505
MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONCEPTION OF POLITICS—by Dr. Nanda- lal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.	.. 527
THE ANCIENT CITY OF SAKALA—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S.	.. 533
QUALIFICATIONS AND SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS—by D. B. Diskelkar	.. 547
EVOLUTION OF 'DWARF DVARAPALA' ON THE STUPA SLABS AT NAGARJUNAKONDA—by T. V. G. Sastri	.. 567
HISTORY—ITS FUTURE ROLE IN FOSTERING HUMAN UNITY— by Dr. Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri, F.R.A.S. (London)	.. 581
SOME TERMS IN ANCIENT LAND GRANTS—by Dr. Lallanji Gopal	.. 587
KARNATAK AND ORISSA (Political and Cultural Links)—by Prof. P. B. Desai, M.A.	.. 593
PRESS—AND INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, 1858 TO 1909—by M. M. AHLUWALIA, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 599
THE IMPERIAL PRATHIHARAS: MAHENDRAPALA I AND MAHIPALA (A Revised Study)—by Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt.	605
SYSTEM OF ESPIONAGE IN THE NITISARA OF KAMANDAKA—by Dr. R. K. Dikshit	.. 627
SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LAKULISA AND OTHER PASU- PATA TEACHERS—by Dr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi	.. 635
CULTURE—CONTACTS IN SOUTH INDIA—by T. K. Venkata- raman, M.A., L.T.	.. 645

CONTENTS

REVIEWS :	(1) Fort William—India House Correspondence (Public), Vol. I, 1748-56. Edited by K. K. Datta; (2) The Soma-Hymns of the Rig Veda. A fresh interpretation, Part II (RV. 9.16-50)—by S. S. Bhawne; (3) Select Asokan Epigraphs (with annotations). Sachidananda Bhattacharya, M.A.; (4) Union List of Commonwealth Newspapers in London, Oxford and Cambridge, compiled by A. R. Hewitt; (5) Bahman Shah, by Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini; (6) Historians of Medieval India, by P. Hardy; (7) Colonial Labour Policy and Administration: A history of labour in the Rubber Plantation Industry in Malaya, c. 1910-1941, by J. Norman Palmer; (8) Browne Correspondence, Edited by Krishna Dayal Bhargava; (9) Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. X, 1792-93. National Archives of India; (10) Indian Armed Forces Year Book, 1958. Editor—Jaswant Singh; (11) Gaikwads of Baroda, Sayaji Rao II. A.D. 1821 to A.D. 1830, by G. B. Pandya; (12) Origin and Development of Caste, by G. K. Pillai; (13) A. Mendoza: Panorama de las ideas contemporáneas en los Estados Unidos; (14) A Review of "Two Thousand Years of Tamil Literature"; (15) A Handbook to old records of the Assam Secretariat, by Kesav Narayan Dutt, M.A., B.L.; (16) Chronology of Gujarat—Historical and Cultural, by M. R. Majumdar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.; (17) Principles of Agricultural Economics, by B. N. Pal; (18) Theory of Marketing in Under-developed Countries, by J. N. Chaturvedi; (19) Indian Economics Year Book—1959-60	653
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS		687
OUR EXCHANGES		689

Reflections on Archival Organisation in India

BY

V. K. BAWA, I.A.S.,

Director of Records, Hyderabad-Deccan

Introduction

An anniversary is traditionally an occasion for reflection upon the past history of an institution. It is now about forty years since the establishment of the Indian Historical Records Commission. This may perhaps be an appropriate time to reflect on the state of archival science in the country and to assess the rôle the Indian Historical Records Commission plays in the field of scholarship.

The provocation for this paper has been the need felt by the writer for a re-assessment of the functions of archival institutions in the country. The theories which have held the day for several decades still influence the minds of archivists, administrators and research scholars, although the facts on which these theories were based have long since disappeared. The recent publication of an extract of a letter from Professor Ramsay Muir to the then Education Secretary to the Government of India in the "Indian Archives" was accompanied by the remark that the views expressed therein were largely responsible for shaping the policy of the Government in these matters. It seems, therefore, worthwhile to examine the extent to which the remarks are applicable to the present situation. A thought-provoking article by Dr. Tous-saint on "The Archives of the Indian Ocean" has also appeared recently in the Indian Archives." He argues that the archives of the Indian Ocean area have little in common with those of mediaeval Europe. Regional co-operation between archivists of the countries of the Indian Ocean is therefore more important than discussions among archivists at world conferences. This contention has also to be critically examined with reference to the actual nature of records in Indian repositories. In this paper, it is proposed first to define the problem by re-examining some basic concepts of archival science, viz., relationship between manuscripts

and archives, uses of archives for purposes of research, and the function of archivists in the management of public records. These three problems are closely related to research, which is the primary function of the majority of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The second section of this paper deals with the functions of state record offices, which are the basic archival units in this country, just as the County or Department's record office is in Europe. The functions and nature of this work will be examined in relation to the needs of present and future research. The training of archivists is discussed in the third section. The problems of regional co-operation among different record offices within the country and outside, with special reference to the benefits of such co-operation to research, are discussed in the fourth section, which is followed by brief concluding remarks.

I. *The problem.*

(a) *The contents of archival repositories:*

It is generally accepted that the contents of archival repositories as distinct from those of libraries and museums are the records created by a governmental agency in the course of its business. But the logical consequences of this demarcation are seldom examined in detail. Archives are accumulated in consequence of organised activity, and consist of series which are complete in themselves. Manuscripts are individual items which lack the cohesiveness of the archive group, although these may be grouped in relation to persons, families and institutions. The archives of a government form only a part of the archival material in the country; in addition to public records, there are semi-public records of corporations, municipalities, councils, trusts. There are also the records of educational institutions, libraries, Societies, religious and business organisations. The question for consideration is whether these non-public archives and individual manuscripts have a place in the State Record Office or whether they should form part of the State Museum or the Public Libraries? Strictly speaking, they do not come within the purview of any of these organisations. For historical reasons, however these records were maintained by all the three types of institutions, besides research institutes and Universities. The British Museum, besides being a museum, functions as a public library and a manuscript repository. Such historic

accidents should not, however, blind us to the fact that manuscripts and non-public archives deserve special treatment which cannot be given to them by the partial attention of archivists, libraries and museologists. The lack of interest on the part of private bodies in keeping these records under proper conditions, leads one to the conclusion that libraries and archival repositories should be set up in state capitals or important centres of research by the Government and by Chambers of Commerce, and other private organisations serving a wide clientele. This will ensure the exclusive attention required for editing, cataloguing, and publication of non-public records. The only non-governmental records which have a place in state record offices are those records, like the commercial records of the East India Company, which later developed into a state series due to the functions being taken over by the State.

The distinction between library science and archival science has been pointedly brought out by Dr. S. R. Ranganathan in his articles on "Laws of Archival Science" published in the Indian Archives in 1947. These are related to the Laws of Library Science enunciated by him. First, "Books are for use, but records are meant for preservation." Therefore there is need for a technical branch, air conditioning, facilities for repair and binding, and restrictions on access to records. Secondly, "Books are for all" and have a universal appeal, whereas archives have a limited appeal; "public records are for the chosen few." From this law the restrictive rules of archives are derived, as also the obligation of the staff to provide a reference service based on cataloguing and classification. The third Law of Library Science, "Every book its reader", has its corollary in the archival law, "Every record its historiographer". As the users of archives are few, the publicity required is limited to a small group of scholars. There is no open access; and the cataloguing is done on a different system.

In spite of all these differences, however, the common points between librarians and archivists should not be undermined. Both deal with cultural materials and are of assistance in research. There are some common points of technique; the material of each institution is of assistance in the work carried out by the other; for example, an archivist needs library materials in order to arrange his records in accordance with their provenance. Museums too have much in common with libraries and archives. Close co-ope-

ration between these three institutions is necessary, both in the interests of research scholars and of public education. To these three, we should now add the manuscript library, which has a distinct purpose to serve in the community. Under ideal conditions these four institutions would be located near one another, in the neighbourhood of academic institutions which make use of them. Efforts should also be made to co-ordinate the conferences of archivists with those of librarians and museologists to ensure a fruitful exchange of views.

(b) *Uses of Archives:*

The Indian Historical Records Commission was created to provide a liaison between keepers of Government records and historians who make use of them. Indian scholars had, till the formation of this body, either to depend upon local family papers or to make expensive journeys to Europe to work on the material on modern Indian history. The Indian Historical Records Commission has thus provided the necessary basis for the development of an Indian historiography, serving as a forum for historians to present their views to the government on archival matters which vitally affect historical research. In recent years the field of historic research in India has acquired new dimensions. The study of local history is gaining more significance. The days of pioneering work by men like Sir Jadunath Sarkar are gone. At the same time the development of social sciences like Economics, Politics, Sociology and Anthropology has made possible the use of historical material for these studies. Studies like the recent "Parties and Politics in the Moghul Court" by Satish Chandra, should appear in increasing numbers. The wealth of material in record offices has to be used not only to establish historical events, but also to interpret the laws of human behaviour as portrayed in historical events. Archives have already been used in the construction of economic history. Statistics of ports, shipping lists, census records—all these contain material that is of import for economic history. The study of social sciences (which now often depends upon factual observation and field work) can be enriched by taking into consideration the wealth of material in historical repositories such as newspaper collections and archives. Apart from this, the use of records, current and semicurrent is of considerable value for research in specialised fields of public administration. This is perhaps the most immediate use to which records can be

put both by research workers and by departments of government. Governments often appoint commissions to study situations and make recommendations. Their work would be considerably lighter if proper use of public records is made by them.

In a sense, history includes all knowledge; and the study of history itself would be deepened and strengthened by the "behaviour approach" of the social sciences. It is now time to consider whether the Indian Historical Records Commission should not widen its scope by drawing upon the experience of social scientists and others. An alternative can be found in the establishment of separate Records Commissions for political scientists, economists, and others. This would give rise to a most undesirable compartmentalisation of knowledge. By inviting scholars from other fields of knowledge to serve in the Indian Historical Records Commission, we will be taking a step towards the integration of knowledge, which is one of the objects of scholarship. It will ensure a varied use of records by persons with different disciplines. This will enrich the field of historical research by giving historians an opportunity to see the records from a dynamic and functional angle.

(c) *Record Management:*

When the National Archives Establishment was transferred to the General Services Administration of the United States by an Act of Congress in 1949,¹ the administrator was authorised to

- i. make surveys of Government records and records management and disposal practices and obtain reports thereon from Federal agencies;
- ii. promote, in co-operation with the executive agencies, improved records management practices and controls in such agencies, including the central storage or disposition of records not needed by such agencies for their current use;
- iii. report to the Congress and the Bureau of the Budget from time to time the results of such activities.

1. Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, quoted in Appendix I of Fifteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1948-49, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1950.

The management of public records is a field which has made great strides in the U.S.A. and Australia. The association of an archivist with this specialised work may at first sight appear unnecessary, since record management is primarily concerned with the efficient disposal of business. The archivist along with the research scholars has an interest in this problem for three reasons. First, as the ultimate custodian of the records, he should be consulted as to the method of their creation. To provide for a smooth transfer of records from the creating agencies to the record office, there is need for advance planning and co-operation between the two departments. Record officers for departments should be trained in the state archives, and be able to visualise the needs of the permanent repository of the records created by his department. In some countries departmental record officers are even under the control of the archivists, but in a homogeneous administration such as ours this may not be necessary.

Secondly, the archivist is interested, along with the research scholar, in the removal of redundant matter in order to bring the records to manageable proportions. Archivists have discovered that the best way of reducing the volume of records is not through the process of systematic weeding, but by so simplifying the method of work that the quantity of records produced will be comparatively small. He is therefore naturally in favour of simplifying administrative procedure and cutting down red tape. Thirdly, an archivist is anxious to see that every important decision should be recorded for posterity. Slipshod methods of work and the tendency to the taking of oral decisions without recording them cannot receive his support.

It should be the function of archival and research bodies, therefore, not only to ensure the preservation of records which have already been created, but also to ensure, through an intelligent awareness of developments in the field of records management (1) that the creation of records is kept to a minimum, (2) that automatic destruction systems do not destroy matter of importance to research, (3) that records are preserved on scientific lines in departmental record rooms by trained archivists, and (4) that all important facts and decisions are recorded in the regular course of business. Perhaps the appointment of a separate committee to review developments and make recommendations on these points would be the most effective step towards a solution of these problems.

II. *Functions of Central Record Offices.*

The "Indian Archives" journal published recently an extract of a letter from Professor Ramsay Muir to the then Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education. The editor remarks that the views expressed in the latter were to a large extent responsible for shaping the policy of the government in these matters. It would therefore be worthwhile to examine the extent to which his remarks are still applicable today. The essence of his argument is that state record offices are not feasible due to (1) the excessive cost, (2) transport difficulties and distances in India (which make research in more than one record office difficult), (3) the voluminous nature of records and (4) the difficulties of the provincial languages, which are unknown to Indians from other states. Except for the last point none of these arguments still applies to the same extent today.² In spite of financial stringencies, many state governments have allotted funds for the constructions of record offices under the Five Year Plans. Transport facilities have enormously improved in the last hundred years. Scholars like Sir Jadunath Sarkar have made use of material in many state archives. The difficulty is not transport but lack of Indexes and Guides to records, to assist research. It is true that records are being produced in increasing quantity, but they are also being reduced by processes of weeding. Muir did not visualise Disposal System such as that of Madras, which provide for the automatic destruction of certain categories of records after a specified period. Nor could he foresee the possibilities of microfilming, which enable the archivists to save space by destroying the originals and retaining microfilm copies. The problem of language still exists, but it can be solved by training scholars and archivists in the paleography and diplomatic of the language of the records, such as Persian and Marathi.

Muir proposed a Historical Materials Commission at the centre in order to lay down rules for press listing, select documents for publication, carry out translation and publication of Indian language documents, train research scholars, and carry on

2. On the last point, however, the problem has become even more acute, as the language of the records does not always coincide with the state language after the re-organization of states.

research in Indian chronicles. These functions are to some extent being carried out by the Indian Historical Records Commission, but without a full time research scholar at its head. The Indian Historical Records Commission is an advisory body rather than a governmental agency. Its advice is not always accepted, (and when accepted not always enforced) by the state governments and the Government of India. Much of the work proposed by Muir still remains to be done, e.g., the translation and publication of records in Indian languages and the preparation and publication of press lists. It is necessary therefore to take a comprehensive view of the problem, as Muir did, and chalk out a plan of future action. The following suggestions are offered as a starting point for further discussion.

(1) The demand on the part of Research scholars for record offices to publish original records in large quantities can only be satisfied at the cost of thorough and comprehensive indexes and guides, which are the primary function of an archivist. Jenkinson gives priority to the "physical and moral defence of archives" over all other functions. The physical defence of archives implies the preservation of records against danger of damage by theft, fire, insects and atmospheric conditions. The moral defence of archives requires the preservation and arrangement of records in accordance with the principle of "provenance", i.e., according to the classification system in use in the creating agency, and not in accordance with any artificially created system of subject classification. "The only correct basis of arrangement is exposition of the administrative object which the archives originally served". (Jenkinson).

After providing for the arrangement and classification of a record series, the primary duties of an archivist are the making of an inventory and the preparation of repository lists, and lists of indexes. The secondary duties of the archivists are the preparation of (1) a general guide to the contents of a repository, (2) descriptive indexes, starting with some class or series selected on account of public interest, (3) calendars or abstracts using the words and language of the original, (4) printed transcripts.

From the above summary it will be seen that the printing of transcripts occupies a very low place in Jenkinson's scale of values. Research in the sense of the analysis and editing for

publication of documents does not find a place in the functions of an archivist at all. The archivist is primarily a keeper and not a research scholar. With the limited staff and funds at his disposal he should devote all his attention to keeping the records according to archival principles under modern conditions. His next duty is the preparation of guides, indexes, calendars and transcripts. Only when this is done can he afford to give time to research, editing and publication of specific documents. Archival organisation requires a knowledge of Administrative History which often takes years to acquire, as it is a process of trial and error based on study of the records themselves. Editing and publication is a full time job requiring concentrated attention; and an archivist can work on a part of the records only at the cost of the repository as a whole. It is therefore proposed to lay down a principle that specific historical research should be done only by research scholars, or by an archivist in his private capacity in his spare time. The only exceptions should be where special staff has been provided exclusively for research.

(2) The diverting of research functions from the archivists will put a greater responsibility on research institutions and individual scholars to edit and critically annotate original documents, or selections from them. This is as it should be. Research by officials is necessarily restricted by governmental regulations, and may even tend to be biased. Unless Universities and research scholars come forth to undertake basic research of this kind, the future of scholarship is bleak.

Although the pioneering days of scholars who covered in a lifetime a whole era of Indian history, such as the Moghul, are perhaps over, yet it is interesting to note that these pioneers did not exhaust the material in the state archives. For example the Central Record Office of Hyderabad, known formerly as the Daftar-e-Diwani, has not received the attention it deserves from any historian. This was for two reasons, first, because there was a wealth of material in Manuscripts which was more accessible, and secondly because of the lack of guides, indexes, calendars and transcripts. The history of the Moghul period and of the Asafias has been partially written from manuscripts and official sources, but it has to be rewritten taking into account the state records. This presupposes, on the part of the archives, a systematic set of "finding aids", and, on the part of the scholar, a willingness to

spend long hours in painstaking work. It should be pointed out here that the critical study of material based on a training in historiography, which was one of the objects of Ramsay Muir's proposals, is not as widespread as one would wish. The Indian Historical Records Commission might seriously consider the establishment of an Institute of Historical Research to ensure that only the highest standards prevail.

(3) Archivists and research scholars, along with librarians, have an interest in the maintenance of high standards of intellectual life in the country. Research at present is the pastime of a few, and lacks a sound foundation due to the absence of a broad based tradition of research in the Universities. Whether the Universities follow the American system or the tutorial system of Oxford and Cambridge, research papers should be made compulsory, for under-graduates. The post-graduate student should take up research only after several years of experience in writing research papers based on library materials. This would widen the field from which real scholarship could arise, as well as give a critical sense and training in expression which most of our students lack. This ought to be a matter of concern not only to academicians, but also to librarians and archivists, who want the best use made of their material. A solution of the problem requires close contact with University authorities and inter-university bodies in various disciplines.

III. *The Training of Archivists*

There is no agreement in countries advanced in archival science as to what should be the background and qualifications of an archivist. The traditional 19th century practice was to choose a historian as an archivist, to enable him to work on the archives for purposes of historical research. Recent opinion has however veered in favour of the view that a historian tends to take too narrow a view of his functions and to specialize in some branch of historical research at the cost of his duties to the repository as a whole. Jenkinson, as already mentioned, holds the view that the primary duty of an archivist is to preserve the records, and this he discusses under the two heads of the "physical and moral defence of archives".

While, in the United Kingdom, recruitment to the Public Record Office is from Universities which favour the classics, the

German practice is to require a Ph.D. Degree in History as a prerequisite for archival training. The trend in America is towards a shifting emphasis from History to the Social Sciences. There was till recently also a less desirable increase in the emphasis on Library classification schemes such as the Dewey Decimal system, which classify records according to subject matter, instead of according to the office of origin. There are post-graduate courses in Archives Administration organised by American Universities in conjunction with nearby record offices. The main consideration in the training of archivists should be a sound academic background in History and the Social Sciences with special training in Public Administration. It is desirable, therefore, to recruit young lecturers and civil servants with scholarly interests and broad outlook on life and give them thorough training for about six months. Recruitment for appointment should be made on an All-India basis and not only from persons domiciled in the state concerned.

The programme of training of archivists in India must consider first of all the openings available for the persons who have qualified themselves. The traditional view that there is no demand for trained archivists should be combated by widening the scope of archival training to include personnel for manuscript libraries, semi-public, institutional, and private archives, and the field of Record Management. The training which has so far been made available to archivists in India has emphasized the theory and practice of archival administration and the preservation of records. It has neglected the role of Administrative History, Public Administration, and Constitutional Law on the one hand, and the study of languages, paleography and diplomatic on the other. The student or trainee has been left to acquire this knowledge and skill in his own archives as best he can. It is now time to consider whether a University course would not be necessary to impart specialized training at a sufficiently high level. Such a course could be carried on with the co-operation of related departments, such as History, Librarianship, Constitutional Law, Public Administration, and Languages. It would be both a theoretical and a practical training, conducted on the basis of close co-operation between the record office and the University.

The training scheme outlined above would serve the research scholar and the archivist; it would not entirely serve the purpose

of record offices of various departments, who will be expected to specialize in the management of public records. For these, the National Archives of India may organise a practical training scheme in conjunction with the Indian Institute of Public Administration, which has considerable experience of this kind in other fields of administration.

IV. *Regional Co-operation*

A recent article in the "Indian Archives" journal by Auguste Toussaint, Director of Archives of Mauritius, propounded an interesting theory that the records of the Indian Ocean Region have much in common, as it is the Ocean which has shaped the history of the region, including the East Coast of Africa, Arabia, the Indian sub-continent, and South-East Asia. The records of Europe are mainly mediaeval, and the problems of archivists, both with regard to organisation and preservation, are completely different. The writer therefore makes out a case for an association of Indian Ocean archivists. A meeting was, in fact, called in Madagascar in 1959, which had to be postponed to the next year because of the cyclone which hit the island.

There is much to be said in favour of the development of a tropical archivology. The climatic conditions give rise to preservation problems which are of a distinct type. Exchange of information, research conducted on a wide scale, and periodical regional conferences are necessary in this area. The same may be said to some extent about the organisation, arrangement, and cataloguing of records. The archives of the region are primarily the product of commercial activities of the western nations. In many countries the government records are a continuation of commercial records. The records of business firms, newspapers, and missionaries are also a major source of the recent history of the region. But the importance of regional co-operation should not blind us to the fact that the Western maritime activity in these countries is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Even with the Western rule in the Indian Ocean region, there were large areas which continued to be independent, or at least under indirect rule, such as Indian States, Malaya and Java. The records of the native rulers in India do not reflect the maritime history of the Indian Ocean. They are in some respects similar in nature to those of mediaeval Europe. These countries are in a sense emerging from

feudalism, although of a distinctive type. The Peshwas and Moghuls were not primarily sea-faring nations and their power was based on the land. Unless we see the maritime records of the Indian Ocean as a break with the past history of India, we cannot understand the revolution which European sea-power accomplished in the area. Regional co-operation therefore need not be based only upon the commercial records; it should be widened to include also the records of the native rulers, who had common problems and to some extent a common cultural background, resulting from the spread of Buddhism and Islam in the Indian Ocean Region.

Toussaint's arguments for the study of Indian Ocean History are in one respect a refutation of the views put forth by Ramsay Muir in his note. Muir argued against Central Record Offices in the States on the ground that it was not possible for a scholar to visit all record offices in the country, and the state records would therefore be useful only for the study of "local antiquities". This view has become outdated as a result of two remarkable features, (1) the development of transport facilities, and (2) the possibilities of mutual assistance in research that have been opened up in recent years. Toussaint evidently visualises the exchange of information between scholars and archivists, which would eventually lead to the development of a regional history for the Indian Ocean area. New avenues of research have been opened by the light thrown on Moghul history by Burmese sources. It is not perhaps too visionary to look forward to the day when such material will be made available as a matter of course to scholars in other countries, and this may give rise to an Indian Ocean History. This cannot, of course, be achieved in a day; the meeting of Indian Ocean archivists would be only the first step in a process that would take some years to operate satisfactorily. But it would be fruitful to investigate the possibilities of regional co-operation of scholars within the country. The transcription and publication of the Poona Akhbars of the Central Record Office at Hyderabad, which are really diplomatic papers, has been instrumental in clarifying many issues in Maratha History. There must be many groups or series of records whose analysis and description will enable research scholars to investigate hitherto unknown or untapped materials. The study of local or state history would be supported by regional co-operation and the exchange of data

between scholars and archivists. It must always be remembered, however, that the function of the scholar is research, and that of the archivist is to assist research in every possible way, (once he has ensured the "physical and moral defence of archives"), short of carrying on research himself.

Conclusion

The future of the archival field in India and in the neighbouring countries depends upon a willingness of archivists and scholars to continually increase the range of their consciousness. The archivist must on the one hand keep in touch with museums and libraries, with whom he has common problems of classification of source material, exchange of information, publicity and service etc. On the other hand he must keep in touch with the ever-widening frontiers of research. He cannot confine his services to historians alone. The social scientist, the administrator and even the natural scientist have much to learn from the archives.

The archivist cannot however benefit in the long run by expanding into fields which require separate treatment. The distinction between manuscript libraries and archival repositories needs wider acceptance; both institutions should establish traditions of mutual co-operation to ensure that the research scholars and the lay public make the maximum use of both, along with the public library and the museum. The field of Record Management is a legitimate area into which the archivist may enter, as it directly concerns the records which are to come to him in the future. The training of archivists, and the provision of guides and other types of assistance to research scholars—these are major problems requiring the concentrated attention of archivists. It is clear therefore that there is no necessity for the archivist to become a collector of individual manuscripts, or to carry on research functions which can more appropriately be performed by librarians and scholars. Archival science will develop when the archivist realises both his potentialities and his limitations.

The Status of Women in Ancient Tamilaham

BY

DR. N. SUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., PH.D.

The status of women in ancient Tamil Society is well described in the Tamil literature of the Śaṅgham age and that description can be generally relied upon, though it is not corroborated by any other source of historical information.

The Śaṅgham society, from the point of view of the sexes, was not an egalitarian society and the men granted a markedly inferior status to their women who consciously or by habit accepted that position. There was no contemporary demand for a revision of that status on philosophical or even practical grounds; and till recently that position has remained without appreciable change.

The etymology of the Tamil equivalents for 'Male' and 'Female', viz., *Āṇ* and *peṇ* will clarify the basic Tamilian idea on the matter. *Āṇ* is 'he who rules or possesses'¹ and *Peṇ* is 'she who is desired or sought after' and therefore 'is to be owned'; and *Nacchinārk-kiniyar*, the noted commentator means 'a pacific nature' (*Amaidi*) by *Peṇmai*.² The assignment of the active and tutelary role to men and the passive and dependent role to women is basic in the ancient Tamils' attitude to every question relating to the sexes.

An ancient Tamil text suggests³ that it is desirable in an ideal marriage that the man and the woman are equal to each other in beauty, attainments, wealth, manners, etc.; but that if a difference is unavoidable then it is better that the man is superior to the woman. That text, in another place, says⁴ that the most desirable feminine traits are (a) sympathetic concern for a beloved person, (b) shyness, and (c) an unquestioning acceptance of elder-

1. As in the expressions *Ātchi* and *Maṇavālan*.
2. *Jivaka Chintāmaṇi*: 356—Commentary.
3. *Tolkāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 93.
4. *Tolkāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 99.

ly advice. Another and a later text, in a similar context mentions⁵ (a) shyness, (b) holding steadfast to what one is taught, (c) recoiling from the unfamiliar, and (d) a sense of disgust at unaccustomed things as the most essential among feminine qualities. These two statements should make it clear that the role of woman in that society was not only passive but also that of a conservator of traditional and accustomed values.

The wise men of the community really treated women as the 'weaker sex' and put them on a par with brahmans, cows, old persons, infants, etc., that is, those who were deemed too weak to defend themselves from dangers.⁶ It is believed that it was a Tamilian martial practice to warn women, brahmans, cows, etc. off the vicinity of battlefields to save them from avoidable killing;⁷ but the gap between theory and practice in this regard was quite wide; for we get mention of Kings who not only enslaved the womenfolk of the conquered land but put them to shame and to torture in a variety of ways.⁸ Perhaps the very saving of the women from the hazards of the battlefield was due to an anxiety to catch them alive; for it is known that women were taken captive and treated as such captives usually are.⁹

The idea of chivalry which includes special solicitude to women was familiar to medieval Europeans; they deemed it one of the noblest of social virtues. Tamil Society was not a stranger to kindness and mercy to weaker persons in general and to women in particular; but that sense of kindness, one suspects, was mixed with a certain contempt as towards dumb and helpless animals. *Jivakachintāmaṇi*¹⁰ records the 'heroine being defeated by the hero'. The statement is in the passive voice; and *Nacchinārkkiniyar*, the resourceful commentator,¹¹ says that this is purposely so; for 'it would not redound to the hero's glory to say that he defeated a mere woman'. Here, clearly, the sentiment is not one

5. *Irāiyanār Ahapporūl*: Sūtram 2—Commentary.

6. *Śilappadikāram*: XXI, 53,54.

7. *Puṛānānūru*: IX, 2.

8. *Paṭṭirupattū*: V Ten-Padiham.

9. *Epigraphia Indica*: XVI, p. 74.

10. A Jain work belonging to the Post-Śaṅgham period but still near enough to be able to remember the traditions of the preceding age.

11. *Jivaka Chintāmaṇi*:

of chivalry but is only a feeling that defeating 'a woman' would be unbecoming his position as a male victor.

The Tamil society of the Saṅgham age presents a curious picture in which we come across, on the one hand, a large number of highly accomplished women who were learned to the point of being able to write poetry equal to the best of that age; and on the other hand, a tradition which assigned women a subordinate position in society. 'Avvai' was the most famous among the women versifiers of that age; but *Naccheḷḷai*, *Ādimandi*, *Vellivīdi*, *Okkūr Māsatti*, *Nannāgai*, *Neḍum Palliyattai* and many others like them are no less significant. So there was no objection to the education of women and to their eminence in the fine arts and to their playing a helpful if ancillary role in social life.

There was a persistent feeling that boys were to be preferred to girls. It was the fulfilment of an *Illarattān's* dream if he became the father of a male child; it was the beginning of his misfortunes if the baby chanced to be a girl. Perhaps this feeling could be traced to the certainty that a daughter would leave her parental home after her marriage. The poet was merely echoing the sentiment prevalent in contemporary society, when he said that "like the sandal, the pearls, the music of the harp" etc., the daughter will leave her birthplace for an alien's home.¹² Of course, the idea that a son had the exclusive privilege of performing the religious rituals which were expected to save the father from 'an otherwise inescapable purgatory', made the parents look upon a son as absolutely essential and a daughter as useless and of no moment.

This way of thinking has in later days led to certain statements about woman in general. *Parimēlalagar*, the commentator on the *Kuṛaḷ* explicitly states that 'women are congenitally incapable of understanding by themselves and so they require to be told by others.'¹³ *Tiruvalluvar*, the author of the *Kuṛaḷ*, himself assigns an inferior place to women in society for he mentions chastity (i.e., monogamy) as an essential female virtue;¹⁴ he does not specifically prescribe monogamy for men, nor does he explicitly

12. *Kalittogai*: 9; 12 to 20.

13. *Kuṛaḷ*: 69—*Parimēlalagar's* commentary.

14. *Kuṛaḷ*: 56; *Śilappadikāram*: XX. 80.

prohibit polygamy; he condemns adultery¹⁵ and association with the hetaerae,¹⁶ no doubt; but that is not the same as condemning polygamy. The *Kural* chapter (Peṇ Vaḷicchēṛal)¹⁷ says that "He is a shameful man who would follow the advice of women".¹⁸ It is an entire chapter of ten verses that harps on this theme. The commentator improved on the text and condemned women as incapable of understanding by themselves the *Aṛam* of the householder and of playing the role of an adviser.¹⁹ Other commentators like *Nacchinārkkiniyar*²⁰ and *Rāmānuja Kavirāyar*²¹ continued this tradition of referring to the 'naturally inferior condition of women'. Innumerable proverbs and clichés have grown around the sentiment that 'women may become learned but cannot become wise'.²² So having prescribed different levels in society for men and women, the Tamils proceeded to recognize different standards of personal and social behaviour for men and women; e.g., there is a literary convention in the *Ahapporuḷ* literature which attributes to the hero the practice of returning home after a scandalous sojourn with the professional harlots of the *Cheri*.²³ The *Śilappadikāram* illustrates the liberty which men enjoyed in this matter and the rectitude that was expected of women. *Kaṇṇagi* did not question her husband's right to consort with *Māḍavi*. As the general attitude of that society towards women was such, it is no wonder that the Jain writers described woman as 'but a pack of bones, nerves, blood, marrow and skin'.²⁴

Two important reasons could be assigned for this social philosophy of the ancient Tamils which was not particularly solicitous to women, though it cannot be called misogynic. One was the institution of marriage; the other was the institution of property. The eightfold system of marriage mentioned in Sanskrit works was not unknown to the author of the earliest extant Tamil

15. *Kural*: Chapter XV.

16. *Kural*: Chapter XCII.

17. *Kural*: Chapter XCI.

18. *Kural*: 907.

19. *Kural*: 908; *Parimēlalagar's* commentary.

20. Vide f.n. 11.

21. *Nannūl*: commentary on *Sūtram* 73.

22. *Śilappadikāram*: XXI, 24; *Tiruvīlaiyādal Purāṇam*; XLV; 34

23. e.g. *Kalittogai*: 72.

24. *Nāḷadiyār*: 46.

work, the *Tolkāppiam*.²⁵ But the more ancient Tamils, i.e., belonging to a period prior to that of recorded history, seem to have preferred the *Gandharva* system of marriage glorified in the *Kuṟiñji* situation or the voluntary coming together of man and woman which is the first and the most important of the five Aham situations: *Kuṟiñji*, *Pālai*, *Neidal*, *Marudam*, and *Mullai*. Poetry which derives its theme from these love and conjugal situations, forms a good part of the Tamil Muse. But the *Tolkāppiam* records²⁶ this *Kuṟiñji* behaviour led to aberrations which necessitated the introduction of ritualistic marriage. Ritualistic marriage was known earlier, too; but now the process was reversed; i.e., instead of the ritualistic marriage being the culmination of free love, ritual became the starting point of conjugal relations. Rituals made marriage a sacrament; and at once the status of woman became inferior to that of men. The payment of bride's price²⁷ made the bride a purchased commodity, a consumer good bought for a price. The wife becomes the possession of a husband. Hence, the Tamil expression *Urimai*²⁸ (she who is rightfully owned) meant 'wife'. The expressions *Manaiivi*,²⁹ *Illāl*,³⁰ etc., do not indicate a superior or even equal status; they just indicate her status as a housewife. The period of transition from *Kuṟiñji* to a system in which the bride is *given away* to the bridegroom, who thereafter owns her is the period during which the status of woman must have deteriorated.³¹

Kuṟiñji presupposes adult lovers and the marriage that followed was a post-puberty one. But even after rituals had become common as the first stage in marriage, the bride's age seems to have been round about twelve;³² and attaining puberty at that age is not unusual in this country. Megasthenes refers to girls

25. *Tolkāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 92.

26. *Tolkāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 145.

27. Called 'Mulai Vilai': vide *Kalittogai*: 103- 71 to 73.

28. *Kuruntogai*: 351 : 5.

29. *Tolkāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 165.

30. *Kuṟaḷ*: 52.

31. It is significant that Sanskrit sources also indicate that *Pānigrahaṇa* as a form of marriage is older than *Kannikādāna*, the former indicating a slightly more independent status for the bride than the latter.

32. *Śilappadikāram*: I: 24; commenting on this passage, *Adiyārkkunallār* believes that it is unusual for girls to attain puberty at that age.

aged six becoming mothers in the Pandyan Kingdom; but this must be treated as belonging to the realm of pure myth. The statement that 'child marriage became common by about the beginning of the Christian era'³³ is certainly not true of Tamiḻaḥam. It is mentioned in an early text that marriage was consummated immediately after the formal ceremony of gift.³⁴ *Tolkāppiyam* prohibits cohabitation with the wife during the twelve days immediately following the menstrual period, as that period was considered infertile.³⁵ This evolution of thought shows that the Tamils who originally considered marriage as the consummation of love later looked upon it as an instrument for the begetting of offspring.³⁶ Hence, instead of women, owning property, they were owned by men as property, so that they could become mothers of the owners' children.

The ideal conduct of the married women was *Karpu*. The concept of *Karpu* included chastity as well as unqualified dependence first on the male parent, then on the husband and then on the son. As absolute obedience was the essence of *Karpu*, freedom to discuss and to differ did not exist. Her dependence was such that if the husband turned hostile she had only to return to her mother's home.³⁷ Divorce and re-marriage (for women) could not be contemplated as marriage was a sacrament (made sacred and inviolable by rituals). That there was no divorce law does not mean that men never denied conjugal rights to their women. There is the instance of *Pēhan* discarding his wife, *Kaṇṇagi*, and the wife being in inconsolable grief.³⁸ But it must be remembered that we do not know if that *Kaṇṇagi* deserved that fate or not.

A woman who lost her husband had only two courses open to her; either to commit self-immolation on her husband's pyre,³⁹ or to lead a life of asceticism as a widow.⁴⁰ It is not known if widows were compelled to perish on their husband's funeral pyre.

33. A. S. Altekar: The position of woman in Hindu Civilization, p. 5.

34. *Ahanānūru*: 86.

35. *Tolkāppiyam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 187.

36. *Kuṟaḷ*: 60.

37. *Kuruntogai*: 354.

38. *Puranānūru*, 143 to 147.

39. *Puranānūru*: 246, 247.

40. *Puranānūru*: 248.

But self-immolation was considered superior virtue, for widowhood was only for those who dared not commit Sati, or who had children to look after.⁴¹ But the condition of a widow was extremely hard. Widow remarriage in general and the practice of *Niyōga* in particular were not known and were, it would appear by implication, prohibited even in the earliest period of Tamil culture. Widows in ancient Tamiḷaham got their heads shaven⁴² and this practice of tonsure was not known earlier to North Indian society, for *Manu*⁴³ had specifically enjoined on widows to desist from practices which might displease the departed souls. This practice of tonsure was perhaps an imitation of Buddhist ascetic ways and we hear that *Mūdavi* cast off her *Kuḷal* on hearing of *Kōvalan's* death.⁴⁴ *Valluvar* speaks of tonsure as an ascetic practice.⁴⁵ So the statement that 'tonsure of widows was not known in the country before the 9th century A.D.'⁴⁶ is clearly wrong.

As women were treated as property, the question of their acquiring property for the purpose of independent use did not arise in that ancient society. That women had no property rights in ancient Tamiḷaham seems to be conclusively borne out by certain clear references. In the first place, we do not hear of women rulers of kingdoms or principalities, nor do we hear of women who were noted for philanthropic disposal of property for they had no property to dispose of. This is an important fact though the evidence is only negative. It is common knowledge that there can be no freedom and no rights without the right to property.

Some scholars have held that matrilineal succession (*Marumakkal Tāyam*) was common in Tamiḷaham and particularly the western part of it even in the Śaṅgham age, and have sought support for this view in a certain reference in the *Padirrupattu*.⁴⁷ But there is no warrant for this view. One gets clear proof⁴⁸ of the

41. *Puranānūru*: 250.

42. *Puranānūru*: 250.

43. *Manu*: V. 156—158.

44. *Śilappadikāram*: XXVII, 10.

45. *Kural*: 280.

46. A. S. Altekar: *The position of woman in Hindu Civilization*, p. 189.

47. *Padigam* to V Ten of *Padirrupattu*.

48. *Śilappadikāram*: XXX, 172 to 182.

fact that the eldest son of the king was the heir-apparent⁴⁹ and the younger sons were the heirs-presumptive.⁵⁰ If a younger brother seized the throne from an elder brother it was 'usurpation'.⁵¹ Inheritance was *Tāyam* and that was 'property inherited by sons from father'⁵² There is another reference which mentions the birth of a prince as the arrival of the inheritor of the Kingdom.⁵³ Inherited property was *Paitiram*,⁵⁴ derived from *pitru* (father)⁵⁵ and so matrilineal succession and matriarchy were unknown to the ancient Tamils and women had no property rights.

Nothing that has been so far said should be construed to mean that woman in ancient Tamil society was held as a miserable slave or was treated harshly. She was well looked after, provided with dress and ornaments, given opportunities for learning and other accomplishments. The number of women poets of the *Śaṅgham* age proves that many women were vastly learned. Though none of them held high administrative offices, some of them functioned as bodyguards of the Kings,⁵⁶ some were spinners and weavers,⁵⁷ many helped their men in agriculture.⁵⁸ But most of them preferred merely to look after the routine duties of a housewife; they were excellent cooks.⁵⁹

Though we hear of the married status as the most common for women⁶⁰ and of widowhood or sati inevitable if the wife happened to outlive her husband, we do not hear of many instances of celibate women, a determined spinster: *Avvai* was a rare instance, if we are to believe the legend about her celibacy.

It seems that housewives were moderately accomplished while the *hetaerae* were well acquainted with not less than sixty-four

49. *Kōmahan*.

50. *Ilāṅgō*.

51. *Puranānūru*: 165; Colophon.

52. *Tollāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 221; *Nacchinārkkiniyar's* commentary.

53. *Padīrrupattu*, 74.

54. *Padīrrupattu*: 19.

55. R. Raghava Iyengar: *Tamil Varalāru*: 141, 142.

56. *Śilappadikāram*: XVI: 138.

57. *Puranānūru*: 125, 326.

58. *Padīrrupattu*: 29.

59. *Perumpanārruppadai*: 297 to 310.

60. *Puranānūru*: 200, 201.

arts,⁶¹ and they took pains to improve their looks by artificial aids and complicated modes of hair-do. They wore a large number of ornaments and they were crazy for flowers,⁶² they wore their loin cloth in folds,⁶³ but did not wear stitched garments.

In the Saṅgham literature, we come across certain references to a class of warlike women⁶⁴ whose ways were by no means pacific and who seem to have been the very definition of what *Peṇmai* was not. But even they are not referred to as fighters. They just belonged to the martial community and to them the normal attributes of the average Tamil woman would not apply.

Thus, the ancient Tamil woman had little independent legal status and such a position for her was thought justifiable by the contemporary intellectuals and accepted as normal by the men and as inevitable by the women of that age.

61. *Maṇimēkhalai*: II: 19; *Śilappadikāram*: XIV: 167.

62. *Śilappadikāram*: V: 14.

63. *Koṣaḥam*.

64. *Maṇakkudī Mahalir*: *Puṇānūru*: 19, 277 to 279.

hav
reg
Bes
Wa
rab
and

of a
dist
late
iden
nic
the
Nag
terr
Rai
stri
tion
Pill
the
The
a m
of

2, 3

J

Some Ancient Sculptures and Terracottas from Rajasthan

BY

R. C. AGRAWALA, M.A.,

*Superintendent of Archaeology & Museums
Rajasthan, Udaipur*

Archaeological excavations and explorations in Rajasthan have thrown a flood of light on the pre-historic culture of the region during the *Palaeolithic*, *Neolithic* and *Chalcolithic* periods. Besides this, the discovery of a number of *Indus Valley* and *Grey Ware sites* in different parts of Rajasthan has also added considerable information to our existing knowledge about the early art and archaeology of Rajasthan during the Proto-historic period.

Early centuries before Christ: The life size stone statue of a standing Yaksha,¹ now under worship in the village of Noh—distant about 4 miles from Bharatpur is an important relic of the late—Maurya period and can well be compared with somewhat identical colossal statues from Parkham, Besnagar etc. It has been nicely executed in strict accordance with early art traditions of the country. The ancient sites of Sambhar, Bairat, Rairh, Nagar etc., have also yielded a number of Śunga and later terracottas and sculptures. Of these, one clay toy from Rairh (near Newāi) presents a female head depicting two hair-strings falling on her back and a turban on her head in a traditional manner.² Equally interesting are the Buddhist Railing Pillars³ which now form a part of a dilapidated *Chhatrī* in front of the Dak Bungalow at Lālsot, about 60 miles distant from Jaipur. The male heads, different types of lotus-motifs and the figure of a miniature *Stūpa* carved on these red sand-stone pillars in the art of the second or first century B.C., bear close resemblance with

1. *Journal U. P. Historical Society*, Old Series, VI—2, 1933, figures 1, 2, 3; pp. 88-9.

2. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, Jaipur State, p. 30, plate XV.

3. They are being published by the author elsewhere.

identical devices represented by the Buddhist railing pillars from Bharhut and other places of the country. White *Kaolin* terracotta plaques from Nagar⁴ and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Amber (near Jaipur) are also valuable finds and present the goddess Mahishamardini, Indra—Indrāṇī, four-armed Vishnu, Kāmadeva—the God of Love.....etc., in a vivid manner. Having an important bearing on the early plastic art of Rajasthan, they have been duly described and illustrated by me in various Indian and foreign research journals. Reference may also be made to a hollow pendant found at Sambhar⁵ and representing some royal person in the company of consorts on both the sides. The use of the turbans by the ladies too is very interesting here.

Kushāṇa Period: During my exploratory tour in the region of Bharatpur in February 1959, I discovered a unique Kushāṇa relief⁶ at Noh and carved out of the white spotted red sand-stone. The typical V-shaped necklace, crown on the head and the pose of all the standing four male figures, each holding a water pot in the left hand and the right hand having been raised up in the *abhaya* pose have been vividly executed. In fact the contemporary sculptor tried to depict identical figures of Bodhisatva Maitreya standing side by side in a single row. This type of Buddhist relief from Rajasthan has been found at Mathura as well.

Early Gupta terracottas & sculptures: The ancient mounds at Raṅgamahal, Pir Sultan, Muṇḍā...etc., are well known for the well-baked terracotta reliefs pertaining to the Early-Gupta or late-Kushāṇa period. Executed in an elegant manner, some of these moulded-bricks are quite unique from Iconographic point of view and have been displayed in the Bikaner Museum.⁷ The panel, depicting Lord Kṛishṇa as holding the Govardhana mountain, is the earliest extant specimen of its type in the realm of

4. R. C. Agrawala's papers in *Lalitkalā*, nos. 1-2, pp. 72-4, pl. XVIII, fig. 1; *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona-Switzerland, XXI-2, 1958, pp. 123-30 and plates; *Journal of Gujrat Research Society*, Bombay, XIX-4, 1957, pp. 45-6 and plate; *Lalitkalā*, no. 7, pp. 63-71.

5. D. R. Sahni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar*, pl. VIII-C.

6. R. C. Agrawala's note in *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, ed. by A. Ghosh, New Delhi, p. 73, pl. 76—A.

7. *Arch. Surv. of India—Annual Report*, 1917-18, part I; H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, 1950, Oxford, figures 1-6.

ancient Indian⁸ art. Equally imposing is the second plaque presenting Kṛishṇa in the guise of a cowherd⁹ boy and conversing with a milk-maid. The smiling face of the latter and so also the lovely skirt put on by her as a nether garment are equally imposing and graceful. *Early finds of this very nature and having a bearing on some of these prominent episodes from the life of Kṛishṇa, have not been reported even from Mathura as yet.* The artists of Rajasthan really deserve immense praise for the execution of such interesting themes in the reliefs of the third century A. D. Other reliefs depicting Śiva and Pārvati,¹⁰ One-faced Śiva-Liṅga,¹¹ Lady holding a mirror, *chakra-purusha*, Garuḍa—etc., in the contemporary art are also worth taking note of. The Sardar Museum at Jodhpur also preserves two colossal red stone pillars,¹² each measuring about 13 feet in height and presenting *Kṛishṇa-Līlā* scenes such as Kṛishṇa's lifting of the Govardhana mountain, fight with Ass-Bull and Horse demons, suppression of Kāliya Serpent, Upturning of the Cart....etc., in an elegant style of the Gupta period. A terracotta Buddhist Railing plaque¹³ from Bikaner region and now exhibited in Bikaner Museum suggests some influence of Buddhist pantheon in that area during the early-Gupta period. The handle of an earthen pot,¹⁴ excavated at Sambhar, and datable to the Gupta period, is all the more important because of the representation of river Gaṅgā jutting out of the matted locks of Śiva.

Early Mediaeval Jaina Bronzes: A number of early-mediaeval Jaina bronzes,¹⁵ now under worship on a Jaina shrine at Piṇḍawāḍā (near Sirohī) throw a flood of light on the art of metal-casting in Rajasthan about 1250 years ago. One of these images represents Saraswatī, the goddess of Learning. Dated in the Vik-

8. Goetz, *op.cit.*, fig. 5.

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 3.

10. R. C. Agrawala, *Artibus Asiae*, *op.cit.*, XIX, pt. 1, 1956, pp. 61-3 and plate.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65 and plate.

12. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, XXIII (i), 1957, pp. 63-4 and figures 1-2.

13. Unpublished as yet.

14. D. R. Sahni, *op.cit.*, pl. XVI-A

15. U. P. Shah, *Lalitkalā*, Nos. 1-2, pp. 55-65 and plates IX—XVI.

rama Year 744 i.e. 687 A.D., another bronze of this hoard depicts a male divinity in the *Kāyotsarga* pose.

Unique sculptures: Equally important are a number of post-Gupta and later images carved out of greenish-blue schist (locally known as *Parevā*) and discovered by me in the regions of Udaipur, Chittor and Dungarpur. A detailed note on these finds, published in the *Lalitkalā*, No. 7, pp. 63-71 reveals that the Gupta plastic art was imparted sufficient impetus in South Western Rajasthan during the 5-6th centuries A.D. The art of the neighbouring regions of Idar state and Gujrat appears to have been highly influenced by contemporary art traditions and devices of Rajasthan. The Museums at Dungarpur and Baroda preserve sufficient sculptural wealth in support of this statement. The image of Jaina Kubera from Bānsi¹⁶ and now on display in Udaipur Museum is of superb workmanship of the eighth-ninth century A.D., because of the depiction of the miniature figures of a *Jina* both in the crown and on the head of the deity seated by the side of a couchant elephant in an elegant manner. Another image of Kubera of this type will be eagerly awaited from other parts of the country. The statue under reference is in a state of fair preservation and is a unique specimen in the realm of early Jain art. Equally graceful is the four-faced statue of standing Ādinātha and preserved in the Museum at Bharatpur. This *Sarvatobhadra*¹⁷ image appears to have been chiselled in strict accordance with the principles of *Samavasaraṇa* of the Jaina pantheon. Still more, it is the nude deity, with matted locks on the head, that appears on all the four sides and faces the cardinal directions. Such icons are very few in number.

It was from a tank at Ḍiḍawānā (Distt. Nāgaour) that a black stone and well preserved image of Yoga Nārāyaṇa¹⁸ was excavated some years back. It now graces the Archaeology Section of Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, and may also be ranked as a finished

16. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian Museums*, XII, 1956, Bombay, pl. VII, p. 32.

17. Illustrated by R. C. Agrawala on the occasion of a Radio-talk from the Radio Station, Jaipur, on 27th July 1959. It has been published in the *Artibus Asiae*, op. cit XXII (3).

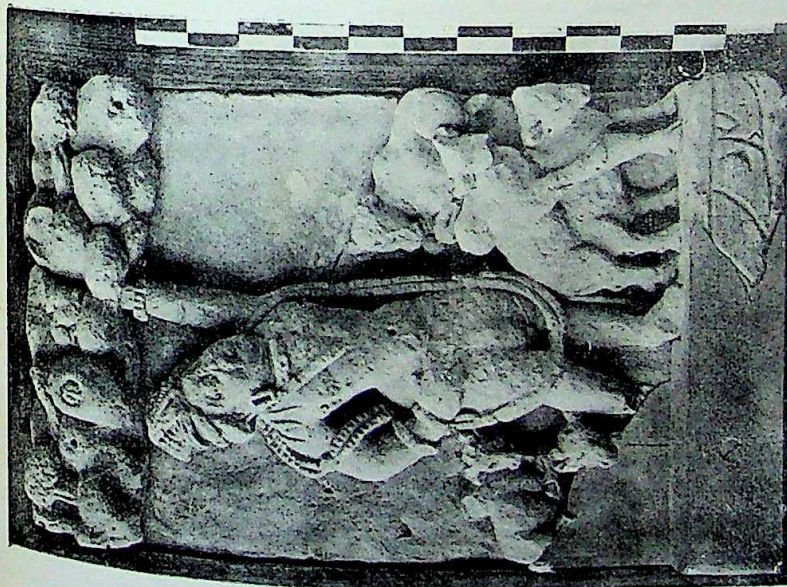
18. R. C. Agrawala, *Artibus Asiae*, op.cit., XVII (3-4), 1954, pp. 235-7; *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, op.cit., p. 65 and fig. 5.

PLATE II



Dāna-Līlā Scene; Terracotta from Raṅgamahal
(Bikaner Museum)

PLATE I



Krishna lifting the Govardhana Mountain from
Raṅgamahal; Terracotta Plaque (Bikaner
Museum)

PLATE III



Chakra-Purusha; Terracotta (Bikaner Museum)

PLATE IV

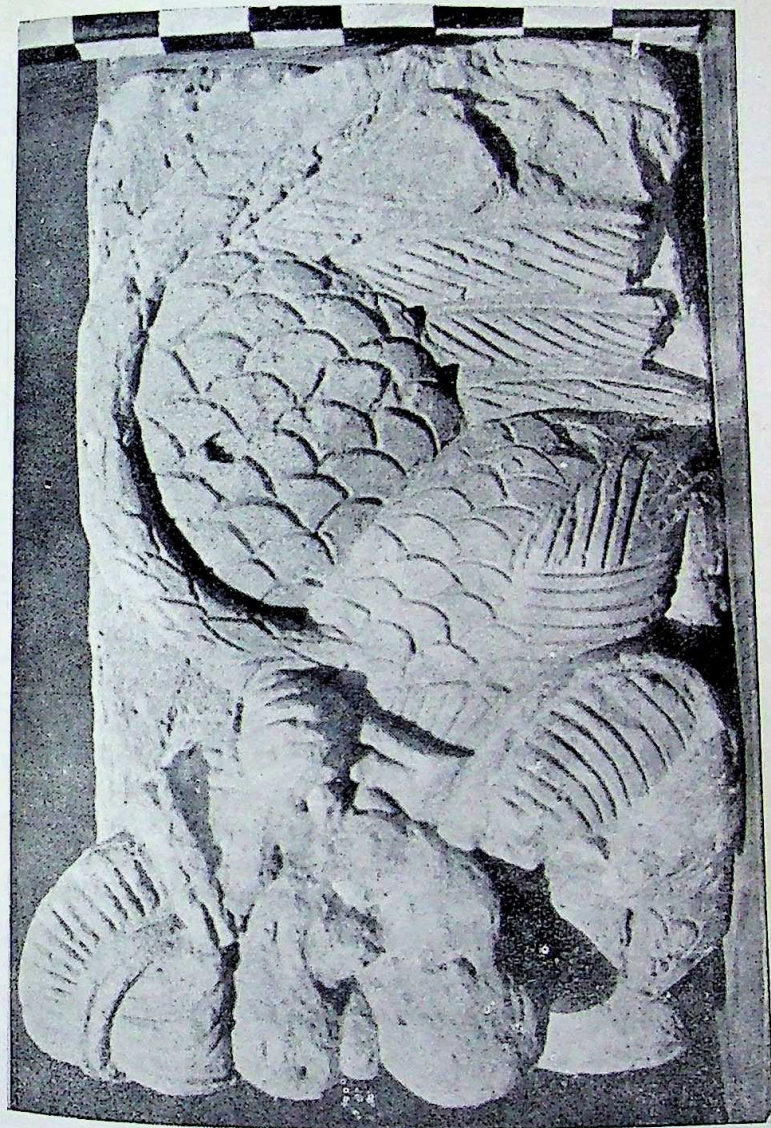


Aja-Ekapada; Terracotta (Bikaner Museum)

Aja-Ekapada; Terracotta (Bikaner Museum)

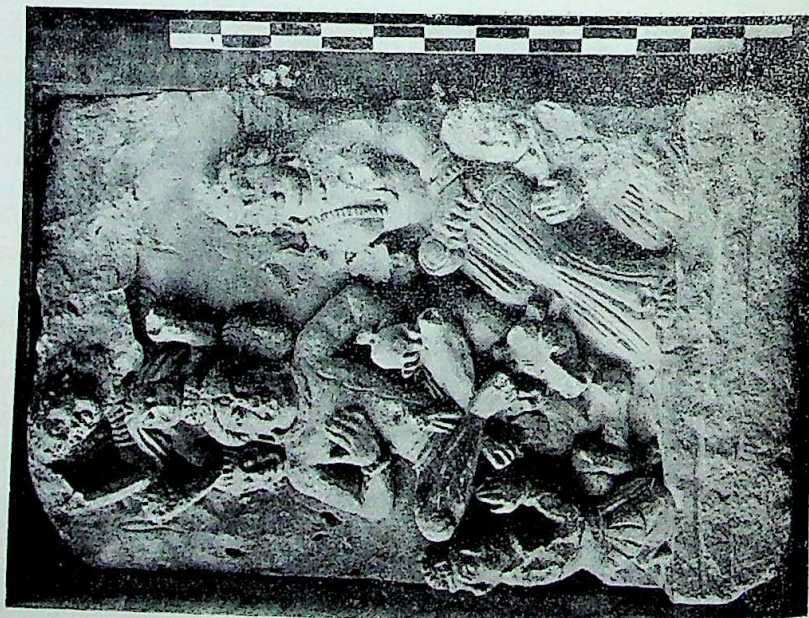
Chakra-Furusha; Terracotta (Bikaner Museum)

PLATE V



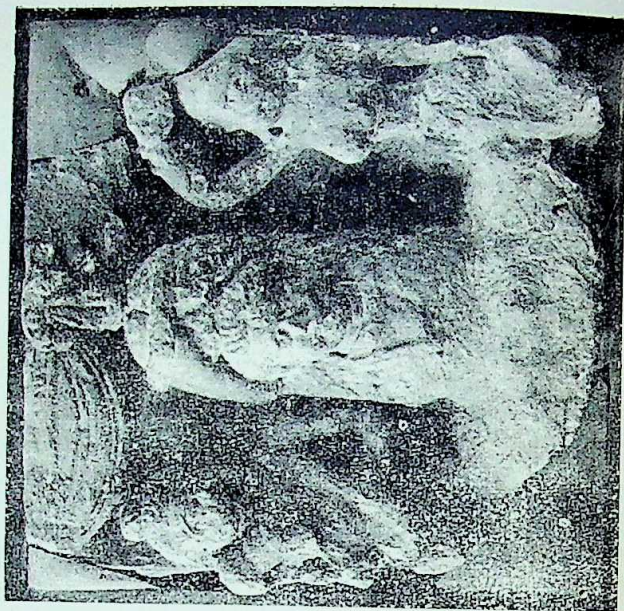
Garuḍa; Terracotta from Raigamahal (Bikaner Museum)

PLATE VI



Yogīśvara Śiva in the company of Pārvaṭī. Śiva Pār-
vati from Raṅgamahal; Bikaner Museum.

PLATE VII



Ekamukha Śiva-linga from Raṅgamahal Terracotta,
(Bikaner Museum).

product of 8th century A.D. The palms of the lower two hands of the meditating deity, therein, have been placed over each other whereas the upper ones hold the Vaijayanti garland so characteristic of Lord Vishṇu—a device which is quite unusual and unique indeed. The utter absence of the prominent weapons of Vishṇu is all the more interesting and such a rare representation of Yoga-Nārāyaṇa can hardly be supported by extant religious or literary texts. The sculptor of Rajasthan really deserves every praise for introducing this innovation in the field of *Vaiṣṇava* Iconography.

Mention may also be made of a rock cut panel¹⁹ in front of the railway station of Maṇḍor, about 6 miles distant from Jodhpur. In this early mediaeval relief we notice dancing Śiva in the company of standing Gaṇapati, and six Mātṛikās appearing in a single row. Beginning from Gaṇapati, the figures under reference bear 2, 4, 2, 4, 2, 4, 2 and 6 hands respectively. This peculiar arrangement is quite unusual and requires careful scrutiny by scholars and art critics.

It was a few years ago that I could also discover an interesting sculpture of *Tripāda*²⁰ (i.e. three-legged) Bhairava pertaining to the 15th century A.D. It is now under worship on a solitary hillock facing the well-known group of Brahmanic temples at Kiraḍu²¹ in district Bārmer of Jodhpur region. The inscription on the pedestal of this image corroborates the details of the figure wherein the deity has actually got three legs. This representation of *Samhāra* aspect of three-legged Bhairava is also quite unusual in Indian Art. Still more interesting is the tiny relief carved on the exterior of a *Śaiva temple* at Kirāḍu and presenting a graphic depiction of "Bhīṣma²² on the Bed of Arrows." The minutest possible details of the arrows have also been chiselled with sufficient care and skill in the art of the 10th-11th Century A.D., at such a far off place. The particular sculptor also deserves due credit for the successful venture on his part.

19. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Behar Research Society*, Patna, 43(1-2), 1957, pp. 111-114 and plate facing, p. 112.

20. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian Museums*, X, 1954, pp. 21-2, fig. 5.

21. R. C. Agrawala, *Mārg (Rajasthani Sculpture Number)*, Bombay, XII-2, March 1959, pp. 45-48 and plates.

22. R. C. Agrawala, *March of India*, Delhi, July 1956, plate on p. 33; Stella Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, II, pl. 80.

The early mediaeval and later temples at Osian, Kiradu and later ones at Kekind in Jōdhpur region, Harshanath-Sikar, Ramgarh-Kotah, Patan-Jhalawar, Bādoli and Nāgdā near Udaipur, and Ābānerī-Jaipur have also to present sufficient sculptural wealth having an important bearing on the contemporary art and iconography. The Liṅgodbhava²³ relief from Harshanath-Sikar and now on display in the Museum at Ajmer, Ardhanārīśvara²⁴ (composite image of Śiva and Pārvartī) and Surya-Narayan²⁵ in Jhalawar Museum, Skanda Kārttikeya²⁶ and Śeśhaśayī Viṣṇu in Kotah Museum,²⁷ Mātrikā sculptures in Dungarpur collection, Gaṇapati and Ardhanārīśvara from Ābānerī,²⁸ Jīvantaswāmī²⁹ in Jodhpur Museum, dancing³⁰ Vārāhī and Aindrī³¹ in Udaipur Museum, Harihara³² from Bedlā (near Udaipur) . . . etc., are some of the sublime products of Indian artistic genius. A Gupta image of Kubera³³ from Kāmān (Bharatpur) graces the Victoria Albert Museum of London whereas the well-known Jaina Saraswatī from Bikaner and female head from Rajorgarh have been beautifully exhibited in the National Museum of India, New Delhi. A few decent specimens from Rajasthan may be seen in the valuable collections of Dr. Stella Kramrisch as well. The post-Gupta image of Viṣṇu³⁴ from Bhinmal, now in Baroda Museum, is equally interesting.

The well known Tower of Fame at Chittor, constructed during the regime of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā of Mewar also deserves

23. Stella Kramrish, *ibid.*, pl. 67; *Mārg, op.cit.*, fig. 9, on p. 17.

24. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, 36(2), Aug. 58, pp. 229-32 and plate; *Mārg, op.cit.*, fig. 11 on p. 18.

25. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian History, op.cit.*, 36(3), pp. 377-8; *Journal of Indian Museums, op.cit.*, XI, 1955, pl. VII-2.

26. R. C. Agrawala, *Lalitkalā*, Nos. 3-4, plate 52, fig. 2, pp. 110-11.

27. R. C. Agrawala, *Lalitkalā*, No. 7.

28. R. C. Agrawala, *ibid.*, Nos. 1-2, pp. 130-1, plate 52, fig. 1; *Mārg, op.cit.*, fig. 1 on p. 30.

29. R. C. Agrawala, *Brahma Vidyā* (Adyar Library Bulletin), Adyar, XXII (1-2), pp. 32-4 and plate.

30. R. C. Agrawala, *Mārg, op.cit.*, fig. 5 on p. 15.

31. R. C. Agrawala, *Ibid.*, fig. 2 on p. 13 and *Journal of Indian Museums*, XII, 1956, pl. VIII-A.

32. R. C. Agrawala discovered and reproduced this unique statue in *Lalitkalā*, No. 7.

33. V. S. Agrawala, *Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā*, New Series, XVIII pl. 18.

34. U. P. Shah, *Bulletin of Baroda Museum*, Baroda, XII, pl. 39, fig. 6.

due reference here. It presents a number of deities, male and female carved on all the sides. The identification of each deity has also been engraved on the pedestal of each image below, a feature which is of immense help for the study of contemporary Brahmanic. Iconography and bears testimony to the great architectural skill achieved by architect Jaitā and his sons who were responsible for the construction of this monumental edifice several hundred years ago. Mahārājā Kumbhā was really a great patron of music, art, architecture, and sculpture. It was at his court that *Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana*, the State³⁵ Architect of Mewar compiled several Sanskrit treatises on Indian sculpture and architecture. Not only that, he is said to have taken up the construction of a number of temples, images and monuments including the well known fort of Kumbhalgarh. This architect of Rajasthan won great name and fame within two hundred years from the date of his demise with the result that his literary works found due place in the library of Kavindrāchārya of Banaras as early as the 17th century A.D. The descendants of Maṇḍana inherited these art traditions for several hundred years and undertook the construction of Jagadīśa Temple at Udaipur and the well-known Rajasamudra dam near Kankroli (40 miles from Udaipur) during the 17th century A.D. These monuments are living examples of highly developed contemporary art and architecture of Rajasthan.

The aforesaid brief survey of some ancient bronzes, sculptures and terracottas from Rajasthan is very interesting. In fact the whole material has got an important bearing on the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanic art of the country. Studied in that context, the ancient art specimens from different parts of Rajasthan are decidedly of superb workmanship and high order. They have to contribute a lot to contemporary Indian Art and Iconography.

35. R. C. Agarwala, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, 33 (4), Dec. 57, pp. 321-324.

th
Ar
in
of
ea
tr
th
of
m
a
fir
bo
do
m
in
Fr
ar
w
ho
po
su
de

13

Is
22

Pirates and Convicts: British Interest in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

BY

NICHOLAS TARLING, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.),
University of Queensland

It was the establishment of territorial dominion in India and the development of the Company's trade with China that gave the Andaman and Nicobar Islands their importance in British policy in the later eighteenth century. After the experiences of the war of American Independence, for instance, stations were sought on the east side of the Bay of Bengal partly in order to protect the China trade, but particularly to ensure naval control of the Bay during the northerly monsoon. These motives lay behind the foundation of the settlement at Penang and the attempts to secure Trincomalee from the Dutch; they also led to Lt. Blair's forming in 1789 a settlement on the south-east coast of the Great Andaman "at first called Port Cornwallis", removed in 1793 to the north-east harbour, "afterwards called Port Cornwallis". This was finally abandoned in 1796 as unhealthy,¹ and by then, in any case, Trincomalee was in British hands. The importance of some such station in the Bay had been emphasised by the wartime exploits of the French Admiral Suffren, for he had made use of Atjehnese ports and also of Nancowry in the Nicobars, and in the Revolutionary wars enemy privateers followed his example.² The Nicobars, however, had been annexed by Denmark in 1756, and this minor power maintained a frail colony on the fringe of greater empires, supporting it by subventions from home and by the missionary endeavour of the Moravians.³ It was only in 1809, shortly after

1. Grant to Marine Superintendent, 25 May 1850. Board's Collections 131280, p. 10, Commonwealth Relations Office.

2. Chabod to Butterworth, 2 June 1844. Board's Collections 98711, p. 72.

3. J. L. Christian, "Denmark's Interest in Burma and the Nicobar Islands", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XXIX, Part 3, pp. 219-22.

they had occupied the Danish possessions on the Continent of Asia as a means of excluding foreign interference, that the British authorities removed the Danish guards from Nancowry harbour.⁴ No British settlement was formed on the island, and, upon the conclusion of the general European peace, when the Danes were, under the treaty of Kiel, restored to Tranquebar and Serampore, they were informed that they might renew their settlement on the the Nicobars or not as they thought proper.⁵ It was clear that from this time at least neither of the island-groups possessed their earlier strategic significance, though the development of British interests in Arakan and Tenasserim from the 1820s gave the Andamans some new importance: Sir Archibald Campbell indeed assembled his forces at Port Cornwallis at the beginning of the first Burma war.⁶

In any case there were considerations other than strategic. Both groups of islands had some commercial value. The islands provided water and refreshment for passing ships and for the sperm whalers in the surrounding seas. The cocoanuts and areca nuts of the Nicobars, which had attracted the Danes, had also attracted the Malays, who appear to some extent to have settled and mixed with the natives. As the century proceeded, the islands were increasingly visited by local inhabitants and by European "country traders" from the British provinces in Burma and from Rangoon: by 1848 it could be asserted that "near one hundred British vessels load at the above islands annually for Tenasserim or Arakan".⁷ The Andamans were of less commercial value because cocoanuts were scarcer but, though there was therefore less Malayanisation of the population, it was reported about this time that "during the north-east monsoon the people of the Malay Coast of Sumatra visit the Andamans in prahus, for the purpose of

4. Christian, p. 224.

5. Governor-General in Council to Court of Directors, Foreign, 7 Dec. 1816, para 22. Board's Collections 80477, p. 7.

6. Memorandum on the Andaman, Coco and Nicobar Islands, n.d., Board's Collections 192739, p. 25, also in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Home Department) published by Authority, No. XXV: The Andaman Islands, with Notes on Barren Island, Calcutta, 1859*, p. 53.

7. Crisp to Dalhousie, 19 May 1848, Board's Collections 118871, p. 57.

collecting the edible nests, and fishing for the sea slugs, called 'tripang', or beche de mer, which is also a Chinese dainty".⁸

The commercial prospects did not at once revive the interest of the British Government in the island-groups: but the misfortunes which traders suffered there finally compelled it to give them some attention. The savagery of the Andaman natives had more scope than the nature of their trade suggests: not only did ships crossing the Bay call for water and refreshment, others from Burma touched at the islands en route for the Nicobars. The natives' hostility to strangers—noted by Sir Archibald Campbell and confirmed, for instance, by the experiences of the shipwrecked soldiers on board the "Runnymede" and the "Briton" in November 1844^{8a}—was probably stimulated by the slave-trade in which the Malays apparently engaged: even in the 1840s it was understood that Andaman islanders were frequently taken off to the Siamese-Malay ports to the northward of Penang.⁹ In 1856 the British Commissioner in Arakan thought that much of the natives' hostility could be blamed on the Burmese, "as I have heard that they used to capture them to carry into slavery".¹⁰

The jealousy that Malay visitors felt for commercial rivals no doubt prompted some of the outrages or "piracies" committed upon country boats touching at the Nicobars, but the plundering of vessels watering at the islands was also an attractive proposition and probably some Burmese as well as Malays were prepared to trade in stolen goods.¹¹ For a time, however, piracy at the Nicobars appears to have been restrained by the Danes, who in 1831 established a new settlement, called Frederickshoj, on Camorta.¹² Admiral Owen, then Commander-in-Chief on the East Indies station, suspected that the colony was designed to facilitate a trade in munitions with the neighbouring mainland states,¹³ but

8. As footnote 6.

8a. See Joseph Darvall, *The Wreck on the Andamans*...., London, 1845.

9. Lewis and Gottlieb to Garling, 20 Sept. 1845, Board's Collections 113363, p. 10.

10. Hopkinson to Bengal Secretary, 8 Feb. 1856, Board's Collections 171873, p. 8, also *Selections*, p. 38.

11. Cf. statement of Booth, 18 Mar. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 17.

12. Christian, p. 225.

13. Owen to Metcalfe, 3 Jan. 1832, Secret Letters Received from Bengal, Second Series, Vol. 6, Commonwealth Relations Office.

it was, as H.M.S. "Magicienne" found in 1833, attempting rather to develop a monopoly trade in betel nuts and edible nests.¹⁴

In these circumstances there was at this time little inclination on the part of the British to interfere in the Nicobars; nor were they interested in the Andamans, although these might be deemed to have been still in their possession. Nevertheless Captain Crisp, a country trader from Moulmein, brought before the Madras Government in 1836 schemes to cover both groups of islands. He had, he declared, made frequent voyages to Car Nicobar, and

"established feelings of good fellowship with the influential men or Patriarch [s] on that island.

"On my last visit thither in February last, I ascertained they had killed three men and one woman of their own class or tribe, two, a man and woman, for eating children, one man, an Elder, for securing and holding communication with some outlaws in the wood, one man for attempting to spear another.

"On my remonstrating with them for killing their fellows, they justified themselves on the plea of the smallness of the island and their known inability to transport them elsewhere.

"Having often considered Interview Island on the west side of the Great Andaman as an eligible place whereby the Andamans might be made the great jail of India by simply removing the jail establishment at Amherst thither...., the same train of thoughts occurred to me in reflecting on what the Patriarch [s] of the Nicobars had said in justification of themselves, and while I was yet revolving the whole in all its bearings in my mind an American whaler which had been there two years previous came in for supplies.

"I submit with due deference to the judgment of Government that to facilitate the increase of American Whalers by allowing them to get a footing and a place for themselves and their missionaries would be to increase their seamen and their naval strength, to avoid which I submit, it would be advisable to induce the Danish Government to abandon the Harbour of Nancowry in our favour and good Policy supported by Humanity [should induce us] to make a settlement at Interview Island whither the malefactors from the Island of Car Nicobar might be removed, who again might be made the means of civilising the inhabitants in the Andamans."¹⁵

14. As footnote 6.

15. Crisp to Madras Secretary, 8 Apl. 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 3.

A few weeks later Crisp produced further reasons for intervention. Two French missionaries, Chabord and Plaisant, settled in Car Nicobar,¹⁶ and the Captain reported the fact to the Government.

"Presuming the right now exercised by the Danish Government over the island and harbour of Nancowry to have emanated from their missionaries having settled thither, it is to be apprehended that this may be the intention of the French Government with the view to transport their convicts thither from Pondicherry.

"In my opinion the time has arrived when our Government should openly indicate their intention to exercise a paramount influence over these Islands to prevent other Powers from obtaining either influence or footing."¹⁷

There had been convicts at Blair's settlement, but the notion that criminals from Burma, or even from Car Nicobar, might be the instrument of civilisation in the Andamans was a new one. It was important for the future, but as yet the Indian Government was not interested, and did not "consider that it would be politic to take any steps for establishing more intimate relations than now exist with the native chiefs and population" of the Nicobar Islands.¹⁸ Later Crisp heard that one of the missionaries had decided to settle on Teressa, and this strengthened his "suspicion that the French Government intend making a settlement on one or more of the Nicobar Islands". The British could support their interests by "affording to the influential men (say three) at each village the means of securing any of their criminals preparatory to their removal from the Island at the same time to promise to reward these three men's fidelity by an annual gift of stout silver wire...."¹⁹ The Government, however, was clearly not attracted by these apparently cheap and easy methods of civilising the islands; it had "no apprehension of the designs of other European nations and no desire to establish relations ... with the chiefs and tribes of the Nicobar Islands".²⁰

16. Christian, p. 226. Chabord's name is variously spelt in the documents, but in this paper Christian's version has been followed.

17. Crisp to Madras Secretary, 11 June 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 5.

18. Prinsep to Crisp, 13 July 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 8.

19. Crisp to Prinsep, 6 Dec. 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 9.

20. Prinsep to Crisp, 7 Dec. 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 11.

In 1838 the Danes, as a result of a royal decree, withdrew from the Nicobars, though maintaining their sovereignty.²¹ In the succeeding years there was an increase of piracy that prompted the Indian Government at last to consider action. It was still not prepared to adopt Crisp's suggestions for bringing the islands under control, but wished to confine itself to naval patrols and expeditions. This cheap and easy method of civilising the islanders was, however, to be subjected to criticism, for the isolated visits of men-of-war were insufficient to create lasting fear among them, while the occasional destruction of their villages, apart from its doubtful moral justification, incited them to look to irregular modes of making a living.

In December 1840 H.M.S. "Cruizer" picked up a boat belonging to the whaler "Pilot" of London about two hundred miles west of the Nicobar Islands. The ship had put in at Ho-ho on Camorta for water and refreshments—not at Nancowry, as an earlier report stated—and the natives had taken possession of it, apparently murdering the captain and most of the crew. Commander Giffard of the "Cruizer" burned the village, about seventy huts, and destroyed its canoes. He reported that other ships had undoubtedly suffered a similar fate, and other islanders, such as those of Teressa and Bompoka, were certainly concerned in these practices.²² Accounts of this transaction appeared in the Calcutta papers in February, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, recognising that the Andaman and Nicobar Islands lay "directly in the track of vessels bound to the Straits", urged measures for "providing to commerce in that quarter a security for the future against atrocity and plunder". The Governor-General asked Captain Halstead of H.M.S. "Childers" to visit the Nicobars, together with the steamer "Ganges", to investigate "the present feelings and habits of the people... towards the vessels that may visit their Islands", and rescue any mariners detained by them in captivity.²³

These instructions were issued despite a communication from the Governor of Serampore pointing out that, though the settle-

21. Christian, p. 225; Hanson to Maddock, 15 Feb. 1841, Board's Collections 80477, p. 11.

22. Giffard to Bonham, 25 Jan. 1841, Board's Collections 84262, p. 1.

23. Governor-General to Court, 3 Mar. 1841, Board's Collections 80477, p. 1.

ment on Camorta had been abandoned, the Danish Government had "not given up their claims to the sovereignty of the islands which had been acknowledged by the Natives at several periods..." Hanson remarked that the natives were

"generally unoffensive and have frequently had it in their power to do away with the few Danish settlers and take possession of their stores and property, but they have treated them with uniform kindness and acknowledged their superiority. I therefore suspect that some offence has been given by the British Sailors, and as the Natives are exceedingly jealous of their women occasion of offence can easily have been given."²⁴

The weakness of the Danish position was obvious to the Serampore Governor, and there was in this perhaps an added reason for supporting this explanation of the origins of piracy. The British authorities came later to share in part his attitude on that subject, but it did not really provide a satisfactory argument for Governmental inactivity, for failure to exercise any control over natives or sailors.

The Court of Directors of the Company remarked that it was for Her Majesty's Government

"either to acknowledge or dispute the alleged sovereignty of the Danish Crown over these Islands, one of the consequences of which if admitted would be that reparation for any injury done by the Nicobar islanders to British subjects might be demanded from the Danish Authorities".²⁵

The future of the Danish settlements in India was in fact under discussion at this point: early in 1841 there had been indications that, consequent upon reform and retrenchment under their new king, Christian VIII, the Danes were proposing to dispose of their costly possessions in the East.²⁶ With reference to Serampore and Tranquebar, the Governor-General in Council commented that it

24. Hanson to Maddock, 15 Feb. 1841, Board's Collections 80477, p. 11.

25. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Foreign, 28 July 1841, No. 1, Draft 523, para 4, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 28, pp. 317-8, Commonwealth Relations Office.

26. Wynn to Palmerston, 31 Jan. 1841, extract attached to Secret Committee to Governor-General in Council, 3 Apl. 1841, No. 729, Board's Drafts of Secret Letters and Despatches to India, all Presidencies, First Series, Vol. 14, Commonwealth Relations Office.

was "advisable to purchase such detached portions of foreign territory as those in question, where it can be done at a reasonable price....upon many points of fiscal or other administration, the intervention of such patches of independent jurisdiction must obviously be productive of serious inconvenience".²⁷ By March 1845 a treaty was concluded that was subsequently ratified, under which Serampore, Tranquebar, "and a piece of ground formerly a factory at Balasore", were ceded to the British Government "for a pecuniary consideration".²⁸ Hanson's draft of this treaty of September 1844 had included a clause declaring that "the Nicobar Islands...not being included in the present transfer, His Majesty's rights, claims and supremacy to and over the said islands are not in any way affected by the present treaty". Later events suggest that it was as a result of British unwillingness to recognise these rights that in the later draft, which subsequently became the definite treaty, Hanson omitted this reference to them, and that he determined to seek a final decision from his Government about them.²⁹

There was thus no immediate decision over the future of the Nicobars, but there had been meanwhile new reports of piracy there. The "Moulmein Chronicle" published a letter declaring that a vessel had been taken at Nancowry in January 1844. The Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, Broadfoot, did not attach much credence to the report, which emanated from a country trader, Booth of the "Patriot", but he thought an investigation desirable.

"I would have requested Captain Smith of H.M.S. 'Siren' to go down at once, but the instructions to Captain Halstead are not preserved, and as there are some old claims of the Danish Government to these Islands, I shall cause further enquiry to be made, and if there be no reason for haste shall solicit further instructions before acting."³⁰

27. Governor-General in Council to Secret Committee, 16 Dec. 1841, No. 103, Secret Letters Received from Bengal, First Series, Vol. 26, Commonwealth Relations Office.

28. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 2 July 1845, No. 24, Draft 513, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 45, pp. 349-55.

29. Draft enclosed in Hanson to Hardinge, 23 Sept. 1844, Board's Collections 97802a, p. 128; Hanson to Currie, 31 Oct. 1844, *ibid.*, p. 149.

30. Broadfoot to Currie, 18 Mar. 1844. Board's Collections 98711, p. 15.

Subsequently, another country trader, Moniot, commander of the brig "Sophia", repeated the report that a vessel had been destroyed and its crew murdered earlier in the year, apparently, according to Chabord, then at Teressa, again in Ho-ho bay. This was still vague information, Broadfoot commented, and in the coming season few vessels could visit the Nicobars; but in the next monsoon it would be desirable to commence periodical visits by men-of-war and steamers from Penang and Moulmein, "with definite authority to act in certain cases". Mere descents from a man-of-war had been proved insufficient, he added, "and it is for the Government to consider what stronger measures should be taken. The Islands are worthless and unhealthy, but they will if unpunished become very prejudicial to our trade...."³¹

At Penang a notice appeared in the newspapers about the loss of a vessel, presumably in the Nicobars, in January; and there had also been an attack on the cutter "Emelina" of Malacca, the Captain of which had been murdered. Something, declared Broadfoot, must be done, and he believed it would be possible to render naval forces effective for suppressing piracy by using them to seize the ringleaders of the pirates. In an earlier period, he wrote, only the Great Nicobar (Sambelong) people had been considered unfriendly; now only the people of Car Nicobar and Teressa could be considered friendly. The piracy in Camorta and Nancowry probably originated with the attack on the "Pilot", perhaps the result of a quarrel, and with the resulting punishment, which drove the natives to the Camorta jungle and encouraged the adoption of piracy as a habit. Destruction of the cocoanuts on Camorta and Nancowry would, the Commissioner concluded, merely induce further piracy: what was needed was some continued pressure which would force the people to come out of the jungle and give up the ringleaders; and these could be dealt with as the Governor-General saw fit. "Both in punishing them and providing for the future", Broadfoot added, "it would not be forgotten that our traders often defraud and oppress unprotected savages and for all we know may have so caused in the first instance the atrocities Government is now obliged to put down". This, however, was

31. Broadfoot to Currie, 29 Apl. 1844, 1 July 1844, Board's Collections 98711 pp. 27, 37.

यह पुस्तक विनिर्दिष्ट न क. जास

NOT TO BE ISSUED

only a reason for more Government activity, and ships of war should visit the islands two or three times a year during the north-east monsoon.³²

The Governor of the Straits Settlements was also following up the murder of the Captain of the "Emelina", apparently, he learned, off Nancowry, and proposed to use his steamers in the next monsoon "to beat up the piratical hordes" in that area. Chabord, then visiting Penang, advised, like Broadfoot, against indiscriminate punishment, and thought that only the leading criminals should be punished. The only real remedy, he added, was the expansion of Christianity.³³

The Indian Government referred the whole matter to Commodore Chads, then in command of the East Indies squadron, commenting that from available information it was impossible to tell whether or not the natives might have been provoked. Chads had had much experience of piracy in the Malay Archipelago, as a result of a special commission given him by Lord Auckland in 1836, and he drew upon this in recommending to the Governor-General that

"much may be done by forbearance and warning these inhabitants of the certainty of punishment to the extreme of our means, and in every manner, if they persevere in their lawless proceedings, and showing them that our attention is drawn towards them, by the frequent and lengthened presence of a small steamer or the vessel of war stationed at Moulmein".³⁴

Crisp meanwhile had his own plans for the Nicobars. Allegedly at the request of the natives, he removed the French missionaries from Car Nicobar and took them to join Chabord on Teressa. Upon the latter island the Captain himself was planning to settle, in order to promote rice and betelnut cultivation and set an example to the piratically-inclined in the neighbouring islands, and he thought the Government might find Nancowry valuable as a coal depot for steamers going to Singapore and China. Meanwhile he realized that it was confining itself to naval

32. Broadfoot to Currie, 10 Aug. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 41.

33. Butterworth to Turnbull, 1 July 1844; Chabord to Butterworth, 9; June 1844, Board's Collections 98711, pp. 62, 79.

34. Chads to Governor-General, n.d., Board's Collections 98711, p. 91.

operations, and advocated visiting "the principal Pirates of Nancowry and Camorta with retributive vengeance by the execution of one or more of them on the spot". These could be captured by means of a decoy.³⁵

Some unsatisfactory attempts at using decoys had been made in Malay waters. Chads did not adopt such suggestions, but sent Commander Jervis of H.M.S. "Pilot" to the Nicobars with instructions that were simply a development of his remarks to the Governor-General. Lascars of Indian country vessels—and reference to them was more relevant than one to "British sailors"—were unlikely to have been provocative, he observed, but it was advisable to give the natives the benefit of the doubt, and he recommended in the first instance "conciliatory conduct...endeavour to convince them that we wish to be their friends, at the same time to give them solemn warning that any repetition of the activities they are now suspected of, will be punished with the utmost severity". Warnings could be given through the French missionaries, who might join the occasional cruises round the islands. If piracy continued, but not otherwise, there must be executions of leading criminals, if apprehended, or, if necessary, destruction of huts and trees.³⁶ As Chads knew from his Malayan experience, it was certainly difficult to execute the plan of civilising the islands through the instrument of naval operations: for instance, as Durand, now the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, observed, it was almost impossible to secure the criminals, yet quite undesirable to punish indiscriminately.³⁷ The best that could be done was to cruise and attempt to create a lasting impression by the threat of force. These views resulted in orders for an increase in naval strength in the area: H.M. steamer "Spiteful" was instructed to join the expedition and the Straits Settlements was to send a steamer.³⁸

The "Spiteful" had in the event to undertake other duties, and was not at the islands when early in 1845, the Straits steamer,

35. Crisp to Tenasserim Commissioner, 12 Oct. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 93.

36. Chads to Jervis, 12 Nov. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 104.

37. Durand to Maddock, 12 Feb. 1845, Board's Collections 98711, p. 122.

38. Blackwood to Governor-General, 16 Dec. 1844; Currie to Butterworth, 18 Jan. 1845, Board's Collections 98711, p. 119.

H.C.S. "Phlegethon", cruised there, wooded and watered at Nancowry, and called on the French on Teressa.³⁹ H.M. sloop "Wolverine" had, however, visited the Nicobars late in 1844. Chabard had pointed out the place of the Ho-ho bay attack of January, and, with this information corroborated by Nancowry natives, the acting-Commander, so far from fulfilling the Commodore's intentions, proceeded at once to destroy the villages, and, for good measure, also a village at the northern end of Camorta, which some Nancowry natives declared responsible for another outrage, apparently the murder of the Captain of the "Emelina".⁴⁰ In Mergui information was received about the cutting-off of the brig "Mary", and it was thought the Nancowry people were themselves responsible. Durand determined in April 1845 to send the Moulmein steamer, "Ganges", down to investigate.⁴¹

The Bengal Acting-Superintendent of Marine indeed thought that, as there was "always one of H.M. Men-of-war stationed at Moulmein, ... she should occasionally cruize among those Islands instead of remaining for months at anchor off the Town of Moulmein". The "Pilot", which was shortly to replace the "Spiteful", might also survey the Andamans, and "report whether a suitable locality can be found for a settlement, as there can be no doubt as to the great advantage that would result to all vessels navigating the Straits from our having a settlement there, it would also tend more than anything else to put a stop to Piracy...."⁴² The Court was not prepared to go nearly so far, and in October advised that "all commanders of trading vessels likely to touch at the Nicobar Islands should be recommended to employ a portion of their crew as an armed watch over the safety of the rest, whether on board or on shore". This might avoid the need for measures of repression, though the Indian Government might adopt them if it appeared "practicable and advisable".⁴³

39. Butterworth to Currie, 27 Mar. 1845, Board's Collections 98711, p. 161.

40. Morris to Butterworth, 23 Dec. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 162. It is possible that Chads' orders had not been received.

41. Moore to Durand, 25 Mar. 1845; reply, 4 Apl. 1845, Board's Collections 98711, pp. 149-150.

42. Acting-Superintendent to Governor of Bengal, 23 Apl. 1845, ex., Board's Collections 103303, p. 65.

43. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 1 Oct. 1845, No. 34, Draft 747, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 46, pp. 522-6.

Meanwhile, the "Ganges" had investigated the fate of the "Mary", which, it was learned from Chabord, had in fact been destroyed in the bay formed by the islands of Teressa and Bom-poka, and had visited Ho-ho bay and Nancowry to look again into the murder of the Captain of the "Emelina". Captain Moore, the Assistant Commissioner at Mergui, who accompanied the expedition, was suspicious of a native called "Captain Smith", and of a European, Goldsmith, left behind by a Chittagong ship in 1838 and resident in Nancowry. No vengeance was taken but his report revived the idea of punishing ringleaders, and Durand proposed that in the healthy season, in January, a party of the Local Corps should be sent to Teressa, with the "naval forces of the Tenasserim Provinces", perhaps the steamer "Proserpine", and one of H.M. Cruisers, to induce the guiltless to yield up the guilty. A special commission could try these persons on the spot and if necessary execute them.⁴⁴ This latter recommendation, the Indian Government remarked, was impracticable: "persons charged with offences of this nature should be apprehended and brought for trial to one of Her Majesty's Courts of Admiralty".⁴⁵ The problem of administering summary justice in this way had been met in dealing with Malay piracy, and possibly this had contributed to preserving Chads' adoption of plans like Crisp's: it was difficult to punish even the ringleaders, even if they were taken.

Commodore Blackwood, however, took up the suggestion of a naval expedition to the Nicobars, to consist of his ship, the "Fox", a large steamer, a sloop, and three of the Company's small steamers,⁴⁶ but the President-in-Council in Calcutta thought it better to postpone these measures, and as also the execution of the Court's instructions of October. The Danish frigate "Galatea" had early in November arrived from Europe in connection with the transfer of the Danish settlements. The President, Maddock, noted that the Commander, Captain Steen Bille, proposed to send

"a steamer under the Danish flag to the Nicobars with the object...of making scientific enquiries as to the resources

44. Durand to Currie, 15 May 1845, and enclosures, Board's Collections 105974, p. 3.

45. Resolution in the Home Department, 5 July 1845, Board's Collections 105974, p. 38.

46. Blackwood to Hardinge, 18 July 1845, Board's Collections 105974, p. 41.

of the islands, for which purpose the Danish vessel and the exploring party which accompanies it will remain for some time on the islands. [Perhaps] it would be well for us to refer to the commander of this vessel for the redress of any injuries our subjects may have sustained from the inhabitants.

"To do this [however] would be to acknowledge indirectly the sovereignty claimed by [the King of] Denmark and to send ships without reference to his officer to enforce redress from the guilty inhabitants by our own means would lead to inconvenient discussion, whereas if we remain passive for the present the probability is that the Danish steamer will deter the islanders from any fresh aggressions for a time and that the sickness which their party is likely to encounter and the disappointment of their hopes of finding the islands adapted for a colonial settlement will lead to an early abandonment of their design, after which we shall feel ourselves at liberty to treat the people of the Nicobars as if no claims of superiority over them had ever been advanced by another European power.

"If the Danes on the contrary should feel disposed to form permanent settlements on these islands, and the British Government does not see fit to deny their pretensions, we must hold them responsible for the conduct of the islanders."

This statement did not reach the Governor-General, and Maddock's plan of "lying low" was therefore adopted by accident rather than by design.⁴⁷

Earlier in the year the Danish Consul-General in Calcutta had organised the expedition of the schooner "L'Espiegle" to the Nicobars to investigate alleged coalfields and experiment with cotton growing. The coal was found to be of little value,⁴⁸ but more information was apparently sought. Steen Bille declared that it depended upon "the result of our different surveys if the Danish settlements will be renewed or not on this old possession of the Danish Crown, but until the question can be settled a Danish Force will be left on the station amongst the islands to maintain security against piracy".⁴⁹ The visit of the "Galatea" and the pre-

47. Maddock to Governor-General, 9 Dec. 1845, Board's Collections 105974, p. 55; Note by Melvill, 10 June 1847, Board's Collections 118871, p. 3.

48. Christian, p. 227.

49. Steen Bille to "the Government of the East India Company", 21 Dec. 1845, Board's Collections 101479, p. 51.

sence of the "Ganges", which had been purchased and placed under the Danish commander Aschlund, seems to have had the effect Maddock anticipated, and no complaints were received of Nicobar piracies for the next two years. In June 1847, however, the President minuted that the Danish expedition had apparently left the islands, and he proposed an enquiry into the security or otherwise of the Andamans and Nicobars. Decisions about the future must involve the Danish claim to the latter, and Maddock now openly doubted if the Indian Government "could be justified in acknowledging the Right of Denmark to dominion in any Islands in the Bay of Bengal, surrounded as that bay is by the continental possessions of Great Britain under the Government of the East India Company, and to which the claim of Denmark rests on very slight grounds".⁵⁰

The Tenasserim Commissioner confirmed that his force having been attacked by a "violent jungle fever", Captain Aschlund had withdrawn from the Nicobar Islands, recommending their abandonment to the Copenhagen Government. No cases of piracy, however, had as yet been reported.⁵¹ Aschlund told the Resident-Councillor at Penang that he thought vessels would be safe

"while attention is paid to those prudent precautions which are universally necessary when dealing with an uncivilised people. Prudence would dictate the preventing of numerous bodies of the natives coming on board at the same time, abstaining from intoxicating the Natives with ardent spirits, keeping a good lookout, and preserving good discipline on board, and discouraging and if possible preventing the crews when on shore from meddling with the women of the place."⁵²

In the following year, however, the Tenasserim Commissioner reported a dispute between the crew of a Moulmein vessel and the inhabitants of Nancowry, which, he suggested, showed that visits by men-of-war were desirable "for the purpose alike of controlling, and of giving due security to our Traders"; but H.M.S. "Acorn" had left the Tenasserim station, and there was no vessel available to patrol the Nicobars.⁵³ Crisp suggested occasional

50. Minute by Maddock, 11 June 1847, Board's Collections 118871, p. 6.

51. Bingham to Colvin, 21 July 1847, Board's Collections 118871, p. 15.

52. Garling to Butterworth, 17 Sept. 1847, Board's Collections 118871, p. 25.

53. Colvin to Elliot, 20 May 1848, Board's Collections 118871, p. 31.

visits during the period November-April,⁵⁴ and the pressure on the Government to act was increased by the announcement from the commander of His Danish Majesty's sloop "Valkyrien" that he was instructed finally to remove the Nicobar settlement; "and considering that acts of Piracy might be committed by the inhabitants of those Islands, when left without a military force, I feel it my duty to report my intended proceedings, in order that His Lordship [the Governor-General] may take such steps that he may consider necessary in consequence".⁵⁵ This announcement supplemented a despatch from Copenhagen.⁵⁶ No major decisions were, however, taken about the Nicobars.

In 1849 the Tenasserim Commissioner sent the "Proserpine" to the Andamans to search for the missing crew of the barque "Emily" wrecked on Interview Island. The wreck was found, plundered, but no survivors could be discovered.⁵⁷ The inaccuracy of the charts of the area was again illustrated, and, as Rogers, the Bengal Superintendent of Marine, observed, other considerations might render a survey desirable. The "Proserpine" had met distrust and hostility among the natives, and

"the institution of a survey of the coast of the Islands might be made the means of familiarising the inhabitants with strangers, and drawing them within the pale of civilisation...."

"The importance of conciliating the people of the Andamans and rendering them less hostile to shipwrecked Mariners, or others who may land or be thrown on these islands, situated as it were in the centre of what may be considered the peculiar sea of the Indian Empire, I have no doubt Your Honour [the Deputy-Governor of Bengal] will at once recognise...."

If nothing were done, "it may hereafter be made matter of reproach to the enlightened Government of British India that it has

54. Crisp to Dalhousie, 19 May 1848, Board's Collections 118871, p. 57. In this letter Crisp also forwarded to the Government a declaration from the chiefs of Car Nicobar, offering to cede the island to the British in order to avoid coming under Danish control.

55. Becher to Elliot, 2 June 1848, Board's Collections 118871, p. 55.

56. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 1 Feb. 1848, No. 2, Draft 35, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 56, pp. 539-40.

57. Bogle to Grant, 22 Oct. 1849; Brooking to Bogle, 29 Oct. 1849, Board's Collections 128660, pp. 3, 6.

so long left these people within three or four days sail of this great commercial Port [Calcutta] in a state of barbarism and misery".⁵⁸ The Deputy-Governor felt that a survey could not effect these aims, while there were areas more in need of a survey, such as the Pedir coast of Sumatra or the Nicobars. It was finally decided that the work of the Danes in 1845 covered the Nicobars, and so the surveying vessel, the "Krishna", was sent to Sumatra.⁵⁹

Rogers next called attention to the "horrid crimes" committed in the Nicobars. The Company's steamer "Tenasserim" had visited the islands to investigate reports of vessels cut off there, and the commander had come to the conclusion that "two or more" vessels had been cut off by Camorta or Nancowry natives within the space of a few months.⁶⁰ Even this apparently did not stir the Calcutta Government, for no action resulted, and the Court itself asked its intentions.⁶¹

Later the Directors commented rather sharply on a new outrage in the Andamans, the attack upon the shipwrecked crew of the "Fyz-Buksch" of Moulmein: "we cannot doubt that the subject has received the consideration its importance deserves".⁶² This prompted the Indian Government, if not to act, at least to consider action. The President-in-Council decided that the occupation of the islands, "the only effectual remedy", was impracticable, but a convict settlement might be made on the south-west part of the southern island which was "reported to be healthy".⁶³ Captain Hopkinson, the Commissioner in Arakan, was asked to comment, and he considered that if "the only effectual remedy" was the occupation of the islands, the next best thing was "the establishment

58. Rogers to Littler, 9 Apl. 1850, Board's Collections 131280, p. 3.

59. Grant to Rogers, 25 May 1850; Rogers to Littler, 18 July 1850, Board's Collections 131280, pp. 10, 15.

60. Rogers to Dalhousie, 13 Mar. 1852; Dicey to Lambert, 11 Mar. 1852, Board's Collections 142296, pp. 3, 5.

61. Court to Governor-General in Council, Bengal Marine, 18 May 1853, No. 15, Draft 359, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 81, P. 229-30.

62. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Marine, 29 Aug. 1855, No. 47, Draft 802, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 92, pp. 1204-5.

63. Dalrymple to Grey, 28 Nov. 1855, Board's Collections 171873, p. 5; Selections, p. 37.

of a British Settlement on one of the Islands which might extend itself hereafter as circumstances allowed". The climate and natural features were not unlike those of Arakan thirty years before and could thus be improved; the valuable harbours might be better in the hands of the British than of others; and they had a duty to protect seafarers, especially in view of their claims over the islands. The cheapest way to begin a colony would be by a penal settlement for Burmese criminals, which could be sited at "old" Port Cornwallis, or on the western side of the Archipelago, at Port Andaman or Interview Island. "Any project for the reoccupation of the Andaman should also comprehend arrangements for exercising from them a surveillance over the neighbouring group of the Nicobars. Those islands have acquired a horrid notoriety of late years for the murderous piracies committed by the inhabitants", the latest report upon which was from the commander of the "Tenasserim". "It would be well if these Islands could be reduced to an authority, and if the establishment of a penal settlement were the only consideration, they would probably answer as well for that purpose as the Andamans." The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal supported Hopkinson's views.⁶⁴

The Governor-General, Lord Canning, was, however, opposed to a settlement in the Andamans. There was no need for a new penal settlement, the establishment of which would involve "a sure expenditure of life and money". Nor would a convict settlement at one point render the whole group of islands safe for traders or the shipwrecked. It was indeed true that "property has its duties as well as its Rights", but

"we must consider our means and the further and more weighty liabilities which we may bring upon ourselves before we undertake even a duty. The possession of an island, unless it be so situated and armed as to be a bulwark or an advanced guard, becomes in war a positive weakness....

"Surely it would not be wise to encumber ourselves with new outlying points of defence which must either be made, at considerable expense, strong enough to protect themselves, or, upon the approach of danger, be guarded by a force which will have more than enough to do elsewhere or be abandoned with discredit..."

64. Hopkinson to Bengal Secretary, 8 Feb. 1856; Grey to India Secretary, 29 Feb. 1856, Board's Collections 171873, pp. 8, 7; *Selections*, pp. 38, 38.

It might indeed be argued that the British claim over the Andaman Islands was weak: "however, as we shall probably assert it against any intruding Power, it would not be honest to argue as though it did not exist".⁶⁵

J. P. Grant, a member of the Council, disagreed with Canning. Certainly security for traders and the shipwrecked could be provided only by the complete occupation of the Andamans and Nicobars which was impracticable, but some move towards this might be politic. A harbour of refuge would help them, and a position could be selected that was also "a convenient port of call for refreshment, and perhaps for coaling". In time of war it might be taken, but it could not be retained by an enemy unless Britain lost command of the sea "in which case India itself would be untenable". Such a colony would also be a convenient convict station receiving the criminals in particular of Burma and the Straits.

"And at none of our existing convict settlements is there jail accommodation for any large increase in the number of convicts; yet that there will be a very large increase in that number by reason of our late immense accessions of territory, seems certain. It may be presumed that Jails, convict lines, or other places of confinement for convicts can be nowhere less costly than at a place where the convicts know that if they run away they will be eaten up.

"It appears to me also that on diplomatic considerations some visible sign of actual dominion in that quarter would have its uses. I take it for granted that no foreign power could be allowed to establish herself in the Andamans or Nicobars. Whatever was the case before, the conquest of Pegu has made the Bay of Bengal a British Sea",

and the difficulty that Britain would face if any such attempt were made could be avoided by anticipating it.⁶⁶

The Court of Directors thought there was something in Grant's arguments, especially, it would seem, the latter one. It might sometime be necessary to reassert British rights to the Andamans: "it would have been highly inconvenient and objectionable, at any time, that a group of islands, so situated, should be occupied by strangers, but the importance of the consideration has

⁶⁵. Minute by Canning, 15 Mar. 1856, Board's Collections 171873, p. 21.

⁶⁶. Minute by Grant, 19 Mar. 1856, Board's Collections 171873, p. 31.

been much increased since we have become masters of Pegu". A harbour of refuge would certainly add to the security of traffic, and there was also the question of a penal settlement. In any case more data were required before any resolution was made, and since, as Grant said, the object "would be very imperfectly attained without the occupation of the Nicobar Islands", which had been abandoned by the Danes, information about their reported insalubrity would likewise be welcome, so that the Court might "form an opinion respecting the expediency or in expediency of taking formal possession of the islands".⁶⁷

The Indian Council as a whole was still not enthusiastic, and acquainted the Court that "the proper time at which to begin exploration" of the Andamans was "at the cessation of the south-west monsoon, when the dangerous part of the coast is accessible, and when there is least risk to health". In any case it had no steamers available, so the expedition would be deferred till "autumn".⁶⁸ In November, indeed, it appointed a committee to examine the islands, composed of Dr. F. J. Mouat, the Inspector of Jails in the Lower Provinces, Assistant Surgeon G. R. Playfair, M.D., and Lieutenant J. A. Heathcote of the Indian Navy. The aim of this committee was, however, not simply to acquire information, but to select

"a site for the establishment of a Penal settlement for the reception in the first instance of Mutineers, Deserters and Rebels, sentenced to imprisonment or banishment, and eventually for the reception of all convicts under sentence of transportation whom for any reason it may not be thought expedient to send to the Straits Settlements or to the Tenasserim Provinces".⁶⁹

It was thus the outbreak of the Mutiny that had prompted the Indian Government to this decisive act. As Grant had remarked, existing convict settlements could not cope with a heavy increase in numbers, and there had been strong objections to sending des-

67. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 1 Oct. 1856, No. 37, Draft 1011, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 100, pp. 345-60; *Selections*, pp. 49-51.

68. Governor-General in Council to Court, Foreign, 8 Apl. 1857, No. 24, Board's Collections 192739, p. 1; *Selections*, p. 51.

69. Governor-General in Council to Court, Home Judicial, 19 Jan. 1858, No. 3, Board's Collections 192739, p. 13; *Selections*, p. 1.

perate characters, for instance, to the Straits. Mouat had therefore suggested removing "turbulent, refractory individuals" to the Andamans.⁷⁰

His committee reached Moulmein on H.C. steam frigate "Semiramis" on 1 December, and the expedition, now aboard H.C. steamer "Pluto", reached Port Cornwallis on 11 December. The causes of its unhealthiness became clear: it was largely fringed with mangrove and "the prevailing winds during the greater part of the year, at its most unhealthy season", blew "over the swamp surrounding the island". Sound Island and the North Andaman formed a bay, but this also appeared unhealthy, as well as deficient in water, and the lack of a passage between the North and Great Andaman apparently ruled out Interview Island. The bay between Great Andaman and Long Island was unsuitable for a settlement because of mangrove and lack of water. On the west coast, Port Campbell, and a harbour south-west of "Old Harbour", later called Port Mouat, were examined and rejected, and Landfall Island and the Cocos to the north were, it was decided, "too directly in the track of commerce" and were deficient in harbours. The recommended spot was "Old Harbour", the site of Blair's first and healthier settlement. The committee mentioned in its report that it had attempted to open an amicable intercourse with the natives, but "from first to last they rejected every attempt at conciliation, and either avoided or forcibly opposed all attempts to hold communion with them". At one point there was an outright clash, three natives were shot, and one was captured and taken to Calcutta. It was hoped that he could subsequently be used to communicate with his fellows on the islands; some means of so doing was essential if they were not to be gradually destroyed and if shipwrecked persons were not still to suffer.⁷¹

The committee's recommendation of "Port Blair", as it was now to be called, was accepted, and Captain Man, the Executive Engineer and Superintendent of Convicts at Moulmein, was instructed to prepare the site for the convicts, the first group of

⁷⁰. Blundell to Beadon, 11 Sept. 1857; Mouat to Buckland, 24 Oct. 1857, Board's Collections 192739, pp. 69-75.

⁷¹. Andaman Committee to Beadon, 1 Jan. 1858, Board's Collections 192739, p. 99, *Selections*, p. 4.

whom would be 218 mutineers from the Punjab.⁷² Man was also instructed to take formal possession of the island-group in order to avoid any doubt arising from the long neglect of the earlier claim.⁷³ The Superintendent subsequently appointed, Walker, reported in June that he had received 773 convicts: 65 had died in hospital, 140 had escaped without being recaptured, one had committed suicide, and 87 had been executed. There had been trouble with the natives as the Court had feared,⁷⁴ and Walker apparently tried to bully them into submission. After some clashes had occurred, the Secretary of State for India visited the public functionaries with his "serious displeasure".⁷⁵ The Mouat committee's captured islander sickened and could not be used as a means of communication, and Walker's successor, Haughton, anxious to conciliate the natives, searched in vain for a native who might act as an interpreter.⁷⁶ It was in this unfortunate way that the process of bringing civilisation to the Andamans began.

The Nicobars were not involved in the scheme for a convict settlement which had finally induced the Calcutta Government to act, although they had been involved in Hopkinson's plans and in the suggestions of the Court of Directors. The latter had been concerned lest other powers should interfere in islands adjacent to British Burma. It became apparent, however, that the Danes, despite their withdrawal in 1848, maintained their claims over the Nicobars. In the 1860s there were complaints of piracy, and the Danes, busy in Schleswig-Holstein, failed to act. Ultimately they agreed to the British assumption of control in 1869, and in 1871 the transfer of some 200 convicted prisoners from Port Blair began the civilisation of the Nicobars.⁷⁷

72. Beadon to Man, 15 Jan. 1858, Board's Collections 192739, p. 117b; *Selections*, p. 72.

73. Beadon to Man, 15 Jan. 1858, Board's Collections 192739, p. 123.

74. Walker to Beadon, 16 June 1858, *Selections*, p. 85; Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 18 May 1858, No. 19, Draft 563, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 112, pp. 1221-52. The copy of the latter in *Selections* does not include this reference.

75. Stanley to Governor-General in Council, 30 Nov. 1858, No. 13, Political Despatches to India, Vol. 1, Commonwealth Relations Office.

76. Haughton to Grey, 6 Oct. 1859, Collections to Political Despatches to India, Vol. 13 (No. 21 of 1860), Commonwealth Relations Office.

77. Christian, p. 230.

Mahatma Gandhi's Conception of Politics

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,

Professor & Head of the Department of History,

Lucknow University

"Men say I am a saint losing myself in politics," Gandhiji had once protested to a friend. "But", he had at the same time assured him, "I am a politician trying to become a saint". In this characteristic admission lies the clue to an understanding of Gandhiji's conception of politics. That he was a strange compound of saint and statesman is well known. But, his wondering admirers seldom tried to find out whether, in fact, he was a fallen saint, or an ennobled politician. There is no doubt that he took to politics in the same spirit in which an ascetic would take to spiritual realization. Political life was to him a way of renunciation and service. Such a lofty conception of politics was doubtless an ideal which the world had never seen in actual operation before.

The more one analyses the political career of Gandhiji, the more is one convinced of the fact that he never regarded political endeavour as a matter of mere policy or expediency. Politics was with him a sort of self-dedication to the cause of Truth. Even his fight for *Swaraj* was in reality a search for Truth, for according to him, God is Truth. His historic technique of non-violent *Satyagraha* was the light which revealed that Truth to him. Thus, he looked upon *Satyagraha* as a *Kalpadruma*—Jami-Jam—The Universal Provider! This idealisation of political campaigning was an attribute of the spirit within. It was something which an average man cannot easily understand even though this spirit might be latent in every one of us. Gandhiji claimed that like *Swaraj*, *Satyagraha* is our birth-right. And he knew it more than anybody else, for it was his firm conviction that his way of politics had given to the dumb millions of India a consciousness of their inner strength and had created an awakening among them which perhaps no other way could have done.

The most unusual feature of his political agitation was the avoidance of all traces of bitterness and vindictiveness. Even for his worst opponents he had no hatred or malice. Who but Gandhiji could have truthfully asserted "I will not hurt England to serve India". This attitude of moral detachment was something which made him truly great. He eschewed violence not merely in its physical form, but, what is more important, in its moral sense as well. "I cannot, and will not hate Englishmen" he was not ashamed of saying. "Nor", as he was equally emphatic, "will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British institutions on India". That one could dream of a struggle for freedom from foreign yoke without racial bitterness would have been dismissed as a phantasy, if Gandhiji had not actually demonstrated it by his own example. He showed to the world, as it had never been shown before, that wrong could be distinguished from the wrong-doer, and that the *sannyasi's* detachment adds to, instead of weakening, the real effectiveness of the politician.

In politics, one normally looks to the end, rather than the means. And, it is this popular attitude which is responsible for much of the Machiavellism and chicanery which we usually associate with day-to-day political life. In Gandhiji's philosophy of politics, means and end were convertible terms. He would never compromise his honour and principles by taking recourse to any ignoble or questionable expedient or tactics, even though it might be held conducive to ultimate success. Fraud, falsehood, or double dealing, according to him, defeated the very object of freedom or political power. Politics based on Truth might be slower, but surer, and a few years' delay is nothing in the history of a nation. Gandhiji could conceive of no dishonest short cut to *Swaraj* except through a patient struggle of self-purification and self-sacrifice. The morality and spirituality of India's urge for freedom had no less an appeal for Gandhiji than the end of *Swaraj* itself. We have to resist, he always emphasized, all forms of duplicity or opportunism which can be no real foundation for a lasting *Swaraj*. Everything that he did, or advocated in politics, was judged by him from this lofty standpoint of morality. The end must be attained not by corrupt, secret or fraudulent methods, but truthfully, openly and reverently in the name of Truth and God. To those who think that this is an impracticable way in politics, Gandhiji meant to show, not by precept alone, but by his

own experiments with Truth, that politics can be grounded on a spiritual force, transcending time and space, and that a national movement can be directed along lines of selfless and fearless striving for Truth.

If Gandhiji ever broke or defied a law in the course of his *satyagraha* movement, in so doing he always emphasized that he had obeyed his inner voice, which is the law of God. He refused to be a party to evil, to accept or have any share in injustice, to acquiesce in wrong that could be righted, or to tolerate a state of affairs which he could not justify on grounds of righteousness. As a consequence, he never saw eye to eye with those who would insist on perpetrating or aggravating wrong on grounds of interest or policy. From the ethical point of view, Gandhiji's political methods were aimed at the expression and fulfilment of that spiritual *sadhana* which leads to the true development of the national mind, and, therefore, to the good of humanity. *Swaraj* was not to be a mere form of government, but a process of self-uplift, which is necessary as much for a nation, as for the whole mankind.

As a seeker after Truth, Gandhiji never hesitated to acknowledge his mistakes, howsoever "Himalayan" they might be, whenever he was convinced that he had committed any. Such candour on his part was as embarrassing to his followers as it was surprising to his critics. An average politician never likes to admit publicly his own errors. But Gandhiji was fearless of consequences. Once he realized that a blunder had been committed, he would unequivocally own it. Not only did he own it, but he went a step further and tried to atone for it by self-purification in a mood of penitence and sorrow. Such nobility might be looked upon as quixotic by politicians, but, as an apostle of Truth, he believed that a politician, being human, may make a mistake, yet when he realizes it, he should not wilfully suppress it. A mistake, he thought, is always a result of the forces of evil such as passion, anger, malice or greed. Thus to realize and rectify an error, it is necessary to resist and overcome these evil tendencies which are inborn in man. Gandhiji was so sure of the uplifting character of penitence and atonement that he frequently fasted when either he or others had committed a grievous wrong.

Politics was not a means of self-glorification to Gandhiji. It was a path of selfless service. He led the national struggle solely to serve the masses, and, in doing so, he fully identified himself with

the poorest and the lowliest. If he treated hand-spun cloth and the spinning wheel as the symbol of his non-violent movement it was because *Khadi*, according to him, symbolized the misery no less than the final salvation of the poverty-stricken peasants of India. If he lived the life of an ascetic, he did so, because he believed that a selfless leader had no right to live in comfort when the masses were ground down by abject poverty. In his coarse loin-cloth, he represented and led India more truthfully than he would have done if he had lived a life of normal ease. His emphasis on economic regeneration of India through hand-spinning was calculated not only to bring about a political revolution, but was intended to make the poorest men and women of India conscious of their strength and enable them to play the role of equal partners in the struggle for the country's independence. The *Khadi* programme was thus to him a means of political education for the people. It was also intended to bring the educated people into a close touch with the villagers.

The modern politics-ridden world is unwilling to believe in the efficacy of the political methods which Gandhiji propounded to his fellow-countrymen. But, to him, as to all great leaders of humanity, life was an intergal or synthesised whole, and there was no contradiction between the political and the moral, or between the mundane and the spiritual. It may be urged that he was not worldly in his methods; but this does not imply that he was a misfit in politics. What he sought to enforce in politics was self-discipline through non-violence in deed, word and thought. In other words, he believed that moral preparation or purification is as necessary in politics as it is in spiritual life. Such moral self-discipline was to be the foundation of all political activity. Christ-like in his personal life, he sought to be Christ-like even in politics. His great programme of constructive work stood more for moral purification than for political uplift.

The mere politician might object that there is no place for religion or morality in politics. But, Gandhiji would have retorted that there could be no politics devoid of religion or morality. In his last years, he grew impatient with the growing corruption in Indian party politics, and he protested against it in no uncertain terms. His heart bled when he found that Indian politics was fast becoming an arena for unscrupulous careerists. He raised his voice against the abuses that had crept in among Congressmen,

for he always maintained that without moral greatness Congress could not be politically great. Such high idealism as Gandhiji inculcated among his followers may not be practicable always, but there is no gainsaying the fact that politics shorn of its ethical values is bound to degenerate into an unseemly squabble for power. *Swaraj* had no meaning for Gandhiji if it brought in its train spiritual degradation and moral bankruptcy. *Swaraj* was to him creation of a new life and a nobler life at that.

A new force was thus introduced into wordly politics by Gandhiji, a force with the greatest potentialities for the future of mankind. This is the force of the moral law which underlies truth, fearlessness and non-violence. His conception of politics marks, therefore, the dividing line between two ideals—the ancient Indian ideal of moral detachment and the modern ideal of non-moral power-politics. He did not create this conception but re-asserted it in a sphere where it was never thought of before. Politics has tended to become a disease of society, as it is never usually visualized as service of God and of mankind. Gandhiji's greatness lay in the fact that he sought to provide a moral basis for all human activities including politics.

Gandhiji was, however, never a Gandhi-ite or a party boss. He never even made a fetish of his own personal philosophy or his own personal leadership. He was ill at ease when people expected him to form a group, caucus or even a party, in the accepted sense of the term. When the triumph of his political mission was at hand, he ceased to be even a four-anna member of the Congress. When political freedom came within India's reach, he was dreaming of a "United Faiths of India" based on communal amity and human brotherhood. He eventually risked and sacrificed his life for this higher political cause. If he lived and fought for the Freedom of Man, he suffered and died for the Kingdom of God.

Gandhiji was, in fact, the true type of spiritualised statesman—a type which is almost unparalleled in history. If the world has failed to accept his conception of politics, it is not because it is an impracticable dream, but because the moral revolution which is the condition precedent to its universal acceptance is yet to come. But, it was not for nothing that Mahatma Gandhi trod the path of politics. Let those who look forward to that moral revolution in politics continue to strive for it so as to lead the world towards the fulfilment of its highest destiny.

N

m

as

oc

an

an

2.

th

th

ca

Th

(

dv

S

of

ca

th

In

P.

no

The Ancient City of Sakala

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., D.LITT., HON. F.R.A.S.

Name and importance

Śākala (Pali Sāgala) was a city of the Madras¹ (*Madradeśa*)² mentioned in *Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (III. 3.1; 7.1.), probably as early as 600 B.C., who, according to the Epics, appear to have occupied the modern district of Sialkot between the rivers Chenab and Ravi³ or according to Cunningham between the rivers Jhelum and Ravi.⁴ Śākala is mentioned by Patañjali as *Bāhīkagrāma* (IV. 2.104; II.294). It was known to the Chinese as *She-kie-lo*. It was the birth place of Sāvitrī, the wife of Satyavāna.⁵ Sāvitrī was the daughter of king Aśvapati of Madra.

Śākala or Śākalānagara⁶ was not only the city but also the capital of the Madras first and then of the Yonas or Yavanas.⁷ The district of Śākala in the Rechna doab between the Chenab (*Candrabhāgā*) and the Ravi (*Irāvati*) is often called Śākalādvīpa.⁸

Śākala, the capital of the Greek kings

Śākala was also the capital of the Greek kings of the House of Euthydemus and the residence of Menander. It became the capital of the Greek king Demetrius after his expulsion from Bac-

1. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, XXXI, 1197.
2. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 166 ff.
3. *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 549-50.
4. *Ancient Geography*, p. 185 and pp. 1-6. Madras was the country of the Sivis having Śākla or Sāgala as its capital (*Mbh.*, ii, 31, 119). The river Irāvati flowed through it (*Matsya P.*, 114.7, 15-18).
5. *Mahābh.*, Vanaparva, Chs. 291-8; pp. 509-23 (Burdwan Ed); *Matsya P.*, Ch. 206; 208. 5.
6. *Mahābh.*, II, 32. 14— *Tataḥ Śākalāmadbhetya Madrānām puṭabhedanām.*
7. *Mahābh.*, Sabhāparva, XXXI, 1197; *Ibid.*, II, 1196; *Ibid.*, viii, 2033.
8. *CHI.*, I, pp. 550-51; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., p. 364 f.n.

tria and of his successors down to Dionysius who ascended the throne after Menander. The family of Euthydemus had Sialkot as one of their capitals and possibly another in the Muttra district of the Northern India as Rapson surmises.⁹ Evidently Rapson is wrong in surmising it. In the 6th century A.D. this city became the capital of the Hūna Toramāna and his son Mihirakula or Mihiragula.¹⁰

Śākala & Euthymedia (Euthydemia)

Ptolemy mentions the city of Euthymedia (Euthydemia) which was identical with Śākala.¹¹ It was situated between the rivers Chenab and Degh in the upper Punjab. The territory was then known as Yona or Yavana which might refer either to the Greek conquerors or to their Indo-Scythian successors. Śākala or Sāgala was destroyed by the Macedonians and rebuilt by the Graeco-Bactrian king Demetrios, who, in honour of his father Euthydemus, called it Euthydemia.¹²

Śarkara and Śākala

The Śarkaras mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Canto LVIII, 35; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, T., p. 373 f.n.) seem to be the Śākalas, the people of Śākala, the capital city of the Madras.

Location

Arrian (*Anabasis*, xxi-xxii) and Curtius wrongly place the city of Śākala to the east of the Ravi but, really speaking, it was to the west of the Ravi according to the *Mahābhārata* (Karna-parva, vii). Śākala was situated on the Apagā rivulet to the west of the Irāvati or the Rāvi.¹³ It was approached from the east by pleasant paths through the Pilu forest which was the commonest wood in this part of the Punjab. In these pleasant paths of the forest there was the danger for the traveller for attack by robbers. The Apagā rivulent had its rise in the Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot.¹⁴ The water of the Ayak (Apagā) must have

9. *Ancient India*, p. 130.

10. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Tr., pp. 315-16; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 123; Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 173.

11. *I.A.*, 1884, pp. 349-50.

12. *Ibid.*, Nov., 1884, p. 350.

13. *Mahābh.*, Karna-parva, VII.

14. Cunningham, *Ancient Geo. of India*, p. 213.

flowed for a long distance below Saṅgala (Sāṅgala) and most probably fell into the Rāvī.¹⁵

The commentator of the *Therīgāthā* (p. 127) wrongly places Sāgalanagara in the kingdom of Magadha. The *Apadāna*, a Theravāda Buddhist Canonical work (p. 131) refers to it as the capital of the Madras who were also known as the Jārtikas and Bāhikas.

Sialkot originally Śākala

According to Cunningham Sialkot was originally Śākala, the capital of the Bāhika country.¹⁶ The name Sialkot¹⁷ originated from the fact that it was the foot of Rājā Sālā (Śalya, the brother of Queen Mādrī of the Madra country, identified with Bāhika), who was the maternal uncle of the Pāṇḍavas. The word *Bāhika* is derived by Kātyāyana in his *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini from *bahis* (outside) with the suffix *īkak* (IV. I, 85.5). The Bāhikas were really held in disrepute.¹⁸

Location of the ancient city of Sialkot

The ancient city of Sialkot was situated 25 miles to the east of Wazirabad. It was more than a mile in length from east to west and half a mile in breadth from north to south. On the north side there was the citadel on a mound 700 ft. square, rising to a height of 49 ft. above the streets of the city. It is not entirely ruined excepting one tower, which is 10 ft. higher than the level of the fort. The city itself was on high ground. The Ayak river was 150 ft. broad with steep banks. This place was originally called Śākala.¹⁹

Some have identified Śākala with Chuniot or Shakkot in the Jhang district. Fleet, V. A. Smith, and Rapson have identified it

15. Cunningham, *Report of a tourist in the Punjab, 1878-79, A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 46.

16. *CAGI.*, pp. 218-19.

17. *Sālyakot* was gradually changed to *Syālkot* or, *Sialkot* (*A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 45) or the fort of the Madra king Salva.

18. *Mahābh.*, Karnaparva, VII; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 686-87.

19. Cunningham, *Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79; A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 44 ff.

with Sialkot, in the north-east Punjab, in the Lahore sub-division of the Punjab.²⁰ This identification has been confirmed by the local tradition that the town was founded by Rājā Sāl. Bevan doubts about the exact site of Śākala.²¹

Rhys Davids says that Sāgala lay about 32 degrees north by 74 degrees east. Cunningham thought that he had found its ruins but no excavations have been carried out. He is not certain about the exact site of this city.

Three cities by the name of Sāgala

Rhys Davids further points out that there were three cities by the name of Sāgala. But two in the far east were no doubt named after the famous Sāgala in the extreme north-west, which offered so great a resistance to Alexander, and where the Graeco Bactrian king Menander reigned.²²

Saṅgala and Śākala

Cunningham identifies Saṅgala²³ with Śākala and locates both Saṅgala and Śākala at Saṅgalawatiba²⁴ (Jhang district). The Saṅgalawatiba was a small rock. The whole area was covered with brick ruins. On the east and south the approach to the hill was covered by a large swamp, half a mile in length and about quarter of a mile in breadth. In Alexander's time it must have been a fine sheet of water. On the north-eastern side of the hill there were remains of two large buildings. Close to them there was an old well.²⁵

Saṅgala, situated in the Gurdaspur district, was to the east of the Hydraotes or the Rāvi.²⁶ It was a fortified town located near Fathgarh.²⁷ It was the main centre of the Kathaians (Cathæans) who were the leading people among the free confederate

20. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 78 f.n.; Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 130.

21. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 371.

22. *Buddhist India*, pp. 38-39.

23. Śāṅkala of Paṇini, IV, 2. 27.

24. *Archaeological Survey Report*, II, pp. 192-200.

25. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 206-11.

26. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, p. 393.

27. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, p. 687.

tribes. They fought hard with the army of Alexander and entrenched themselves in their fortified town of Saṅgala.²⁸

Identification of Saṅgala with Śākala false

C. J. Rodgers has proved the identification of Saṅgala with Śākala to be false. He infers that the absence of all walls and foundations from Saṅgala or Saṅgala, the absence of all traces of *stūpas*, inside or outside the place and its neighbourhood, the absence of ruins of a neighbouring New Śākala, the absence of coins and the non-mention of chief physical features of the place, seem to point out plainly that Saṅgala was not Śākala of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang.²⁹ We also agree with Rodgers that Saṅgala was quite distinct from Sāgala. Cunningham has made a great blunder in identifying Saṅgala with Śākala.

Description

According to the *Milindapañha*, an important non-canonical Pali work, Sāgala was devoid of learned men, monks, brahmins, and householders for 12 years.³⁰ Sāgala which was the city of the Yonas or Yavanas, was a great centre of trade situated in a delightful country, having rivers, mountains, parks, gardens, groves, tanks, and forests.³¹ Northward lay the great trade-route connecting India with central and western Asia by way of Taxila (Takkaśilā) in Gandhāra near Rawalpindi and presumably also of Sāgala in the Punjab.³²

The city of Śākala or Sāgala was a beautiful spot built by expert architects.³³ The people of this city knew no oppression.³⁴ All their enemies were killed. The city was strongly protected by big ramparts, towers, walls and moats with superb gates and entrance archways and with the royal citadel in its midst. Its

28. Law, *Indological Studies*, I, p. 22.

29. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, June, 1896, p. 87.

30. *Milindapañho*, p. 5—*Sāgalanagaraṃ dvādasavassāni suññaṃ ahoṣi samanabrāhmaṇagahapatipañḍithi*.

31. *Atthi Yonakānaṃ nānāputābhedaṇaṃ Sāgalaṃ nāma nagaraṃ nadī-pabbatasobhitaṃ ramaṇīyaṃ bhumipadesabhāgaṃ ārama-uyyānōpavanatalā-kapokkharāṇisaṃpannaṃ nadipabbatavanarāmaṇeyyakāṃ—Milindapañha*, p. 1.

32. C.H.I., I, p. 214.

33. *Sutavantanimmitaṃ—Milinda-pañho*, p. 1.

34. *anupapīlitaṃ—Ibid.*, p. 1.

roads, cross roads, and squares were well laid out. Its shops were full of various kinds of costly goods. It had many alms-halls and excellent mansions. Horses, elephants, carriages, and foot-passengers were seen in the streets. It had beautiful men and women and was crowded with men, brahmins, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, and sūdras. There were monks and learned men. There were shops to sell cloths of many kinds. There were big shops to sell flowers and perfumes. Jewels were plenty in the city and there were groups of traders. The city was full of *kahāpaṇa*,³⁵ gold, silver, copper and stone. It was a lustrous abode of wealth. Its store houses were full of wealth and corn. It had many kinds of food and drink.³⁶

Hiuen Tsang's visit to Śākala

The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited Śākala in the 7th century A.D. According to him this city was about 300 li (about 60 miles), south-east from Rājapura.³⁷ There was a Buddhist monastery at Śākala having more than 100 monks, all adherents of Hinayanism. In this monastery Vasubandhu composed *Abhidharmakośavyākḥā* (Shen-yi-t'i-lun).³⁸ By the side of the monastery there was a *stūpa* 200 ft. in height. To the north-west there was another *stūpa* about 200 ft. high, built by Aśoka

35. It was worth 20 *māsakas*. A *pāda* was a quarter of a *kahāpaṇa*. A square copper coin weighing about 146 grains and guaranteed as to weight and fineness by punch-marks made by private individuals. It is interesting to note that Alexander, when in India, struck a half *kahāpaṇa* copper piece, square, in imitation of the Indian money and not round like the Greek coins of the time. There were half and quarter *kahāpaṇas* and probably no other sort. *Buddhist India*, p. 100; Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 13-14, 151-52, 173; C.H.I., I, pp. 61, 217).

36. *Milinda-Pañho*, 1-2—*Vividha-vicitra-dalhamattāla koṭṭhakaṃ vana-pavara gopuratoriṇaṃ gambhīraparikhā-panḍarapākra suvibhattavithi-caccaracatukka - singhātakaṃ suppasāritānekavidhavarabhaṇḍaparipūritan-tarāpāṇaṃ vividha-dānagga sata samūpasobhitam Varabhavanasatashassā paṭimaṇḍitaṃ gajahaya rathapattī samākulaṃ abhirūpanaranāriganānucari-taṃ nānāvidhavatthāpaṇasampanṇaṃ bahuvidhapupphagandhāpaṇa-gandhagandhitam kahāpaṇa-rajata-suvaṇṇa-kaṇsa-pattharaparipuram pajjotamānanidhiniketam pahūta dhanadhañña-vittūpakaraṇaṃ paripurṇa kosakotthāgāraṃ bahuannapāṇaṃ bahuvidha khajja-bhojja-leyya-peyya-sāyanīnaṃ*

37. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 290.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

on the spot where the four former Buddhas explained the norm (dharma).³⁹

Śākala in early Indian history

According to Hiuen Tsang the old town of Śākala (*She-kie-lo*) had the walls thrown down. Its foundations were still firm and strong. It was about 20 li in circuit. In the midst of it a little town was built of about 6 or 7 li in circuit. The inhabitants were rich and prosperous. This was the old capital of the country.⁴⁰

Śākala was soon wrested from the Śūṅgas by the Yavanas to become the capital of Menander.⁴¹ Puṣyamitra Śūṅga was determined to put an end to the religion of the Buddha. He destroyed the Buddhist *stūpas* (shrines or dagobas) and monasteries and killed Buddhist monks. Śākala was visited by him. There he offered a reward of 100 *dīnāras*⁴² to a person who would bring the head of a Buddhist monk.⁴³

The kings of the Madras claimed to be the Pūrus and their dominions together with their capital, Śākala, twice passed under the sway of the Yavanas under Alexander (326 B.C.) and under his successor Menander. In the early part of the 6th century A.D. Śākala became the capital of the Hūṇa conqueror Mihirakula (*Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*) after the death of his father Toramāṇa about 502 A.D.⁴⁴ Mihirakula or Mihiragula subdued all the neighbouring provinces. The king was cruel. Being enraged by the conduct of some Buddhist priests, he ordered his men to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the religion of the Buddha, and to leave nothing remaining. A Magadhan king named Bālāditya, hearing Mihirakula's cruel persecution, guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute to him. Bālāditya fled hearing Mihirakula's march against him. Mihira-

39. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 166-67.

40. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 166-67.

41. C.H.I., I, p. 519.

42. A gold coin weighing 124 grains, (*svaṇnarūpaka*), adapted from the Roman *Denarius* during the Kuṣaṇa rule in the 1st century A.D. (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 67 & 181).

43. *Divyāvadāna*, (Cowel & Neil), p. 434,—*yāvat Puṣyamitro yāvat saṃghāraṃ bhikṣuṃś ca praghātayan prasthitāḥ sa yāvacchakālāṃ anuprāp-taḥ tenābhikṣitaṃ yo me śramaṇaśīrodāsyati tasyāhaṃ dīnārasataṃ dāsyāmi*.

44. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 335.

kula left his army in charge of his younger brother and himself put out to sea to attack Bālāditya, but was captured by Bālāditya's soldiers. Bālāditya took pity on the captured sovereign and released him. After his kingdom had been usurped by his brother, Mihirakula went to Kashmir. Its king gave him some territory to rule. After some years he betrayed his trust, killed the king, and placed himself on the throne. He then plotted against Gandhāra, killed all the members of the royal family, destroyed all topes and temples, and appropriated the wealth of the country. Retribution soon followed, for he was dead before the year was out.

The country of the Yonas or Yavanas watered by the Oxus or the Amudaria and the famous satrapy of the Achaemenian kings later came to be conquered by Alexander and in 321 B.C. fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator. Hundred years later the Bactrian Greeks threw off their allegiance to their Seleukidan lord, asserted independence, and gradually moved towards India to establish there an independent principality.

Menander, the Graeco-Bactrian king

Milinda or Menander was one of the kings of this line of the Bactrian Greeks who came to establish their power in India. Menander was the only Yona or Yavana who has become celebrated in ancient literature of India. As a philosopher he won for himself an abiding fame like the sage Janaka of Videha and Janamejaya of the Kurus.⁴⁵ As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome. He was the acknowledged superior of all founders of various schools of thought. As in wisdom, so in bodily strength, swiftness and valour (*thāmena javena sūriyena paññāya*), there was none equal to him in all India. He was rich, mighty in wealth and prosperity and had an enormous number of armed hosts (*anantabalavāhana*).⁴⁶ He was learned, experienced, intelligent, and competent. He acted carefully in the performance of all works of devotion and ceremony concerning past, present, and future. He mastered many arts and sciences, e.g., tradition, authorisation, *sāṃkhya*, *yoga* and *vaiśeṣika* systems

45. *Cambridge History of India*, I. p. 549.

46. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of Milinda*, S.B.E. XXXV, pp. 6-7.

of thought,⁴⁷ practice, arithmetic, music, medicine, the four *vedas*, *purāṇas*, astrology, illusion, causation, consultation, warfare, poetry and conveyancing. In short he mastered nineteen sciences and arts. He was an unrivalled disputant.⁴⁸

Menander's visit to Sāgala to inspect his fourfold army. He met six heretical teachers for discussion.

Milinda⁴⁹ or Menandros, the seventh and the last but one of the kings who succeeded Demetrios the Graeco-Bactrian ruler of Kashmir, went out of the city of Sāgala to inspect his fourfold countless army. When the counting of the force was over, the king desirous of meeting the casuists, sophists, and other people, enquired from his ministers whether there was any learned man, brahmin or monk or holder of *saṅgha* and *gaṇa* or the teacher of the group of pupils who would be able to talk with him and remove his doubts. Then the five hundred Bactrian Greeks informed Milinda of the six heretical teachers e.g., Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Nigaṇṭho Nāhaputta, Saṅjaya Belaṭṭhaputta, Ajita Kesakambali, and Pakudha Kaccāyana,⁵⁰ who were the famous teachers of groups of disciples. Milinda first of all approached Pūraṇa Kassapa with 500 Bactrian Greeks and asked him "who rules the world?" The answer was, "the earth rules the world". The king said, "if the earth rules the world, how is it that some men go to the *Avīci* hell,⁵¹ going beyond the sphere of the earth?" Kassapa was unable to remove the doubts of the king. He then met Makkhali Gosāla and enquired thus—"are there good and bad acts? Do the ultimate results of the good and bad acts exist in this world?" The answer given was "there are no such acts and no such results." The king pointed out to Gosāla

47. The *Sāṃkhya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines may be cited as examples of dualism and pluralism respectively.

48. *Milinda-Pañha*, pp. 3-4.

49. He was born at Kalasigāma, a village situated on the island of Alexandria (Alasandadīpa) on the Indus, founded by Alexander. He is ascribed to the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Alasanda or Allasanda was a centre of trade and commerce (*Mahāvastu*, pp. 155, 415). It is described as a *dīpa* in the *Milindapañha*, pp. 82, 327, 331 & 359. It was about 1400 miles or 200 *yojanas* distant from Sāgala. *CAGI*, p. 214.

50. *Dīgha*, I, pp. 47 ff.; Keru, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 32 ff.; Lav, *Law India as described in early texts of Buddhism & Jainism*, pp. 224 ff.,

51. *Law, Heaven & Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 98-99.

that those who were in this world had a hand cut off, would they become persons in the next world with a hand cut off? Makkhali was unable to answer and was defeated.⁵²

Menander (Milinda) and Nāgasena.

King Milinda of the excellent city of Sāgala (Śākala) went to Nāgasena, an inhabitant of Graeco-India, who was eloquent, the dispeller of darkness and the holder of the torch of truth.⁵³ The king put to him subtle questions (*nipunepañhe*), profound in meaning (*gambhīratthupamocitā*), wonderful and astounding. Nāgasena was well-posted in *Abhidhamma* (transcendental doctrine, metaphysics) and *Vinaya* rules of discipline, unfolding the net of *sutta* or discourse. He said, "Let Milinda and all kings of India come and ask me questions which I shall answer". The Elders went to the city of Sāgala, making it lustrous with their yellow robes and bringing down upon it the breeze from the heights where the sages lived.⁵⁴ Milinda had discussions with Nāgasena about morality, faith, exertion, mindfulness, concentration, contact, feeling, perception, consciousness, attention, discrimination, thought, and *nirvāṇa*.⁵⁵ A good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism were treated in course of his conversation with Nāgasena. Milinda raised the questions, put the dilemmas and thus played a subordinate part in comparison to that played by Nāgasena, who answered the questions and solved the puzzles in detail.⁵⁶

On the conclusion of the conversation between Milinda and Nāgasena the five hundred ministers of Milinda and the inhabitants of Sāgala, who were there, bowed down in salutation before Nāgasena the great teacher and thence departed.⁵⁷ Milinda did

52. *Milinda-Pañho*, pp. 4-5.

53. *Citrakathim ukkādharāṃ tamonudaṃ*.

54. *Milinda-Pañho*, p. 19—*Therā bhikkū Sāgalanagaraṃ Kāsāvapajjotaṃ isivātāparivātaṃ akamsu*.

55. The last four dilemmas of Milinda are concerned with the difficult problem of *nirvāṇa*.

Sila - saddhā - viriya - sati - samādhi - phassa - vedanā cetana - vañ-nāṇa - vitakka - vicara - citta—Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Milinda Questions*, p. 63.

56. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 353.

57. *The Questions of Milinda*, S.B.E., XXXVI, Pt. II, p. 373—this portion is not in Trenckner's Edition of the *Milinda-Pañho*. It is in Sinhalese translation of the *Milinda-Pañho* by Hīnaṭi Kumbure under the title "*Milinda-prasnaya*", Colombo, 1900.

homage to Nāgasena and had a monastery built called the Milinda-vihāra, which he handed over to Nāgasena.⁵⁸ He was converted to Buddhism.

Madda king's daughter born at Sāgala united with the prince Kāliṅga.

In the kingdom of Madda (Sans. Madra) and in the city of Sāgala a daughter was born to the king of Madda. It was predicted that she would live in the forest and her son would be an universal monarch. This prediction was heard by the kings of India who surrounded the city of Sāgala. The king of Madda in order to save his daughter fled in disguise to a forest with his wife and daughter. He built a hut and lived there. The parents wishing to save their daughter left her behind in the hut and went out to gather wild fruits. When her parents were gone out, she gathered flowers of all kinds and made a flower-wreath. She climbed the mango tree on the bank of the Ganges and dropped the wreath of flowers into the water. A flower wreath fell on the head of the prince Kāliṅga, who saw the young girl and asked her to come down. Both the girl and the prince were Khattiyas and they repeated to each other the guild secrets. At last the girl came down and both of them had connection, one with the other. When the parents returned, she related the whole story to them and they consented to give her to him. The daughter later conceived. A son with good signs was born to her and he was named Kāliṅga who learnt all arts from his father and grandfather. He was asked not to spend his days in forest any longer but he must go to Dantapura and receive his hereditary kingdom, as his father's brother, Kāliṅga the greater (Mahākāliṅga) was no more in this world.⁵⁹

The two kingdoms of Madra and Kuśāvatī united by matrimonial alliance.

The king of the Maddas (Madras) had seven beautiful daughters. The eldest of them was Pabhāvatī (Prabhāvatī). King Okkāka of the capital city of Kuśāvatī sent his emissaries to the Madda king who was informed by them that their king

58. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 367.

59. Fausboll, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 230-31.

had a son named Kuśa to whom he had intended to make over his kingdom. They further told the Madda king that they were sent to enquire whether his daughter Pabhāvati (Prabhāvati) would be given in marriage to Kuśa. The Madda king consented. King Okkāka started from Kuśāvati and reached the city of Sāgala. Pabhāvati was then given in marriage to Kuśa. The two kingdoms of Madda (Madra) and Kuśāvati were thus united by matrimonial alliance.⁶⁰

Different version of the story.

In the *Mahāvastu*⁶¹ we find the same story with some variations. Kuśa belonging to the Ikṣvāku family, was the ruler of Benares. He requested his mother to bring for him the most beautiful bride. Kuśa's appearance was repulsive. The Madra king Mahendra had a beautiful daughter whom he gave in marriage to king Kuśa. Seven Kṣatriya kings of the neighbouring countries came to win the married daughter of the Madra king but they were refused. Kuśa by his own power drove away all the seven kings. After saving his father-in-law's kingdom he returned to his own kingdom with his wife. Kuśa's father-in-law being advised by him, gave his seven daughters in marriage to the seven kings who came to attack him.

Sāgala under Buddhist influence.

Even before Menander's time Śākala (Sāgala) came under the Buddhist influence. At Sāgala a Buddhist monk shared a cell with the venerable Daḥhika. He told Daḥhika that he was not a true recluse and that he would leave the border. He was informed that he had committed no offence involving defeat. He was given a talk on *dhamma* (norm) which delighted him.⁶²

Bhaddākapilānī dwelt in a grove and practised meditation. She was reborn in the Brahma world and thence in the family of a brahmin belonging to Kosiya lineage in the city of Sāgala. Brought up with great care and attention she was given in marriage to Pippali in the village named Mahātitttha, when grown

60. *Ibid.*, V. pp. 278 ff.

61. Senart's Ed. Vol. II. pp. 440 ff.

62. *Vinayapīṭaka*, I, p. 66—*Pārājikā* II, 7.49; Miss Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. I, pp. 113-14.

up.⁶³ She was the daughter of the brahmin named Kapila and mother Sucimatī in the excellent city of Sāgala.⁶⁴

Khemā in her last existence was the beautiful and beloved daughter of king Madda of the excellent city of Sāgala. Along with her birth, peace appeared there. She was named Khemā on account of her good qualities. When she was young and beautiful, she was given in marriage to the Magadhan king Bimbisāra. At first she was unwilling to go to the Buddha, as the Master was in the habit of speaking ill of beauty. She was later led to the Master who was staying at the Veluvana monastery. Afterwards she entered the border with the king's permission and became an arahat (saint).⁶⁵

Queen Talatā, to save her son, got the help of her cook, who promised to have the child. The Queen gave him a quantity of treasure. The cook took the boy with him to the city of Sāgala in the Madda kingdom.⁶⁶

63. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, PTS., p. 68.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 73; Cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, pp. 375-376.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 131 ff.; Cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, PTS., pp. 342 ff.

66. *Jāt.*, VI, pp. 471 ff.

stu
re
di
Co
w
th
in
pe
br
sa
je
So
So
th
V

le
so
c
o
n
la
n
v
t
t
C
S
Z
I
s

Qualifications and Subjects of Study of Inscriptional Poets

BY

D. B. DISKELKAR, Poona

Most of the inscriptional poets seem to have made a deep study of Sanskrit and the culture behind Sanskrit. It had been realized that the study of Sanskrit was essential for the intellectual discipline, accuracy of thinking and enlightenment of mind. Consequently, the entire literature and culture of the Indian people were preserved in Sanskrit and the study of Sanskrit had been the main concern of the educational system in India. Since the inscriptional poets generally came from the same class of learned persons from which the classical poets had come and were brought up in the same traditions, they naturally thought it necessary to be well-up in Sanskrit and had studied the various subjects generally prescribed in their times for the higher course. Some of the poets came from hereditarily learned families. Some of them have named their teachers, e.g., Achitendravarā, was the pupil of Advayāmrita and Amarakavi was the pupil of Vedāngamuni.

Grammar had been considered the key-subject to the knowledge of different sciences and was extensively studied by Sanskrit scholars. In fact, grammatical studies seem to have been zealously cultivated in ancient India from the very early days and phonetic outlook was considered a qualification of a scholar. The use of numerous rare words and forms and the general correctness of the language prove that the inscriptional writers had studied grammar fairly well and that the language of the Sanskrit inscriptions was dominated by the grammatical rules of Pāṇini, though at times the language of even a competent Sanskrit inscriptional poet contains a few expressions which are opposed to the rules of Pāṇini. (See the Nandura plate of Velananti Rājendra—Choḍa dated S. 1091; E.I. 29.226. See also the Koni *praśasti*, by Kāśala, E.I. 277.1-67. The same can be said in regard to Prakrit language E.I. 1-4). Some of the inscriptional poets actually refer to the study of Pāṇini, e.g. Īśvarasūri, Inscriptions Telangana, Nos. 51

and 52). Study of Pāṇini's grammar called Śālāturiya is particularly mentioned in a maitraka inscription of 766 A.D. (C.I.I. III, No 39). Renou's remarks that after Pāṇini Sanskrit is Pāṇinian and whatever is different is incorrect are quite true. (Historie de la language Sanskrit p. 71). Classical Sanskrit became almost a standardized language and was completely regulated by the rules of Pāṇini and subsequently of Patanjali. The Sanskrit language, therefore, used in inscriptions generally conforms to the standard Sanskrit norm. Contact with Hinduised foreigners even with literary qualifications like Rudradāman, Nahapāna etc. little affected it. Although Pāṇini's grammar threw into oblivion most of his predecessors, there were still some grammars which were studied by some epigraphical writers. The Buddhist and Jain scholars and poets preferred to study the grammars like the Chāndra and Jainendra Vyākaraṇas composed by scholars of their own religious faiths. But Pāṇini's grammar continued to be always studied and an expert grammarian was compared with Pāṇini, e.g., the Śaiva pontiff Vāmasakti was said to be a Pāṇini in grammar. E.I. 5.225.

Some of the inscriptional poets use with pride epithets with their names expressive of their proficiency in linguistic studies as Padavākyapramāṇajña, which is well-known to have been used by the great classical author Bhavabhūti. The inscriptional poet Virasena at the court of Chandragupta II calls himself Śabdārthanyāya-lokajña i.e. well-versed in grammar, logic and politics. The poet Akalanka calls himself a Śābdika. Umāpatidhara calls himself Pada-padārtha-vichāraṇaśuddhabuddhih. The poet Dedda, father of the poet Mādhava is called Śabdārthaśāsanavid. (E.I. 1.29).

Just as some classical works like the Bhaṭṭikāvya, Śiśupālavadha of Māgha, Dyāśrayamahākāvya of Hemchandra, Subhadrāharāṇa of Nārāyaṇa have been composed by the poets with the object of illustrating the rules of Pāṇini's grammar, some inscriptions were also composed with the same object in view. The poet Rāma, son of Bhṛīṅga, who composed the Baijanātha-(kāgrā)-praśasti of 804 A.D. (E.I. 1.97, Bhandarkar list, Nos. 1084 and 1438) is one of the poets, who has shown his skill in grammar in this way. The fourteen verses 2-17 of the Gaurīśvara stotra which each are applicable both to Śiva and to Gaurī and the puzzling stanza (II. 3) which describes the eight forms of Śiva show the author's

deep study of grammar and wonderful mastery over the Sanskrit language (E.I. 1.103).

The Prākritis occupied a place in the curricula of studies for literary equipments of the ancient Indian scholars. Consequently the Sanskrit poets studied Prakrit and the Prakrit poets studied Sanskrit. In the two or three centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era Prakrita was mainly used in inscriptions. But the Prakrit poets were acquainted with Sanskrit as is seen from some Sanskritised expressions used in them. This Prakrit was however not standardised. Standardised Prākrit was used in some inscriptions in the mediaeval period.

A few grammatical irregularities, Prakritic expressions and irregular or double sandhis, unwarranted shortening or lengthening of the vowel quantities are no doubt sometimes found in the inscriptional compositions e.g. in the Semra plates of Paramardideva dated 1167 A.D. (E.I. 4.153). But they seem to be due to the poor education of the author, careless engraving of the scribe and the great influence of the local speech. As the inscriptions were generally intended for the use of the general public it was inevitable that there should be some influence of the popular speech on the composers of inscriptions. There was sufficient scope for linguistic developments and the local languages had been growing and changing throughout their career. The Deval *praśasti* composed by the poet Nehila in 992 A.D. is in high-flown Sanskrit but some ungrammatical forms and defective expressions are found in it. (E.I. 1.76). The Siyadoni stone inscription dated c. 1025 contains, as shown by Kielhorn, a considerable number of words which either do not occur in Sanskrit literature at all, or for which the dictionaries furnish no appropriate meaning. Some of them undoubtedly were taken from the vernaculars (E.I. 1.165. See also the Peheva inscription (E.I. 1.184) and Chintra *praśasti*, *ibid.*, p. 27). But the poets, who had a very meagre knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar and who were influenced by words, phrases and constructions of their vernaculars, neglected rules of sandhi and omitted case terminations of nouns often. They are also sometimes guilty of unnecessarily using meaningless prefixes, expletives and tautology. The Sanskrit language used in South Indian inscriptions was bound to be influenced by the South Indian languages, e.g., Telugu possessive form appear-

ing in Sanskrit compounds. Case endings were retained in such compounds. (E.I. 10.243). The bearing of inscriptions upon the study of dialects in such cases is obvious.

The inscriptional poets, more than the classical poets, had very carefully studied the Kośa literature in which the Sanskrit language is particularly rich. But none of the numerous kośas is mentioned by name in any inscription. The use of synonymous words in the same literary periods show how the lexicons had enjoyed wide popularity. For writers of artificial poetry, as the inscriptional poets generally were, in which word puns, long compounds, etc., play an important part perfect knowledge of the rich vocabulary and idioms of the language and constant handling of the kośas were quite necessary.

The proficiency of the inscriptional poets in language and lexicons coupled with their intelligence is also seen sometimes in expressing dates of records both in figures and in the chronogram e.g. in the following way:—Śara—5, Śikhi—3, Muni—7, i.e., Ś. 735 (E.I. 4.335). The rule *aṅkānām vāmato gatiḥ* is sometimes not observed in the Ajayagaddha inscription. Kṣaṇada—Moon—1, Īśekṣhaṇa—Śiva's eyes—3, Śruti—Vedas—4 and Bhūtas—elements—5—the whole meaning 1345 (E.I. 28.100). A rock inscription at Kānāibarshi near Gauhati is dated Madhumāsa (Chaitra), 3 (Śaka 1127) which is given in figures as well as in the chronogram. Thus, the expression Turaga—Yugmeśa, Īśa—11, Yugma—2, Turaga—7 means 1127. This device of expressing years in numerical words was more frequently used in Sanskrit inscriptions by the inscriptional poets Champā in Kambodia, and Jāvā in South-East Asia from the 7th or 8th Century A.D. This conceit was sometimes used in expressing common and proper names, as the expression Rathacharaṇaṣamāvha is used to mean the Chakravāka bird in Skandagupta's Girnar inscription.

The inscriptional poets do not mention the subjects studied by them. They have also not cited the literary works composed in their time nor mentioned the authors who were their contemporaries. They must have, however, studied the various subjects as the classical poets of their time did to qualify themselves for their work. Some of the Sanskrit Rhetoricians like Bhāmaha and Rudraṭa state that one who desires to be a poet must know the meaning of words, prosody, power and sense of

words, mythological stories the word, arguments and arts: he must wait upon poets and study the works of others. According to them a poet must be versed in all varieties of subjects. Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatimadhava* (1.7) casually mentions that the study of the four Vedas, the Upanishadas, Sāṅkhya and Yoga is of little avail to the poet unless he possesses felicity and richness of expression and depth of meaning. The most exhaustive list of subjects to be studied by a poet is given by Rājaśekhara (880-920) in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Chap. 8). He states that the following twelve subjects must be studied by a poet—*Sruti*, *Smṛiti*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Pramāṇavidyā*, *Samaya*vidyā, *Rājasiddhānta-trayi*, *Loka*, *Virachana* and *Prakīrṇa* i.e. the poet must study the four Vedas, the *Smṛitis* of Manu and Yājñyavalkya, the historical epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeshika*, which are the *Pramāṇavidyās*, the *Samaya* or sectarian literature of the Śaivas, Vaishnavas, Jains, Buddhists, Lokāyatas, etc., the three Śāstras like the *Arthaśāstra*, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāmaśāstra*, etc. This shows how the classical poets attach great importance to the regular training of the poet. Śudraka, author of the *mrichchhakatika*, who was probably a Brahmin chieftain was versed in the *Rigveda*, *Sāmaveda*, music, elephant lore, etc. The inscriptional poets must have been trained on these lines.

The inscriptional poets who composed the grants and the donees to whom they were donated give with reasonable pride information about the Vedic schools to which they belonged and which were flourishing in different places in different times. They used particularly to study all the Vedas, the oldest collection of India's literary production. Like some of the authors, commentators of classical Brahminical works, some of the Brahminical inscriptional poets were great Vedic scholars, and came from the priestly families which had regularly performed Vedic sacrifices: If the classical poet Bhavabhūti, who besides being a devout follower of the *Yajurveda* had carefully studied the *Atharvaveda*, states with pride his ancestry of Vedic priests there were several inscriptional poets who do the same in their inscriptions. Some personal or family titles indicate the proficiency of particular persons or families in one or more branches of learning. Guṇachandra at the court of the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavarman of Orissa, c. 65, was a *Ṛitviṇa* and *Upādhyāya*. Guravabhaṭṭa, author of the

Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla, c. 871 who came from a Brahmana family deeply versed in Vedic learning was well versed in the four Vedas, Vedāṅgas and a great priest of Vedic sacrifices (Kiel. No. 584 *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 78. The poet Achitendrasūri, pupil of Advayāṃṛita states that he had performed Vedic sacrifices. Inscriptions of Talangad Anantapāla speaks of his thoughts rendered pure by the knowledge of the Vedas (E.I. 26.267) Lolla Lakshmiḍhara Yajavan was acquainted with the doctrine of five fires and had performed the Dvadaśābda sacrifice. The use of the Vedic expression and rituals in sacrifices in the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 by way of comparison with battles waged by the Chanāṇḍellā king Yaśovarman (E.I. 1.129; I.H.Q. 25.213) as also the use of the word Dvāsuparṇa in a late inscription dated Ś. 1172 of the Yādava king Krishṇa at Tāsgaon (E.I. 27.206) would not be possible without the continuous Vedic studies of the Panditas from which class the Brahminical inscriptional poets had come. From the oldest times to now a majority of the Hindus and particularly the priestly class amongst them had continued to own allegiance to the Vedas.

The Smṛtis particularly those of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Pāraskara which are manuals of morality, law and philosophy have played a very important part in Hindu life. The *praśastis* which deal with Rājadharmā were based upon ideas of the Smṛitis. They always placed before the rulers and the ruled the Smṛiti rules of the king's government by praising the king for his valour, merits and charitable actions. They made him lovable to his subjects and by drawing parallels from the Smṛiti literature they made him conscious of his duties towards them. In a way the *praśastis* while adopting the forms of documents as laid down by the Smṛitis did in a pleasing manner what the Smṛitis wanted to teach to the people by means of rules. The imprecatory verses which are said to have been taken from Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas and the Mahābhārata and which began to be used in the donatory charters from the fifth century onwards had not been identified either in the Mahābhārata or anywhere else. Their original source seems to have been a recension of the Mahābhārata now lost to us. The Bṛihaspati Smṛiti dated in the 11-12 cent. contains 80 such verses. It is not known from what source they have been taken (J.I.H. 1927, p. 427). How Vedic studies were zealously pursued by the Brāhmaṇas sometimes of more than one

SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS 553

Sākās in ancient days and how they strictly observed the Smṛiti rules of conduct is best seen from the epigraphical literature. It is no wonder that the Brahmins were well versed in the Vedic learning in those days but the non-Brahmin inscriptional poets and even the scribes of the numerous land grants seem to evince a great interest in the Vedic literature.

Through the centuries the classical Sanskrit literature and Vernacular literatures have always treated the Hindu epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata with particular reverence and familiarity and have drawn on many of their stories for their inspiration. These classics have been books of permanent interest to the Indians and the ideas set forth in them have animated the whole people high and low. They have gathered into its vast structure a greater part of the poetic activities of the Indian mind during all the centuries. They became and remained one of the chief instruments of popular education and the culture, moulded the thought, character, aesthetics and religious mind of the people and gave even to the illiterate some sufficient tincture of Philosophy, Ethics, social and philosophical ideas, aesthetic emotion of poetry, fiction and romance. (Arvind Ghose, Formation of Indian Culture, Page 323). It is no wonder that the inscriptional poets had turned to the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata for models of form and contents. The *praśastis* are, therefore, full of ideas and even words and phrases used in this literature.

Passages from Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa have been freely quoted by the inscriptional poets living in different times and in different places. It shows the great reverence they feel for the Ādikavi and the popularity of the epic with them when even the greatest of Sanskrit poets like Kālidāsa was influenced by the thought and diction of Vālmiki, and tried to achieve the extraordinary excellence of the Rāmāyaṇa, it is no wonder that the inscriptional poets had done so. The following are the some of the inscriptions which contain quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa.

1. The Girnar inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.), (E.I. 8.47).
2. The Nasik cave inscription of Balasiri of the Sātavāhaṇa dynasty (E.I. 8.60).
3. The Maṭṭepāḍ c.p. inscription of Dāmodaravarman, (E.I. 17.329).

4. Girnar inscription of Skandagupta of 457 A.D. (C.I.I. III.60).
5. The Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II (634), (E.I. 6.1).
6. The Mahākuṭa inscription of Mangaleśa (725) A.D. (I.A. 19.10).
7. The Satara c.p. inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana (I.A. 19.319).
The parallel passages in Vālmikis Rāmāyaṇa and the several inscriptions are given by Sivarammurti.
8. The Pikira grant of Pallava Siṃhavarman, E.I. 8.161.
9. The Talguṇḍā grant of Kākusthavarman, E.I. 8.33.
10. The Mahābalipuram inscription of Narasiṃhavarman (17th century), (S.I.I. 1.4).

The Mahābhārata is not only an epic, not only a work of poetic art but also, as Winternitz, puts it, a manual of morality, law and philosophy, supported by the oldest traditions and hence, furnish with incontestible authority and for more than fifteen hundreds years it has served the Indian as much for entertainment as for instruction and education. (Bulletin: Deccan Coll. 21.8).

How the Mahābhārata began to inspire the poets from very early times can be seen from the fact that the Hinduised foreign ruler Heliodoros living in the 2nd cent. B.C. actually quoted certain verses of ethical importance in his inscription at Besnagar, recording the raising of the flag-staff in front of a Vāsudeva temple is well-known (A.S.I.A.R. 1908-9, page 126). The inscriptional poets looked to the Mahābhārata particularly for comparing the heroes of the *praśastis* with the great heroes in epics.

Some of the inscriptions show how these epics have continued to enjoy wide popularity among all classes of Indians. Grants of land and money were given by kings and rich men from time to time for the recitation and exposition and at times for the copying of the texts. The Kuram grant dated in the 7th century and the Taṇḍantottam grant of Nandivarman dated in his 58th year refer to the reciting of the Mahābhārata in the temple maṇḍapas. (S.I.I. 1.147; 2.517—12.15). The Devapārā inscription of Vijayasena refers to the Mahābhārata as the honeystream of the beautiful stanzas which the sons of Parikshita had caused to flow to please the ears of mankind. (Inscriptions of Bengal, III, page 42 & 48). The

SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS 555

Manahali plate (Gauḍalekhmālā, pp. 148 ff) records grant of king Madanapāla to a Brahmin as *dākshinā* for his recitation of the Mahābhārata before the Paṭṭamahādevi Chitramatikādevi. Maharaja Indrasimha of Mithilā gave *dakshinā* for reciting the Mahābhārata and Harivaṁśa in V.S. 1647. One of the Śrirangam inscriptions of the 10th century made provision for the recitation of the Śripurāṇa at the temple. (A.R.I.Ep. 1951-52, No. 178). Even titles were sometimes given to renowned authorities in a particular epic. A Vaishṇava poet at the court of Krishnaraja Wodeyar was called Rāmāyaṇa-Tirumalārya (Mys. Gaz. I. 422).

Next to the great epics the Purāṇas have wielded great influence over the minds of the inscriptional poets from early times. These poets had as well studied the hymnal literature preserved by the Brāhmaṇas as the Purāṇic literature cultivated and transmitted by the Sūtas. The study of the Purāṇas had continued to be regarded as a Svādhyāya, as obligatory as that of the Vedas. The popular mind was sanctified with the sanctity of the epics and the Purāṇas as they were logically exhaustive commentaries of the Vedas and their tradition. (Bull. Decc. Coll. 11.85). The Purāṇic account of the solar and lunar dynasties to which the royal families in ancient India described in the *praśastis* were said to belong is very elaborate and almost accurate. The poets looked to the Purāṇas particularly for inventing the genealogies for their patron kings. The Purāṇas give us a lively picture of the ancient Indian society and its authors. They give information on various subjects like the genealogies of kings, their rule over countries, the rivers, mountains, holy spots etc. The Purāṇas had developed a technique of their own which is copied by the inscriptional poets. The Tiruvalangaḍu-*praśasti* of Rajendra Chol I dated in the 6th year of his reign and consisting of as many as 137 verses is mostly Purāṇic (S.I.I., Para III, 393-401).

Besides the eighteen principal Purāṇas there are several minor Purāṇas with which the epigraphical poets seem to have been acquainted. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa which deals with the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in a devoted manner was devotedly studied by some inscriptional poets and the incidents in it were used in comparison with those in the lives of their patron kings. Some poets had used hereditary titles like the Purāṇika which indicated their proficiency in the Paurāṇik studies and abilities in expounding them.

The numerous interesting legends related in the Vedic literature, the Smṛiti literature, the epic literature, the Purāṇas constitute what is known as Hindu Mythology, which is a vast and enlivening subject and was carefully studied by the inscriptional poets more than by the classical poets and other men of letters. The poets not only of the Brahmin caste but of other classes were acquainted with the whole range of this mythology. The medium of Vedic legends which have come down to us through the post-Vedic literature including the Smṛitis, epics and Purāṇas to communicate religious and philosophic ideas has always been found very fruitful. The inscriptional poets had not only borrowed numerous poetic ideas and expressions but had copied some passages from them. There is scarcely a *praśasti* which does not abound with mythological allusions and hyperbolic expressions. The Buddhist and Jain authors might have foregone their claim on the Vedic literature, but they could not do so about the mythological literature. The Epic mythology has supplied several themes as well to the Indian painters and sculptors as to the epigraphical poets. The wonderful deeds of gods and goddesses, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā and Devī which have been expanded in religious and epic poems and influenced a great epigraphical literature sometimes reach a great nobility of form. Similarly the life of Kṛiṣṇa has inspired great currents of mediaeval poets. The list of kings—half Pauranic and half historical—who figure in the genealogies of the royal families described in the *praśastis* could not be composed by pure imagination. The court poet must have studied not only the genealogies of his patron's family but the Pauranic genealogies of the ancient kings compiled by the *Pūrvavids* to whose families he wanted to connect the royal family of his patron. Some of these poets exercised their skill in elaborate parallels between their patrons and the heroes from the mythologies (See the Kurram inscp. of Pallava Purameśvaravarman, 670-695) (S.I.I. No. 1, page 118) and in the Anjanery grant of Prithvichandra dated 718 (E.I. 25.225). They traced their descent from the epic heroes and compared them with the mighty epic heroes like Nahusha, Māndhātā, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Ambarisha, Raghu, Rāma, Dharma, Bhīma, Arjuna etc. (See the Sātavāhana, inscp. of 1st cent. A.D. at Nasik), where Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi is described as emulating these heroes. Even such

SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS 557

a petty ruler as Bhogaśakti in the above-named Anjaneri inscription is said to possess the specific qualities for which the Pāṇḍava brothers and Baladeva and Pradyumna were famous. In bravery the hero was compared with Arjuna. Bhānugupta (510 A.D.) is described as equal to Pārtha in bravery. (E.I. 15.142). King Āryaśobhita II of the Śailodbhava family of Orissa (C. 645) is said to have performed amazing tricks of archery and to have equalled Pārtha (E.I. 29.35). A handsome king was compared with Nala (E.I. 24.50). The birth of Pallava Rājasimha to Ekamala Parmeśvara was compared with the birth of Guha Subrahmaṇya Parmeśvara Śiva. The inscriptions are replete with allusions to numerous mythological stories and episodes. At times some of them are regularly narrated. Narration and amplification of such stories have been going on from time to time from the earliest times. Sometimes they show great imagination and could infuse a spirit of romance and beauty even to the often repeated and age-old mythological stories which cannot be properly understood by the reader unless he has a good knowledge of the Hindu Mythology. The verses composed, for instance, by Rājaguru Madana, author of the Māndhātā inscription (E.I.9.113) are instances of the kind. There is probably no *praśasti* which does not allude to a mythological god or goddess or a hero or a mythological story either in the invocatory or benedictory stanzas or in the body of the inscription while describing the qualities of the hero of the *praśasti* or its object.

Similarly a large number of Paurāṇic legends recorded in the Sthala-Māhātmyas are found referred to in the *praśastis* e.g. the foundation legend of the place of Sogal deriving its name from the Rākshasa Sumāli narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (E.I.16.2.). Similarly, the origin of the god Jambukeśvara at Trichinapalli is found from mythology (E.I.16.89). The South Indian inscriptions frequently record such legends.

The often fabulous but very interesting information which the inscriptional poets give from the family accounts of the royal families, from the māhātmyas of the sacred places or *tīrthas* and the mythological persons presiding over them e.g. of the Kadamba and Sisodia families, of the place Rāmaṭeka, Sindurgiri (E.I. 2511), Ellorē (E.I. 15.29) etct. shows that the inscriptional poets had to be familiar with this kind of literature also.

The transformation of history into mythology was constantly going on in the long history of ancient India and although sometimes ludicrous inconsistencies and credulity can be detected in the stories there is some grain of historical truth in them which induce the poets to adopt them in the *prāśastis*.

Some of the inscriptional poets seem to have also studied the peculiar legends on coins and seals of the royal families of institutions. The language of such inscriptions evidently shows a popular tinge.

Some of the inscriptional poets had also to know the legends treatises on religious practices like the Tantras as the classical poet Bhavabhūti seems to have done.

It will thus be seen that the inscriptional poets had to be acquainted with the historical as well as semi-historical and legendary material in the form of stories and ballads which existed in the society of their time and possess an inexhaustible stock of legends.

By constantly referring to the mythological persons and events and sometimes inventing genealogies to their patrons from the epic heroes the inscriptional poets had kept up direct connection with the people of India's hoary past and just pride in their ancient heritage. Like the countless generations of commentators of classical works and authors of critical treatises who have helped to maintain the continuity of literary studies, the inscriptional poets by frequently alluding to older stories and personalities in Indian Mythology have kept a remarkable continuity of Indian Mythology and the culture embodied in it. By composing inscriptions on popular subjects they had also kept the masses of the time in touch with the classics. Like the classical poets the inscriptional poets had thus preserved the entire culture of ancient India and kept up the torch of the Sanskrit learning continuously burning through all the ages. This was evidently one of the reasons for the continuous popularity of the Sanskrit language. The Buddhist and Jain poets possessed some knowledge of most of the subjects mentioned above and had besides full knowledge of their own sectarian literature, as their inscriptions are mainly sectarian e.g. Aśoka has shown his knowledge of the Buddhist literature in his Bhabru-Bairat edict.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS 559

In the use of the metres the inscriptional poets have even surpassed the classical poets, although metrical lapses are at times found. Some poets whose knowledge of the Sanskrit language and skill in handling the metres was poor are seen to be struggling with the metres and were ready to sacrifice grammar to it and wrongly spelt the words. (E.I. 1.52; 1.223, 9.11). Use of the Ātmanepada instead of the Parasmanipada as in the epic poetry, wrong use of gender, fault in the construction are seen in some places. How such a great inscriptional poet like Vatsabhaṭṭi committed offences against grammar for purposes of metre can be seen in his well-known *praśasti*. But in some inscriptions particularly in South Indian inscriptions like those at Chidambaram, Tiruvali, Atti, Vayley and Vriddhachalam the various metres are used with great skill. Their skill in generally handling the long metres like Śārdūlavikrīḍita is particularly praiseworthy. The large number of classical Sanskrit metres used by the inscriptional poets in a small literary piece is very much larger than that used by the classical poets. The frequent change of metres finds its explanation in nothing but the writer's desire to show his skill in the art as otherwise the *praśasti* itself never demands it. There are many Mahākāvyas which present only one metre. The metres employed are numerous as is natural in a poetry in which the verse serves essentially the purpose of displaying, the skill of the writer. That so many metres of an elaborate form should be used in the inscription also proves the great development in the Kāvya literature. The inscriptional poets have sometimes used such rare metres like the Mattebha-vikrīḍita for which the writers of Sanskrit poems have no poems. The metre though wellknown from Kannada inscriptions is not noticed in the works of Bharata, Pingala, Virahanka, Svayambhu, Hemachandra or Kedārbhaṭṭa but is described in the Chhandomanjari Parishistha (Ganjam plates of Amoghavarsha of Ś. 793, E.I. 18.236). Some of the very early Prakrit inscriptions like the Piprāvā, Sitabini and Jogimāra inscriptions contain a very rare metre called Gāthā and Gītikā (JOR. 1935, p. 46). The metre *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭambhita* is found used in the Morā (mathurā) well inscription of the time of the son of Mahākshatrapa Rājuvula dated in the first cent B.C. The use of a most artificial metre such as *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭambhita* for a Sanskrit stanza first cent B.C. (See E.I. 24.199). The Tālgunḍā inscription of the

poet Kubja (E.I. 8.24) contains verses composed in the Madhyākshara metre which is not found in any Sanskrit treatises on Prosody and which corresponds to the Kannada metre Doroakshara described by Nāgavarman in his Chrandāmbudhi V. 296 (E.I. 15.155). Similarly in the Tushāma and Ajanta inscriptions rare metres named as Lalita-ragale in Kannada and Dviradagati ragodu in Telugu have been used (see some rare metres in Sanskrit J.O.R. 1935, p. 46).

In some *praśastis* two or more verses forming a yugalaka, a viśeshaka or a kulaka are used as in the Mandasore *praśasti* of Vatsabhāṭṭi.

The inscriptional poets also possessed some deep knowledge of music and deep knowledge of Jyotisha—both Astronomy and Astrology. Unfortunately no specific mention of a particular work studied by them is made. The Brahmin poets particularly had to show special efficiency in the Dharmaśāstra and Jyotisha. They had often to give advice to king and the people on religious and legal matters and on the auspiciousness or otherwise of particular occasions. They had often to calculate the dates while dating the inscriptions and were fully acquainted with the different eras prevalent in the country. The S.I. poets have shown their special proficiency in the astronomical calculations. The Sciences of Astrology and Astronomy were remarkably developed in the ancient times. What a great interest the ancient Indians took in the study of Astronomy can be seen from the fact that from the time of Varāhamihira in the 6th cent. to very late times there are as many as 232 writers on the Science and at least 475 works written on the Science. (App. S.D. Dikshit's Bhāratiya Jyotishaśāstra).

From what period Astrology or Garga saṁhitā began to be popular cannot be said. In the Āśvalāyan Gṛihyasūtra where the qualification of a *vadhu* (bride) are referred to no mention is made of the *patrikā* which has played such an important part in settling the marriages of the boys and girls in modern days. Astrology had a great hold not only on the popular but royal mind in ancient days.

The inscriptional poets were also acquainted with such subjects as Iconography, Art and Architecture as numerous art

references in the *prāśastis* show. How certain beautiful epigraphical passages particularly in the invocatory stanzas were suggested from and correspond exactly to the Iconographical details is very nicely shown by C. Shivrammurti in his essays like the *Inscriptional gleanings from Epigraphy*. (*Proc. Nagpur O. Conf.* (1946), iii. 33). They are as pleasing to the mind as the sculptural pieces which they illustrate are to the eye. For the full understanding some sculptural representations, contemporary inscriptions coming from the same region are very useful and *vice versa*. How some of the popular concepts in the Hindu mythology are faithfully translated in the sculptures and in the inscriptions have been shown in the above-mentioned essay. e.g. Lakshmi bathed by elephants (*S.I.I.* ii. 346); multi-armed Trivikrama with one of his legs raised to touch the sky; Harihara with Pārvatī and Śrīdevi on either side.

Some poets were acquainted with such unusual subjects like *Mantraśāstra*, *Yogaśāstra*, etc. topics from which are dealt with in some of their inscriptions.

In short, the inscriptional poets like the classical poets although they believed like Bhamaha and Mammata that *pratibhā* is absolutely necessary for the composition of poetry believed that other essential requisites of a secondary nature like the *vyatpatti* (culture) and *abhyāsa* (constant practice) cannot be ignored by the poets. One who desires to be a poet must, therefore, aspire to have a good knowledge of the immense Indian literature including the different anthologies available at the time of the inscriptional poets. They studied the anthologies and contributed to the formation of anthologies. The language style and metres of the *Subhāshites* are those of the ornate poetry and appealed the poets most. It was the ambition of the learned men to possess all the learning of the time. The expression 'no subject is difficult to an intelligent person's rightly applicable to such scholars. It was not rare with ancient Indian scholars to be learned in different subjects and at the same time to be famous as poets. They believed with Rājaśekhara in the combination of *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti*. They had the wide learning of commentators and the original thinking of the poets. They must also be minute observers of nature, of the life of birds and beasts, of the beauties of flowers and trees and of the changes and amenities of seasons. In short, the poet must be familiar with all the love of the mind

and of the eyes as Śrī Arvind has beautifully stated. The Mithilā scholars were both poets and experts in Nyāya. The poet Murāri who composed the Gayā inscription of Yaśahpāla in the 12th cent. calls himself well-versed in Nyāya. The poet Jāgali calls himself a Mīmāṃsaka and Vedāntin.

What a large number of subjects some of the inscriptional poets were proficient in can be seen from the fact that Kāśala who composed the beautiful Koni inscription of the Kalachuri king Prithvideva II dated 1148 A.D. himself states that he had been proficient in various arts and sciences including those of medicine and elephant lore and the Āgamas of the Buddha and others (C.I.I. IV. 470). The poet Īśvarasūri at the Kākatiya Court (C. 1270 A.D.) who belonged to the class of sacrificial poets was well-versed in Pāṇini's grammar, Rhetorics, Yajurveda with its *pada* order, Chitrakavitva, *Śabdavidyā* and Tantra literature (*Corpus Inscr. Telangana*, Nos. 51 and 52). The poet Lolla Lakshmidhara had written several works on Civil and religious law, Astronomy, Astrology, Mantraśāstra, and the six *darśhanas*. If Ayyanabhaṭṭa states that he was well-versed in all the Śāstras (E.I. 19.137) the poet Ādityadeva calls himself Tribhuvana-vidyā-Chakravarti. (*Karnatak inscr.* II.107).

The inscriptional poets have particularly shown their proficiency in the Science of Poetics which had been a very popular subject with the Sanskrit writers from the early times, as may be seen from the long list of more than 800 authors of original works and commentators on them given by M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane in his learned edition of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and *History of Alankāra Literature*. But none of these authors is mentioned by name even indirectly in the inscriptions. The creative vein in the Hindu intellect can be seen in the realm of poetics. Both the classical and inscriptional poets were thoroughly acquainted with the different methods and the most developed rules, conventions and commentaries of rhetorics and prosody and took great pains in the cultivation of good poetry. Some of the authors took pride in calling themselves experts in the science. The poet Pūshana, for instance, who composed the Mānasarovara inscription of 714 A.D. calls himself an expert in Alankāra-Śāstra. The display of various tricks with words was considered a great qualification of Sanskrit authors. Their poetry was accordingly composed in strict conformity with the conventional style. As stated above (I.20), the in-

SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS 563

scriptional poets attached great importance to the Alankāras—both Śabdāṅkāras and Arthāṅkāras. Most of the effective similes and metaphors which add to the charm of a poetic composition have been used by them. The style is regulated by elaborate laws about various forms of alliteration and forms of speech laid down in the treatises on poetics. The model of earlier classical poets was always before them. Owing to their deep study of the Sanskrit language, of the Koshas and of the ancient mythology, they have very ingeniously used the device of *slesha* and made some words and expressions to have a two-fold or even a threefold significance.

It is tempting to copy here one of the numerous beautiful conceits in Sanskrit of a thirteenth century court poet from South India reproduced at the opening of his book on the Hoysalas by Dr. J. D. M. Derrett.

“A forest dwelling maiden shy
 Roams in the city of thy foe
 Ballala, who art lord of all!
 A noble city left to die
 Her eye is caught by flashing fire
 From gems dropped heedless on the ground—
 She fancies charcoal embers spread,
 And quickly lest they first expire
 Blows on them tiny sandal chips
 Her eyes half-closed against the ash
 No incense rises, but a swarm
 Of bees seeks fragrance from her lips
 They hover close: she thinks them smoke
 Strange errors thy just wars provoke.

A careful study of all the poetic inscriptions of different dates and different places reveals the fact that the classification of the styles (*rūṭis*), of literary compositions into two: as Vaidarbhi and Gauḍi, or into three: as Vaidarbhi, Gauḍi and Pāṇchāli, or into four: as Vaidarbhi, Gauḍi, Pāṇchāli and Lāṭi, or into six: as Vaidarbhi, Gauḍi, Pāṇchāli, Lāṭi, Āvantī and Māgadhī, made by Sanskrit Rhetoricians from the sixth cent. onwards seems to be

arbitrary. It is not known when and how the names of the different styles originated though the earliest mention of certain characteristics or *guṇas* like *sphuṭa*, *madhura*, *kānta* and *udāra* which correspond to *prasāda*, *mādhurya*, *kānti* and *udāratā* of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* are found in the Girnar inscription of Rudra-dāman dated 150 A.D. It is said that the styles might have owed their origin one time to actual literary fashions of the provinces concerned but an examination of the early inscriptions found in the provinces represented by them does not help us. Early works of the poets who represented the provinces are not found except perhaps of Kālidāsa who may have belonged to Vidarbha and after whom the Vaidarbhi style might have been named.

Similarly it is not correct to say that a certain part of the country produced literature marked by a certain characteristic—that the Northerners write nothing but double entendre, the Westerners the bare idea, the Southerners roll in imaginative conceits while the Easterners or the Gauḍas make wordy tumult.

No such distinguishable styles of composition can be spoken of in the case of epigraphical literature. It cannot be said that the style of the *praśastis* of a certain part of the country is Vaidarbhi i.e. simple, clear and sweet and that of the *praśastis* of another part vigorous and grandiloquent not easily understandable. The *praśastis* and in fact the literary works also cannot be classified thus on the geographical basis, though at one time the poets of Vidarbha might have been famous for a simple style of their compositions and the poets of Bengal for a forced artificial style making use of long compounds, attempting to bring the sound of the words into harmony with the sense to suit the poetic sentiment. The styles of composition can best be classified if at all as simple and grandiloquent or as unadorned and figurative. We cannot really distinguish the two or more styles and need not attach much importance to the names.

The *praśastis* which are somewhat laborious compositions prepared to meet a particular occasion and which are not spontaneous literary pieces, are generally bound to be in an artificial and figurative style. The learned court poet asked to compose it, naturally tried to make it as attractive as possible to the king and his courtiers and as learned as possible to be admired by other court poets. Even if a poet who is otherwise capable of composing a piece in

SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS 565

simple literary style sits to compose a royal panegyric he will even inadvertently give it a highly artificial appearance. If the characteristics of the Vaidarbhi *rīti* are simplicity and avoidance of long compounds, the *praśastis* can hardly stand the test. They have to be in the Gaudi style. Charm of expression will enhance the beauty of a *kāvya*, if it is so, but it cannot make a *kāvya* of a verbose piece. Consequently, the style of almost all the *praśasti* inscriptions from all parts of India—not necessarily from Gauḍa or east India—is the so-called Gaudi style full of ojas, word-puns and frequency of long compounds. They may contain sweet and simple expressions here and there but that does not decide the style of the whole composition. The question, therefore, whether the style of a *praśasti* is Vaidarbhi or Gauḍi or otherwise does not arise at least with regard to the epigraphical literature.



1
so
ti
ti
u
p
of
of
th
ti
a
on
m
th
sl
be
a
pe
ou
Pr
ho
in
in

Evolution of 'Dwarf Dvārapāla' on the Stupa Slabs at Nagarjunakonda

BY

T. V. G. SASTRI

1. Introduction:

Dwarf is a very significant motif, found mostly among the sculptures of ancient India. It flourished well during Buddhist times and continued to occur on sculptural monuments of later times. Under Buddhist patronage, the dwarf, was very frequently used on either side of the entrances of the stūpa railings as a *Dvārapāla* (guardian).

The dwarfish guardians of the stūpas, are portrayed as carriers of light weights like a plate or a bowl. It is only one of the types of the dwarf motif.¹ The *atlantes* type is similar to it. In fact, they are almost one and the same. However, they can be differentiated as carriers of light and heavy weights. If the former is taken as a *vāhaka*, the other can be taken as *bhāravhaka*. This *vāhaka*, or carrier-dwarf, is shown as a *Dvārapāla* on the stupa slabs. The motif is denoted by arrows in plate I (fig. 1).² Plate I (fig. 2) is the dwarf alone taken from the extreme gateway in another stūpa slab.

Originally *Pūrṇaghata*³ seems to have been the earliest symbol that was represented outside the entrances. Symbolically it is a *maṅgaḷa kalaśa* that is often used to represent luck and prosperity. Substitution of the *Pūrṇaghata* by dwarf, was conspicuously shown on the stūpa slabs⁴ at Nāgārjunakonda. Thus the

1. T. V. G. Sastri, "Dwarf in the Indian Sculpture—Arts Asiatiques" (in Press).

2. The photographs are by Sri G. Lakshminarayana.

3. The *pūrṇaghata* is used as an auspicious symbol, even today in Hindu homes on festive occasions.

4. The Stūpa slabs are also called 'drum' or 'Chaitya' slabs. The Stūpas in Andhra are slightly different when compared with those in other places in India. As usual, some plan is followed, generally the wheel with spokes

dwarf motif originates from the *Pūrṇaghāṭa* and probably merges into the *Pūrṇaghāṭa*. During the course of evolution, it underwent remarkable development.

2. Artistic traditions and Dwarf-dvārapāla:

Symbolic representations like wheel, tree, etc., in the early Buddhist art, specifically show that they symbolise the Buddha, according to the inscriptions.⁵ Even while depicting the life of the Buddha, the scenes had symbols like the *dharmachakra* (wheel), *chatra* (umbrella), *pāduka* (foot-prints), for continuous narration. In later art, as a result of popular belief in human form of the God, there arose enthusiasm for the anthropomorphic presentation, among the artists of that day. Gradually first the Bodhisattva⁶ was shown in human form, while depicting Jātaka scenes. The life of the Buddha was later shown in continuous narration. Lastly came the Buddha image in the round.

In the beginning, on the stūpa slabs, it appears that the human forms are shown first in inconspicuous places and later in prominent places. Sometimes human forms have appeared along with the symbols. It is also peculiar to note that while showing gradual development, the artistes once again resorted to symbolism. Thus it seems to be a trial period, for the anthropomorphic presenta-

and hub. This wheel shaped foundation is raised up vertically either with brick or rubble. This procedure is common for all the stūpas. The Andhra stūpa in particular has four rectangular projections (*Āyaka platforms*) at the base, on the four cardinal points. Five monolithic columns called the *Āyaka pillars* are installed on these projections. Around the stūpa a railing or a compound wall, is erected with elaborate entrances, opposite the *Āyaka platforms*, leaving some space for *Pradakshinapatha* (circumambulatory path). Standing straight in front of the stūpa, one sees the *central gateway* with a projected entrance and an *Āyaka platform* with five monolithic columns in the back-ground. Side view of the gateways at the extreme ends below the huge semicircular *dome* of the stūpa is also seen. This view is shown on the stūpa slabs. Sometimes at the top on either side human or animal motifs are shown.

5. A. K. Coomaraswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 31.

6. Nivāsānusmṛti gnānēna jātakān pūrvam Bōdhisattvāchārya paramadbhūtāchāryam Sattvānam Buddhē. By his knowledge consisting of the remembrance of the former births he reveals to the creatures in order to make them well disposed to the Buddha. Hence he is known as Bōdhisattva.

(Edgerton: *Buddhist Hybrid Encyclopaedia*).

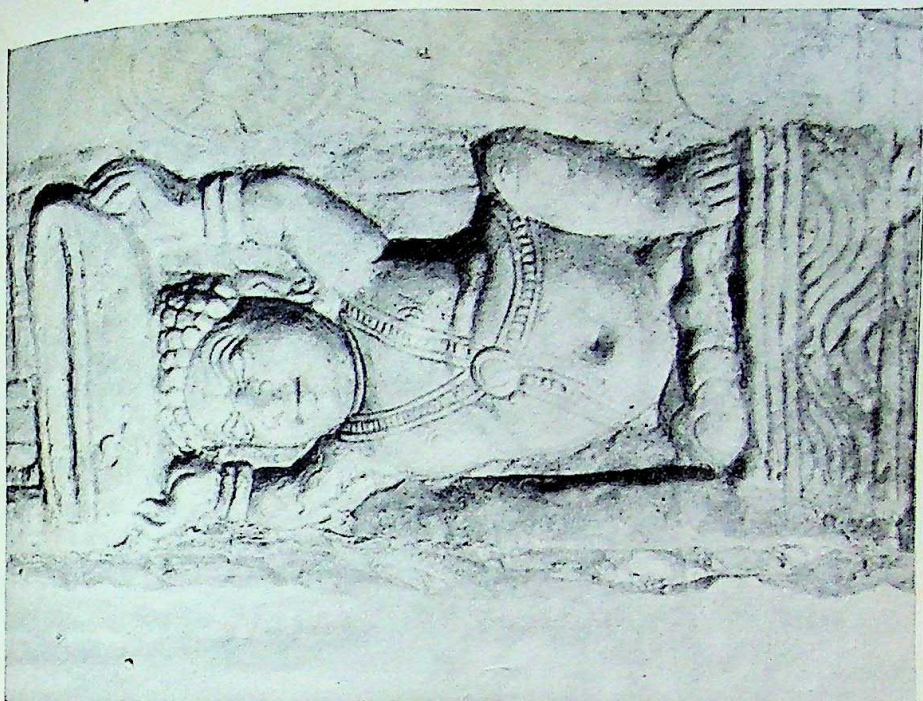


Fig. 2

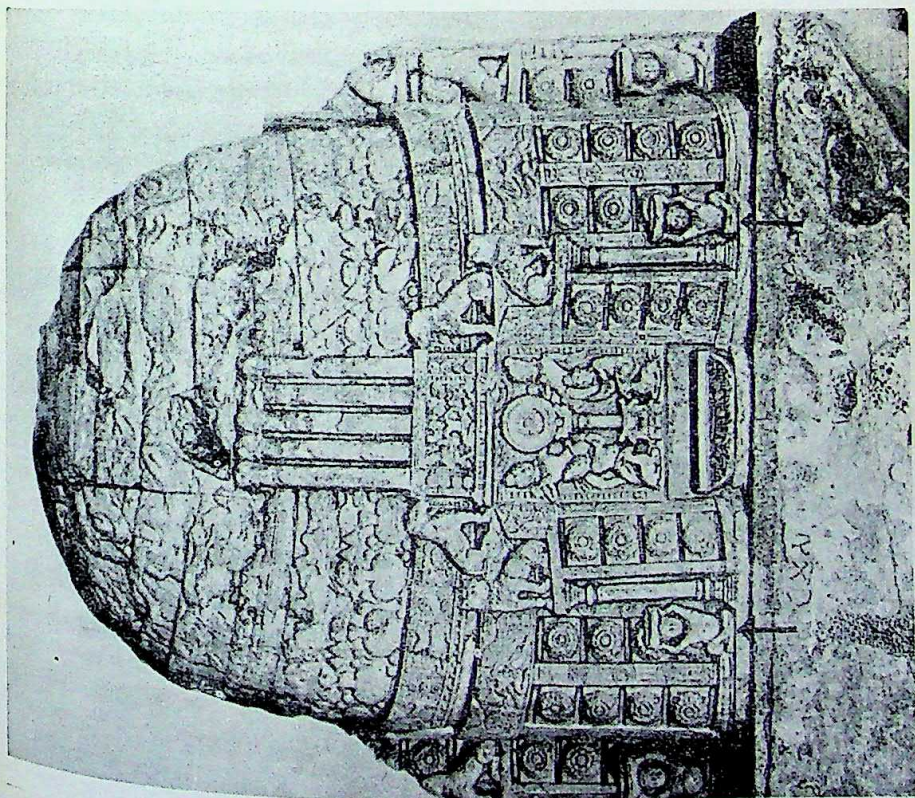


Fig. 1

PLATE II



tion. (In changing symbols according to Coomaraswami, the Gajalakshmi motif, has much to do with the purnaghata symbol.)⁷ It can also be said that *Pūrṇaghata*, the basis for dwarf-dvārapāla appeared quite late, when highly developed human forms were shown on the stūpa slab at Amarāvati.⁸ On this slab the new motif (*Pūrṇaghata*) is shown very crude. Only a narrow-necked jar with a well-blossomed flower, is seen over the neck. This is placed outside the central gateway. It is thus initially introduced as a significant symbol on the stūpa slab.

On the artistic side, the Amarāvati craftsmen were advanced. Highly evolved human forms are shown on the *Āyakaṇṭha*, dome, and at the top on either side, but still symbolic *Dharma Chakra* is used inside the central gateway, though the devotees are shown in human forms. This would evidently show that the abstract symbolism continued to be represented in spite of the changing artistic traditions.

In some stūpa slabs having only symbols, the central gateway is not properly imprinted. But when it has been successfully incorporated, the auspicious motifs, as found in the original gateways have also appeared. Closely analysing the stūpa slabs at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, three types of slabs occur that bear the auspicious motifs. Those having, (1) Dwarf-dvārapāla, (2) Dwarf-dvārapāla and *Pūrṇaghata* and (3) *Pūrṇaghata*. In most of them the carrier-dwarf appears prominently outside. It is also clear that it has developed well, while the *Pūrṇaghata* was insignificant in some, and decorative in the other.

Dwarf-dvārapālas were never shown single. Since they were used in places where *Pūrṇaghatas* were initially introduced, they were also shown twice, symmetrically placed on either side of the entrances. It can thenceforth be argued that the dwarf motif in human form symbolises *luck and prosperity*.

As observed by H. Zimmer,⁹ the Yakshas are very popular in pre-Aryan-tradition. They are popular in the early Buddhist monu-

7. A. K. Coomaraswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. p. 63.

8. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in Madras Government Museum*, Plate LIX-2.

9. H. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, page 44.

ments, and in later Indian art. Though their abode is in hills and mountains, they are the guardians of precious metals, stones and jewels, lying in the womb of the earth, and hence they are bestowers of *riches* and *prosperity*. The *Pūrṇaghāṭa* issues forth prosperity while the dwarf Yaksha is a bestower of prosperity. It can thus be said that the craftsmen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, might have thought the Dwarf-dvārapāla, a fitting human representation to replace the symbolic Pūrṇaghāṭa. It can also be observed that the anthropomorphic presentation on the stūpa slabs is not as advanced as that at Amarāvati. On slabs full of symbols the Dwarf-dvārapāla appears first at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.¹⁰ Hence the craftsmen have well realised the importance of motif while changing the symbols into human forms.

In slabs where seated dwarfs are shown, the craftsmen can be said to have clear ideas of three dimensional representation in relief, of the stūpa, railings and the gateways. They had realistic approach to objective study. Standing dwarfs are shown only at the central gateway. But they are more artistic than the former. In such cases, they are depicted in association with a man and a woman. This is probably introduced to create an aesthetic element, as dwarf yakshas by themselves, are more abstract and may not appeal to the lay-man as *dvārapālās* with significance.

3. Description of Dwarf-dvārapāla on the stūpa slabs:

Seven stūpa slabs bearing the Dwarf-dvārapāla motif have been selected to study the subtle artistic treatment of the Andhra craftsmen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Most of them are broken, but the representations in general, could be made out. There is one full slab, however, that bears both the Dwarf-dvārapāla and Pūrṇaghāṭa, that is included for study (Plate II). In three slabs, the dwarf pairs are shown seated, while the rest are portrayed as standing.

In stūpa slab 9,¹¹ two pairs of Dwarf-dvārapālas are seen, one at the central gate and the other at the extreme ends. They are inconveniently seated figures trying to move into the stūpa. The

10. See appendix at the end.

11. The numbers given against each slab are their registered numbers in the site Museum at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

pair at the extreme ends is shown with straight faces. No doubt, the artists have made slight change in the extreme pair. Relatively viewing them it can easily be imagined, that the back view of the extreme pair would be more realistic, but they would be more insignificant with such representation.

The dwarfs are practically nude. The hair on the head is shown in small circlets, — mahāpurusha lakshṇa — suggesting the divine nature in the dwarf Yaksha.

In stūpa slab 8 (Plate I Fig. I) the perspective is similar to slab 9. Inside the central gateway, the Dharmachakra is being worshipped by four devotees at Sarnath.¹² Just above the devotees, there is a rectangular projection — Āyaka platform, as though it is being guarded by two seated lions. They are actually seated on their backs, on the railing, where it takes a turn to form the gateway. Its projected frontage ends in ornate pillars over which, another pair of lions is shown. On the Āyakapata (Visual face of the Āyaka platform), the central figure is the Bodhi-satva, attended by Devas and rishis in Tushita heaven.¹³ The semi-circular dome has the symbols *Pūrṇaghaṭas* and animals.

Some improvement is shown in dwarf. Here the central pair has straight faces. *Ēkāvali* or just a *hāra* is introduced in his neck. This is seen on all the four dwarfs. The central pair is shorter and leaner than the pair on either side. The bowls shown over the heads are shallow, while those on either side are slightly deep. Different types of head bands are shown on all of them. They are almost nude as shown in the former. In all, the changes are made in postures, in turbans and ornaments on the necks.

12. Saranath—Saranga (deer) nath—Deer park—is symbolically represented by two deer.

13. Bodhisattva in Tushita heaven is a popular theme of the artists at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. He discloses his descent to the earth as future Buddha with devas and rishis. Thus the scene shows devas and rishis on either side of Dharmasimhasana, where the Bodhisattva is seated. Lalitavistara a probable source of inspiration for the sculptors, gives a picturesque account of the scene.

Prāsādi dharmōṇchayi śuddha sattavah,
Sudharma Simhāsanāsam nishannah
Sabhāgadevaih pariveṣṭito, riṣih
Sambodhisattve hi mahāyaśobhih

Lalitavistara: 3, Pr. 1.

The artist has changed the form of the *stūpa* slab 225. The clear visual form of the side gateways has not been represented at all in relief.

In most of the standing dwarfs the deformity is more evidenced in legs. They are always made short. Since they are standing, a *kaupīna* is shown to hide the genital organ. One leg is shown stretched forward, as it supports ground, while the other from the raised hip hangs loose over the ground.

They have a crude turban, to cushion their bowls overhead. Some variation is shown in the two bowls; one is made bigger than the other. Actually towards the left side, the dwarfs appear to carry a plate and not a bowl. The artist's changing tastes in human representation, is felt even in the bowls. They have bracelets but they are not prominent. The slab is worn out, yet it can be inferred that they are nude. Inside the central gateway, *Pūrṇaghāṭa* in a very crude form is shown.

Stūpa slab 193 shows a marked improvement in the dwarf motif in decoration and posture. In general, it appears similar to slab 225, but the carving is deep and much more refined. At the central gateway towards the right side, a woman is seated in front of the dwarf, and is trying to take out something that lies in the bowl, which is carried by the dwarf. The dwarf watches on, with a raised eyebrow, as though he is relieved of some weight. One feels that he is helping the man and woman in carrying something to the *stūpa*. Towards the left, the dwarf is shown to a side, as though he is trying to show his bowl. The woman sits in front of him in a meditative posture. Some difference in the two faces of the dwarfs is also shown—one is oval and other round. The standing posture is similar to the above. Rope-like turbans are peculiar to the dwarfs.

Circular *kuṇḍalas*, prominent *hāras*, and wristlets are shown. The *antariya* below the waist, has a knot to a side and it affords a funny feature in portraying the dwarf.

Plate II is slab 55. Dwarf is shown as a common person along with a male and a female, as though he is helping them in carrying flowers. Hence it becomes a secular motif. Yet its original significance is retained by the introduction of *Pūrṇaghāṭa* denoted by arrows at the bottom. Plate I, fig. 1 and plate II, give a com-

parative view of the religious and secular way of dwarf representation in the stūpa slabs.

Slab 57 is also similar to the above, but worked out in bold relief. Some decoration is seen on the turban. The bowls are smaller. The faces are shown turned to a side as though they are moving away from the stūpa. A thin *hāra* is shown tight round the neck. *Kuṇḍalas* are shown as small discs. The right side dwarf is cut vertically, and the face and stomach are badly damaged. Inside the gate as in the previous one, *Pūrṇaghaṭas* are used.

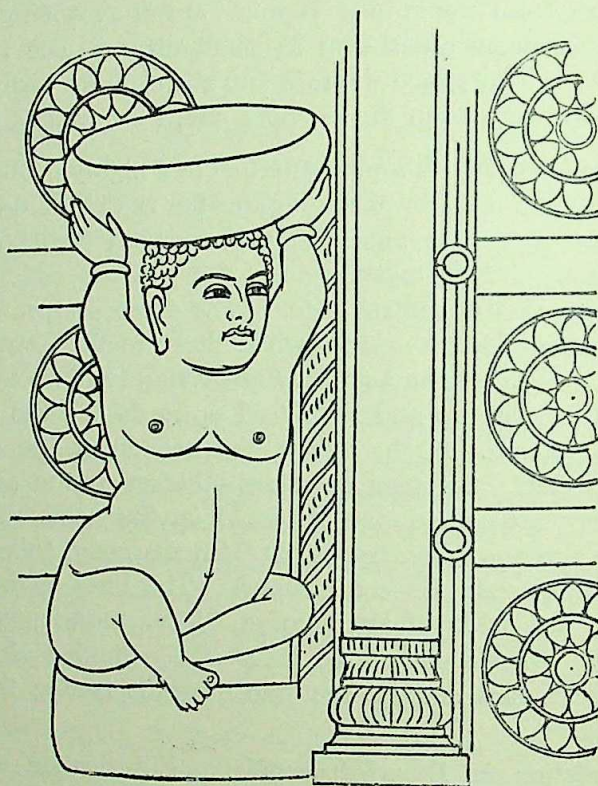
Stūpa slab 242 has the representation of a highly evolved dwarf type. Plate I fig. 2 is the photograph of the right side dwarf from the extreme pair. It is bigger in size, than all the above, mentioned previously. The dwarf pair at the extreme ends is bigger than the pair at the central gate. The faces of dwarfs at the central gate are shown straight while those at the extreme ends are turned to a side as though they are trying to move away. This is indicated by the hip and leg raised upwards and the other leg flat on the ground. As in slab 9, the hair-do of the dwarfs is shown in circlets. Circular ear rings—thicker at the centre, are shown. They are carrying a big bowl on the head. Two pairs of bracelets are shown on the hands. On the body, *Udarabandha*, and chest ornaments are conspicuous. The lines shown on the leg, suggest the frills of an *antarīya*. Most conspicuous in this dwarf is the expression on the face. The wrinkles of the forehead and grim face suggest that the dwarf is feeling the weight on the head.

4. *Variation in Dwarf-dvārapāla*: Substitution of *Pūrṇaghaṭa* by Dwarf-dvārapāla alone does not seem to be the main theme of the craftsmen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. As seen from the descriptions of the slabs, the motif has undergone peculiar changes. It varies gradually from a nude form to highly ornamented figure, full of expression and inspiration. The text figures given below, give a graphic picture of the artists' fancy in making the Dwarf-dvārapāla more significant.

Text figure I¹⁴ is a Dwarf-dvārapāla represented outside the gateway entrance, on the stūpa slab 9 at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The

¹⁴. Shri K. Brahmaiah has been good enough to draw the text figures in this paper.

central gateway has a projected frontage, and the sketch represents the seated dwarf on the right side. The pillar has an *āmalaka* (ribbed) base and is connected to the railing by cross-slabs. They are decorated with three lotus medallions. Behind the dwarf are seen two similar medallions. They are decorations on the railing.



TEXT FIG. I

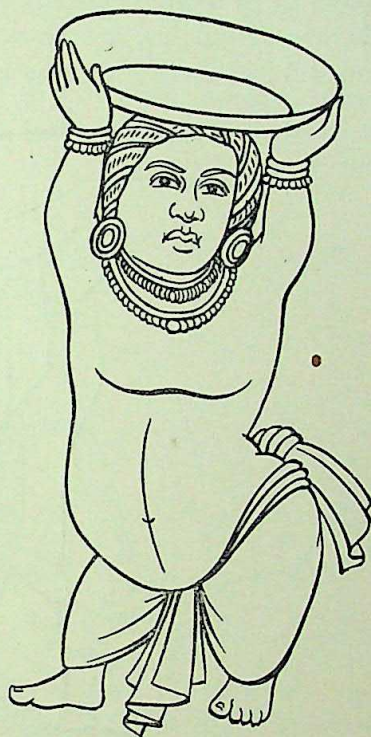
The dwarf is practically nude, except for a pair of bracelets. A deep bowl is shown prominently over the head that has circlets of hair. The right hip is shown resting on a *peetha* (platform), while the folded left leg is flat on the ground. This evidently shows that the dwarf is trying to move away.

Text figure II consists of three sketches. For comparative study, the three dwarfs are taken from slabs 8, 193 and 242. Sketches (a) and (b) are the left-side dwarfs on the slabs, while the last (c), is from the right. In the manner of sitting, (a) and (c)

are same, but slight variation is shown. Among the standing figures, (b) is a standard form—a speciality at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.



TEXT FIG. II (a)



TEXT FIG. II (b)

The three dwarfs carry three different objects on their heads. In sketch (a) it is a bowl, in (b) it is a plate and (c) it is a dish. In (a) the bowl is straight, but sometimes it is portrayed slightly slanting as though he is showing it. It is shown as a shallow bowl. Thus the craftsmen could create variation in portraying the objects they carry. Similar head-dresses have not been shown. They are different from one dwarf to the other. In short, in (a), the double lines suggest closely spaced striations of the turban. In (b) it appears like a rope with crisscross folds. But the plain head in (c) has small circlets of hair.

Most important in the dwarf carriers is the expression in the face. Different types of front and side views of the faces are shown. In (a) the face is straight with an expression of ease and grace. In (b) the face is shown in pensive mood. A typical divine expression is shown in (c). Two wrinkles on the forehead

suggest the feeling of the weight overhead. Thus, the maximum development in Dwarf-dvārapāla is shown in face (c). Ear ornaments have a wide range. Circular rings, discs big and small, and *Makara Kuṇḍalas*, are shown. Typical of them are seen in (b) and (c) while in (a) it is plain.



TEXT FIG. II (c)

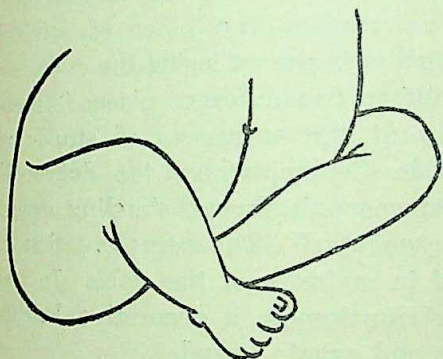
Hands and body for the dwarf Yakshas are extraordinary. In the *Amśumabhādāgama* it is said that the Yakshas must have wide shoulders and corpulent flowing body. In (a) and (c) the shoulders are made wider, while in (b) they are slightly narrower. In (a) as the dwarf sits, the stomach is shown to the front, in (b) its parabolic contour is shown to a side, as he makes a half-turn. In (c) the prominent stomach flows down as he sits on his loins.

Ornaments are shown different in most of the figures. In (a), a pair of bracelets, and a *hāra*, are shown. In (b), they are improved by introducing beaded bracelets and *hāras*. (c) has

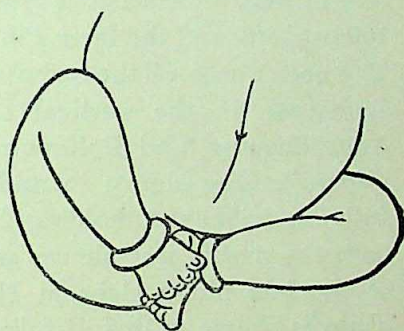
peculiar body ornaments. They consist of the *Udarabandha* and the *grīveyaka* (chest ornament). This type of *hāras* must be peculiar to the Yakshas of the times and were aptly used while showing the maximum development.

Only one type of wearing the cloth is shown, though generally, nude dwarfs are represented. It can be seen well from (b), and in (c) where similar lower garment is shown, though the postures are different.

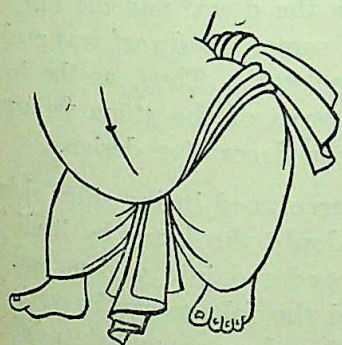
Text figure III has four sketches. They give a comparative study of the postures, shown on the slabs.



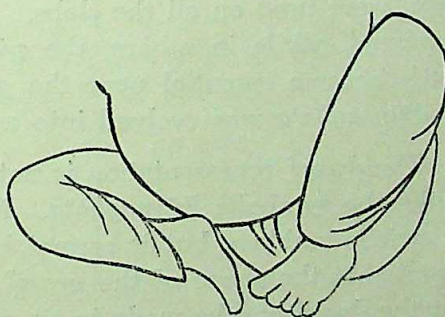
TEXT FIG. III (a)



TEXT FIG. III (b)



TEXT FIG. III (c)



TEXT FIG. III (d)

The manner of sitting in (a), (b) and (d) are no doubt, similar. But in (a) the left leg is shown inside, while in (b) the right foot is shown placed over the left. In (c), the legs do not touch each other. (a) and (b) are nude, but (c) is draped from waist downwards. In (c) and (d), the *antariya* is similarly shown.

But knots and frills are prominent in (c), as the figure is shown standing. Standing Dvārapālas have the same dress as in (c) in most slabs. But slight variation is no doubt, shown in some.

5. *Conclusion:* The auspicious symbol *Pūrṇaghāṭa* is an invention of the Amarāvati craftsmen, outside the entrance of the stūpa railings. As Vogel remarked the striking feature of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa artists is the original way, in which the traditional subject has been treated.¹⁵ The creative genius of the craftsmen lies in transformation, of the symbolic *Pūrṇaghāṭa*, into a dwarf with a plate on the head. When the dwarf motif has stabilised, *Pūrṇaghāṭa* is also added. Thus, both the motifs have been used. Dwarf-dvārapāla is used in the place of original *Pūrṇaghāṭa*, and the later *Pūrṇaghāṭa* is shown inside the entrance. The occurrence of the same motif, in two different places is more evidenced, in the vertical slabs at the entrances of stūpas at Anurādhapura and Polunnarva in Ceylon, where the *dvārapāla* Nāgarājas, are shown in anthropomorphic forms, standing gracefully in *tribhanga*, holding *Pūrṇaghāṭas*¹⁶ The representation of both the motifs was shown well in majority of the slabs. In one of the late phase slabs at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a decorative *Pūrṇaghāṭa* is shown with full foliage and ornate vessel.

The stūpa at Gummididurru in Krishna District,¹⁷ was richly decorated with stūpa slabs. Here, both the dwarf and the *Pūrṇaghāṭa*, were used on all the slabs. On some, the dwarf was made prominent, while in others, the *pūrṇaghāṭa*. Thus, as the two motifs became essential near the gateways of the stūpa railings, the *Pūrṇaghāṭa* was evolved into a more decorative design.

The dwarf representation is not stereotyped in the stūpa slabs unlike the symbolic *Pūrṇaghāṭa*. No doubt the latter by itself is an artistic emblem, but it cannot be rendered into various ways, except that the shape of the vessel and the foliage can be varied. But the dwarf can be made to sit, stand and move, and thus differ in posture. Changes are shown even in the objects they carry on the head. Sometimes it is seen as a bowl, at times it is seen

15. J. Ph. Vogel, *Buddhist art in India, Ceylon, and Java*, page 47.

16. H. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Plate 264.

17. Archaeological Survey of India 27. Annual report 1826-27—Plate XXXIV,

as a dish. Gradually the ornaments like the ear-rings, head-dress, *hāras* on the neck, body, girdles and cloth, have been shown from nudity to well ornamented dwarf figures.

Designs and decorative motifs can be worked out with a little skill. Originality can also be displayed as one becomes experienced. But to put in symbolism and religious fervour in the carvings, it is absolutely essential, that one should understand religion, symbolic significance, enough literature and iconography, before one starts the work on stone. Hence the Andhra craftsmen who made innumerable sculptural pieces must have had profound knowledge of the respective arts. It can thus be concluded that the well-versed craftsmen of Nāgārjunakonda, have displayed their inspiration, and utmost skill, in adapting themselves to the current artistic trends, as observed in the transformation of symbolic *Pūrṇaghāṭa* into Dwarf-dvārapāla on the stūpa slabs. It can also be said, that they had aptly used the dwarf Yaksha, as though he is represented giving forth eternal bliss from his bowl, *Akshyapātra*—a vessel that cannot be emptied, on those who visit the stupas.¹⁸

18. I am thankful to Dr. R. Subramanyam, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Nagarjunakonda Excavation Project for initiating me to the study of sculptures.

APPENDIX

Chart showing the relative changes from symbols to human forms with the Dwarf-dvārapāla constant on the stūpa slabs at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa.

No. Sl.	No. Slab.	Dwarf-dvārapāla Place of	Central gateway	Ayakapata	Drum	At the top on either side
1.	9	One pair at the Central gate and the other at the other extreme ends	Hooded Nāga is shown (symbolic)	Bōdhisatva in Tushita heaven (human forms)	Pūrṇaḥaṭa Tri-ratna and animals (symbolic)	Mythical animals like Sakya lion etc. (symbolic)
2.	8	do.	Dharmachakra worshipped by devotees (human forms)	do.	do.	do.
3.	225	Only one pair at the central gateway	Hooded Nāga with an umbrella (symbolic)	Stūpa worship (human forms)	Scenes from Buddha's life (human forms)	do.
4.	193	do.	Buddha preaching at Sāranāth (human forms)	Human forms are seen (broken)	(Broken)	do.
5.	57	do.	Siddhārtha horse and servant (human forms)	Buddha in the centre (blurred) (human forms)	Scenes from Buddha's life (human forms)	—
6.	55	do.	Siddhārtha with dwarfish ganas (human forms)	Stūpa worship (blurred) (human forms)	do.	Āñjalikarikas shown in flying posture (human forms)
7.	242	One pair at the Central gateway and the other pair at the extreme ends	Buddha with devotees (human forms)	Elephant Nalagiri at the feet of the Master (human forms)	do.	Sakya lion etc., (symbolic)

History—Its Future Role in Fostering Human Unity

BY

DR. BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI, F.R.A.S. (LONDON)

From West, where educators and writers of History have been meeting on frontiers, to the East — where new leaders of thought and ideal are planning for increasing cultural ties — the problem as to how "*the facts of History*" should be presented to the unsophisticated mind of the youth through the pages of texts as well as the spoken words is becoming almost a head-ache to many pioneers of the age, in either hemisphere of this planet! Many nations are, no doubt, also trying to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of the puzzling question as to how the history of one nation can be presented without prejudice towards other nations and in such a manner as to give an appreciation of the cultural advance of humanity as a whole.

The school class-room is one of the most important places, in which a nation can be taught the value of international understanding! It can usefully help the children's mind to get duly fore-armed with *truthful knowledge of other lands*, in the bargain, to be fairly forewarned against any likely infectious spell of malafide historical literatures, in their later grown-up state of manhood! In Western Europe, for instance, the Historical-Committees are functioning, to-day under the UNESCO and other International organizations with a view, "to correct errors which spring from *prejudice and ignorance*"! It seems quite surprising, to mention, incidentally that "the Emperor Asoka"—who reigned over India from 273 B.C. to 252 B.C. and played a major role in the spread of *Buddhism*, is little known in the Western World!

"He was", so comments the "World Veteran", Paris, "it appears, a great statesman who *loathed war*—all the more reason for our finding no mention of him in text-books which seem to have a highly developed taste for *bloody battles* with dates and places attached! Although, the *Fench*, *Germans* and *Belgians* are forever harping on the old — and futile — question of whether *Char-*

lemagne was French, German or Belgian, they are unfamiliar with even the name of the Emperor Asoka, know nothing about the rich history of China and are quite uninterested in the Caliphate of Cordova"! In Western school-books, the only things that matter are Greco-Roman Civilization and Christianity! Islam is referred to vaguely as being "warlike and fanatics" and Asia is of interest only because it was colonized by Europeans and "had certain odd customs which were fortunately abolished as a result of the civilizing influence exerted on the natives by the far more vital, capable, intelligent and advanced white race"! Is it then a fact, viz., the Western-man tends to judge other people by purely Western standards? The following extract of Sir Winston Churchill's remark about "Black-Hole" episode is cited, as such, as an instance in point. [From: "Century of Wars", Vol. III, Part II, by Sir Winston Churchill.

"The capture of India was one of England's most profitable achievements in the Seven Years' War.....The vicious ruler of Bengal Surajah Dowlah, at first swung the balance toward the French. In 1756, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, he captured the British garrison at Calcutta and cruelly penned 146 survivors in the 20-foot square: "Black-Hole". Only 23 lived through the night.....".

The "Black-Hole" is already an exploded myth and is too well-known a lie in Indian History to reiterate corroboration! But apprehending, viz., that unless the above incorrect remark of Sir Winston be forthwith deleted from his historic work, quite a wrong impression might be created among future pupils' mind—the present writer of this article immediately hastened to refer the matter in writing to the Editor of "The Life" (in which the original work of Sir Winston was serially published): and in reply the following text of his letter was received by him:

Time & Life Building,
9, Rockefeller Plaza, New York,
Feb. 11, 1958

Dear Mr. Chaudhuri,

Thank you for your frank criticism in your letter dtd. Nov. 28, 1958, of Sir Winston Churchill's discussion of the British in the 18th century. We consulted the Indian Information Service

here in *New-York* for an authoritative account of *Black-Hole* incident and were directed to *Advanced History of India* by Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta, which sums up as follows:

"The truth of this story has been doubted on good grounds. That some prisoners were put into the "*Black Hole*" and that a number of them, including those wounded in course of the fight (i.e., the members of the garrison who vainly tried to keep Calcutta from falling into the hands of the Nawab of Bengal, *Sirajud-Daulah*) died may be accepted as true, but the tragic details designed to suit the magnified number of prisoners must almost certainly be ascribed to the fertile imagination of *Holwell* on whose authority the story primarily rests. In any case, it is agreed on all hands that *Siraj-ud-Daulah* was not in any way personally responsible for the incident".

"The editors prepared your letter for publication in *Life International's* Letter Column, but space limitations have unfortunately prevented us from including it. We'll be glad to hear from you again how you enjoy the fourth volume of *Sir Winston's History* which will appear later.

Sincerely yours,
(Sd.) BEVERLY BENNETT,
Editor.

So, from the above simple instance does it not appear viz, that "it is difficult for the *Western-man* to change a spot", alike of the proverbial leopard?

In many countries, there is, of course, now a tendency to cease considering "*past wars*" as the major element in the teaching of History; dwell less on battles won or lost; to drop references to "*hereditary enemies*", and to consider history—not as a weapon to serve for future wars but as a necessary instrument to enable the learners to know and study correctly the human situations in a given epoch.

But the question comes up, then, viz, can any *history, chronicle* or *annals* so-called, be ever as colourless as pure-water, or for that matter be completely objective—considering the inevitable fact of *human nature* that is perhaps, fonder of his own village than the

neighbouring one, more attached to his own *native-land* than to the one bordering upon it, more interested in his own civilization than that of others?

Does it follow, viz, since human nature cannot be changed—it is desirable to consider the teaching of history as a subject of *minor importance*?

Perhaps, this is too preposterous a suggestion to be relished by anybody inasmuch as, love for one's own land is as congenital and deep as one's own love for mother?

Still, for all that don't we find from our day-to-day *contact* with contemporary publications—replete with “political opinions”—that are set forth with conviction—too many prejudices and misunderstandings concocted therein to enliven taste and tickle the palate ... are but the specious “perfection back” of ignorance of true historic realities?

A ... fact being—always a fact, can it be denied at that, viz, it is not the parochial and ignorant mind that has ... altogether ever helped forward the human progress against the narrow egotistical cells of prejudice, hate, apartheidness, fanaticism or national bigotry of one's own “mother-land”?

Should it behove our men of History, to-day and also, those in charge of Education, as well, to consider some such points as are given below in compiling text-books for the lovers of learning of all peoples of the globe: in the interest of universal understanding of *love, truth* and *unity*, which are basic to all people under the sun:

- (1) That information should be accurate and upto-date; there should be no factual distortion and interpretation of events and generalizations about them should be supported by facts presented.
- (2) That material selected should be balanced and sufficiently comprehensive.
- (3) That texts should contain an adequate treatment of the *life* and *culture* of other indigenous races—and inter-racial events and problems; the scope of the work should be not only a chronicle of kings or political history, but

a history of the "peoples" including their cultural, political, economic and racial development; and comparison of the quality and standard of social, economic, and political life of one country concerned with other well-known countries should be made period by period.

- (4) That "foreign nationals" and the "indigenous races" and "minority groups", respectively in a country should be treated fairly and due recognition given to their contribution to the common weal of the same. Unpleasant facts should not be ignored, but that they should be placed in perspective; and controversial matters need be presented objectively. Where scholars disagree, fair points of view and factual interpretations must needs be presented.
- (5) That a country's international relations in the past should be dealt with adequately. Wars and conflicts both *international* and *inter-racial* within the country concerned should be reviewed in the racial perspective of international and inter-racial relations. Bellicose emphasis should be minimized, and annoying comparisons between the particular country's *national* characters or events and "foreign" or other indigenous historical characters or events—should, as far as practicable, be eschewed forthwith. Narration of victories over "foreign" nations or of victories of one indigenous race over another in a country should not contain, say, a deprecatory estimate of the defeated people, altogether.
- (6) That terms and phrases which develop prejudice, misunderstanding and conflict and tend to give offence to "other people" outside a country or to indigenous races or minority groups inside it need be avoided.
- (7) That a reference should also be made to the country concerned in all its international contexts of relationships, in general, and also with that of the UNO and its Specialized Agencies, if any, in particular. In this connection, the ideals of human freedom, dignity, equality and brotherhood should be emphasized.

The advances of civilizations, the realization of human progress, world ideals, world interdependence; and the need for inter-

national organizations and co-operation in active, realistic and sincere ways for universal *amity, unity and understanding* should be likewise implemented with an eye to everlasting world peace on this planet today !

Bacon, the forerunner of the "Advancement Era" in England, significantly, mentioned once, in his—"Studies", as such that—of all branches of learning, viz, "History Makes Men Wise"; and reiterated further, that: "Wisdom is Justified by Her Children"!

Do the children of *to-morrow*—yet in school-jacket expect such a fair-play, then, as to truly "justify" the *wisdom* of their—"History-Text" writers of *to-day*?

Some Terms in Ancient Land Grants

BY

DR. LALLANJI GOPAL,
University of Allahabad

The ancient land grants are often associated with certain privileges in the form of income from dues and exemptions. The terms referring to these have naturally an important bearing on the socio-economic conditions of those times. The present article aims at discussing some of the terms about which the brilliant work of Dr. Ghoshal does not reach any finality.

1. *Udraṅga and Uparikara*:

The plates generally mention the grant as accompanied with the income of Udraṅga and Uparikara (Sodraṅga and Soparikara). These terms have baffled the ingenuity of the scholars to explain them. The Smṛtis and lexicons do not throw any light on the nature of these dues and etymology offers no help in understanding them. So all attempts must remain tentative and provisional. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal¹ suggested for 'udraṅga' the meaning of revenue imposed upon the permanent tenants, and for 'uparikara' that of a similar impost levied on the temporary tenants. The meaning attached to Uparikara² has been rightly controverted by Dr. A. S. Altekar³ on the ground that there is neither any reason to suppose that the state imposed any extra or special taxation on temporary tenants nor any justification for a distinction in the state records between taxes paid by permanent tenants and temporary cultivators. Etymologically the term would better signify an extra cess or a tax on land which was paid over and above the normal tax. The contrast in the terms 'udraṅga' and 'uparikara' would support the interpretation of 'udraṅga' as the normal revenue of the king. Thus the earlier

1. *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 210f.
2. Cf. *Fleet—Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 98n.
3. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 216.

suggestion of Bühler⁴ followed by Fleet⁵ would seem to be nearer to truth. To me, it appears that the terms *sodraṅga* and *soparikara* are identical with the expression *sakṣiptopakṣiptaḥ* dues on land. The suggestion receives support from the fact that nowhere do these expressions appear together. The expression *sakṣiptopakṣiptaḥ* occurs in the plates of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, whereas the records of other dynasties like the Uccakalpas, the Parivrājakas, the Kalacuris and the Maitrakas used the terms *sodraṅga* and *soparikara*. In this connection the evidence supplied by the Haidarabad Plates of Pulakeśin II⁶ is very illuminating. While enumerating the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee this record uses the expression *sakṣiptaḥ soparikaraḥ*. Evidently it would appear that according to the author of the record the term *sakṣiptaḥ* is the same as *sodraṅgaḥ*, while *sopakṣiptaḥ* is identical with *soparikaraḥ*. This *Kṣipta* occurs in the *Arthaśāstra*⁷ in the sense of a fixed tax; so naturally *upakṣiptaḥ* would mean the extra cess on cultivators over and above the fixed revenue of the State. A similar interpretation was advanced by Dr. A. S. Altekar⁸ when he equated the term *Sabhāgabhogakaraḥ* occurring in the Samanagad Plates of Dantidurga⁹ and the Kapadwanj Plates of Kīrṣṇa II¹⁰ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty with the expression *sodraṅgaḥ soparikaraḥ*. These expressions thus suggest that a donee of a pious endowment was entitled to all those fixed and unfixed dues which the State drew from cultivators.

2. *Sabhūtavātāpratyāya*:

Another source of income is expressed by the term *sabhūtavātāpratyāya*, occurring in the records of the Traikūṭakas, Kaṭacuris and the Maitrakas. This term is an enigma to scholars and in spite of learned labours no satisfactory solution has been found out. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal¹¹ admits that the precise meaning of the term is uncertain; he only literally translates the expression as

4. I.A. XII, p. 189, n. 3.

5. *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 97, n. 6.

6. I.A. VI, p. 73.

7. II. 6.

8. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 214f.

9. I.A. XI, p. 111.

10. E.I. I, p. 52.

11. *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 215, 217.

indicating a revenue derived from the elements and the wind. Dr. Altekar¹² offers the suggestion that it means a tax on what has been imported or produced in the village and so equates it with śulka mentioned in some other inscriptions. A comparison of the Khoh Plates of Jayanātha¹³ and Śarvanātha¹⁴ would seem to support this theory. For the expression samucita-śulka-bhāga-bhogakarahiraṇyādipratyāyopanayaṁ of the record of Jayanātha the inscription of Śarvanātha has samucitabhāgabhogakarahiraṇyāvātāyādipratyāyānupaneśyatha. Thus it would seem that śulka and āvātāya of the two inscriptions are identical. Now, it is most likely that āvātāya is another form of the more common bhūtāvātāyā. But this theory of Dr. Altekar has to be accepted only as a working thesis. Whatever may have been the case with later periods, the inscriptions before roughly 700 A.D. do not contain the expressive phrases sambhṛtopāttapratyāya or bhūtopāttapratyāya and the only form which occurs in them is bhūtāvātāyā which has been regarded as more enigmatical even by Dr. Altekar on the interpretation of the term proposed by him.

3. *Sadaśāparādha*:

A copper plate grant of the Maitrakas of Valabhi¹⁵ is the earliest record to mention another source of income for a donee by the term sadaśāparādhaḥ (with the ten offences). Dr. Ghoshal¹⁶ is of the opinion that the term refers to the right of a donee to be exempted at least in part from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some traditional offences by the villagers. But a closer scrutiny vindicates the view of Fleet¹⁷ and Jolly¹⁸ that the expression gives the donee a right to the proceeds of fines for commission of ten offences by the villagers.¹⁹ The contention of Dr. Ghoshal that the grant of rights of jurisdiction was never contemplated in the case of holders of religious grants does not

12. *Rāstrakūṭas and their times*, p. 228ff.

13. *Gupta Inscriptions*, 27.

14. *Ibid.*, 31.

15. E.I. IV.8. It also appears in the Deo Baranarak inscription of the Later Gupta King Jivitagupta II—*Gupta Inscriptions*, 46.

16. *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 219f.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 219f.

18. *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 123.

19. Cf. B. Prasad—*State in Ancient India*, p. 306.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ

REFERENCE BOOK

seem to be well founded, for income from taxes in the shape of receipts from fines does find mention in the records of the Candellas of Jejākabhukti,²⁰ the Kalacuris of Cedi²¹ and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.²² Moreover, there is nothing in the records to suggest that this expression refers to an immunity to be enjoyed by the donee. The context in which the expression occurs in the records²³ shows that it was one of the different sources of revenue which the king remitted in favour of a donee. The form of the word also supports such a view. If it had been an immunity, the expression to convey the sense would have been something like adaśāparādha-daṇḍaḥ. Moreover, the fact of this privilege being granted even to institutions like temples²⁴ and not merely to individuals suggests that the term refers perhaps to a source of revenue granted to the donee and not to an immunity from certain offences.

4. *Cauravarjjaṁ*:

Another interesting term is coravarjjaṁ used in the inscriptions of the Parivrājakas and the Uccakalpas.²⁵ Other equivalents of this expression are cauravarjjaṁ,²⁶ coradaṇḍavarjyaṁ,²⁷ and coradrohakavarjjaṁ.²⁸ Dr. Ghoshal^{28a} took these to mean the immunity of the donee from the tax imposed upon the villagers for village police. But the original explanation of the term offered by Fleet, "with the exception of the right to fines imposed on thieves"²⁹ seems to be more probable. The context in which the term occurs³⁰ shows that it was not an immunity granted to the

20. daṇḍādāya—I.A. XVI, p. 201.

21. daṇḍādāyakarotpatti—E.I. II. 23.

22. daṇḍāya—I.A. XIX, p. 165.

23. Cf. *Gupta Inscriptions*, 39—Mahilābalināmagrāmaḥ sodraṅgaḥ soparikaraḥ sotpadyamānaviṣṭikaḥ sabhūtavātapratyāyaḥ sadaśāparādhaḥ sabhogabhāgaḥ sadhānyahiranyādeyaḥ sarvvarājakiyānām ahastaprakṣepaṇīyaḥ pūrvvapradattadevadāyabrahmadāyavarjjaṁ.

24. *Gupta Inscriptions*, 46.

25. *Ibid.*, 21, 26.

26. *Ibid.*, 23; E.I. XXI. 20.

27. *Gupta Inscriptions*, 27.

28. E.I. VIII. 28; *Gupta Inscriptions*, 25.

28a. *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 211.

29. *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 98, f.n. 3.

30. Sodraṅgaḥ soparikaraḥ acātabhaṭapraṇvṛṣyaḥ coravarjjaṁ—Khoh plates of Hastin (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 21) and Betul plates of Saṁkṣobha (E.I., VIII. 28).

donee but was rather a limitation to the many privileges conferred upon him. The term immediately follows the expression *acāṭabhaṭaprāveśyaḥ* and suggests that the donor while granting the donee an exemption from the entrance of the regular and irregular troops of the king wanted to make it clear that though he could not thus be harassed by the officials, he was not exempted from the fines imposed on thieves. It is significant that whereas adjectives have been used to indicate the privileges, in this case we have an indeclinable form. Further, in some inscriptions³¹ the privileges are stated in earlier lines and it is towards the closing part of the record proper (where it is stated that the village was granted as an *agrahāra* by an order on the copper plate) that we have the expression *coravarjjaṃ* which seems to point out the limitation to such a grant. Moreover, had this been an immunity from tax for police it would have been described, as is the case with terms signifying other immunities in the plates, by some such words as *acoradaṇḍaḥ* or *acoradroha-kaḥ*. The peculiar use of the word *varjja* probably indicates exception to the exemptions enjoyed by brahmadeya lands. In the *Arthaśāstra*³² we find villages liable to fine in the case of any merchandise being lost or stolen; most likely the expression in question means that in case of theft or robbery the donees were not granted an exemption from their responsibility and like other villagers were liable to fine.

5. *Alonakhādaka*:

The term appearing in the Mayidavolu Plate of Śivaskandavarman and the Kondamudi Plates of Jayavarman describes an immunity. The Hirahadagalli Plates mention it as *aloṇagulacchobhaṃ*.

The Hirahadagalli Plates mention it as *aloṇagulacchobhaṃ*. The Vākāṭaka records render it more elaborately by using the expression *alavaṇaklinvakreṇikhānakaḥ*. It thus seems to refer to the practice of boring certain trees for salt, liquor and sugar. Dr. Ghoshal³³ has explained it as the immunity from fines for the

31. *Tāmraśāsanenāgrahārotisṛṣṭaḥ cauravarjjaṃ*- Majhgawan plate of Hastin (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 23) and Navagrama grant of Hastin (*E.I.* XXI, 20).

32. III. 10.

33. *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 194-5.

purchase and digging of salt. But there is nothing in the expression to suggest an immunity from any fine. The term occurs in the midst of expressions signifying immunity from exactions and demands of the king on the land, e.g., *acāṭabhaṭaprāveśya*, *acārāsanacarmmāṅgāra*, *apārampara* and *sarvvaviṣṭiparihāra*. It is likely that in ordinary course the king had certain demands over the preparation of salt, sugar, etc., which have been denied in the case of Brahmadeya lands.

Karnatak and Orissa

(Political and Cultural Links)

BY

PROF. P. B. DESAI, M.A.,

*Reader in Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Karnatak University, Dharwar.*

Geography divides Karnāṭak and Orissa by a distance of several hundred miles and the vast territory of Āndhra Pradesh intervenes between the two. In the political sphere the two peoples had fewer occasions to come into closer contacts with each other, either as friends or foes. These factors offer an explanation for the paucity and vagueness of almost all allusions to Orissa in the old Kannaḍa literature and epigraphs.

This vagueness is characterized by the use of the general term Kalinga which roughly comprised the Ganjam District and the Puri-Cuttak region of Orissa and also northern parts of Āndhra Pradesh. While the references to Kalinga are larger, those to Uḍra or Ōḍra and Utkala, the two ancient names specifically denoting Orissa proper, are met with occasionally in the inscriptions of Karnāṭak. It would be of some interest to consider a few of them here.

The earliest mention of Kalinga may be traced in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaliśa,¹ wherein the Chalukya Kīrtivarman I is credited with the subjugation of, among others, the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha and Kalinga. According to the Aihole inscription,² Pulakēśin II wrought terror among the Kalingas in the course of his eastern expedition. The first of these allusions has to be treated as conventional, having little historical value; and the second is too vague and general to draw any historical inference from it. It seems, from this time onwards, it

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1. ff. verse 26.

became a convention and no less a fashion with the Kannaḍa writers to mention Kaliṅga along with Aṅga and Vaṅga while enumerating the countries outside Karnāṭak.³

More useful is the description contained in the Parabhaṇī plates of Arikēśarin II,⁴ the patron of the reputed Kannaḍa poet Pampa. The record states that Yuddhamalla I (circa 8th century), an early ancestor of the above chief, was ruling over the tract of one and a quarter lakh, comprising the three Kaliṅgas, along with Vēṅgi. The record, however, does not explain the nature of the three Kaliṅgas.

No doubt, sometimes we come across statements which make a distinction between Āndhra and Kaliṅga. For instance, in the Wardhā and Navasārī plates,⁵ Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II is said to have enforced allegiance from Lāṭa, Gurjara, Āndhra, Kaliṅga and Magadha. The Kalachuri usurper Bijjaḷa is credited with victory over Āndhra and Kaliṅga in an inscription of his son, Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva.⁶ But the historicity of such assertions is not beyond question.

Turning to Uḍra or Ōḍra, an early mention to this region as Ōḍraka is found in the Sanjan plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha,⁷ which speak of the subjugation of this country by Gōvinda III. Oddaha occurring in a record of Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana⁸ must be identical with Ōḍraka.

With their boundaries extending over the Āndhra areas, the Vijayanagara rulers came into closer contacts with Orissa particularly during the time of the second and the third dynasties. Narasiṃha I of the Sāḷuva lineage carried his arms as far as Ōrissa beyond the Āndhra territory. The triumphant expeditions of Kṛishṇadēvarāya against the Gajapati king Pratāparudra of Orissa constitute an important landmark in the history of the Vijayanagara empire. Hence this achievement was arrogated to themselves, even without proper justification, by the later rulers

3. See for instance *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 129 and 171.

4. *Q. J. Bh. It. Sam. Maṇḍala*, Poona, Vol. XIII, No. 3.

5. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 239-69.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 319.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 245.

8. Derret, *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 69.

viruda Oḍḍiyarāyadisūpaṭṭa,⁹ i.e. 'vanquisher of the king of the Oḍḍiya country'. Oḍḍiya here evidently stands for Orissa.

Still less known is the name Utkala. Scholars like Fleet¹⁰ and Kielhorn¹¹ thought that Taila II, founder of the later line of the Western Chālukyas led an expedition against the Utkala country. But this view is erroneous, based as it is on the confusion between the expressions, Utkala and Utpala, the latter of which was another name of the Paramāra king Munja.¹² Utkala, however, occurs in the description of the exploits of Mallugi, an early member of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, wherein he is credited with the capture of a troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.¹³ In the charters of the rulers of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagara,¹⁴ we come across the grandiloquent title, *Utkalēndra-jaya-paṇḍita*, i.e. 'adept in overpowering the king of Utkala'. But this seems to be only a later echo of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's victory over the Gajapati king of Orissa, alluded to above.

Apart from such notices of uncertain value, there is no denying the fact that in ancient and mediaeval Indian history, Karnāṭak played a more impressive role in the political and cultural spheres, and influenced many far and near regions including Orissa.

The Eastern Gaṅgas ruling over parts of Orissa from about the fifth century must have been connected with the Western Gangas of the old Mysore territory. In like manner, the ancestry of the Kadambas who ruled in Orissa as feudatories of the later Gangas during the tenth and the eleventh centuries, goes back to the Kannaḍa country.¹⁵ During the early decades of the twelfth century the area of Sambalpur District was ruled by the nobles of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family hailing from Karnāṭak as disclosed by the Bargarh copper-plate record of Parachakraśālya, dated in Samvat 56, probably of the Chālukya Vikrama era.¹⁶

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 229, etc.

10. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 431.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 207. The original reading is Utpala only, but it was wrongly corrected to Utkala by Kielhorn.

12. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 168.

13. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 516.

14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 250.

15. *Studies in Education and Culture*, pp. 1 ff.

16. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 1ff.

Incidentally, a few more points of contact between the two regions bearing cultural significance may be mentioned here. In the *Sarasvatīvilāsachampū*, the unsullied fame of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara is compared, strangely enough, to the spotless laughter of the amorous ladies of Karnāṭak. The title *Aṇiyāṅka-bhīma* which means 'veteran warrior' formidable on the battle-field', assumed by some of the Gaṅga kings has to be traced to the Kannāḍa origin, since the expressions *aṇi* and *aṅka* in particular bear special significance in that language as gathered from their usage in inscriptions and literature. It is interesting to observe that tales current in the Uriya tradition and folklore contain frequent allusions to the rulers and chiefs hailing from the Karnāṭak area.¹⁷

Orissa experienced the impact of Karnāṭak culture to a considerable extent in the domain of religion and philosophy. The Vaishṇavite movement sponsored by Ānandatīrtha or Madhvāchārya, a native of South Kanara District, spread far and wide in many parts of India including Orissa. Naraharītīrtha, one of the foremost of his disciples, preached the Vaishṇava gospel during the reign of the Gaṅga king Anaṅga Bhīma III. Many distinguished persons including members of the royal household, became converts to this new faith. Noteworthy is the change brought about in the religion of the ruling house of the Gangas themselves. The kings of this dynasty, who were originally Śaivite, became the followers of the Vaishṇava school from the time of the above-named ruler.¹⁸

Naraharītīrtha acted as regent of the infant Ganga king Narasimha II and governed the kingdom for more than thirty years. A large number of inscriptions belonging to this period wherein Naraharītīrtha figures as the donor, have been found in the temples of Simhāchalam and Śrikūrmam.¹⁹

The services rendered by Naraharītīrtha, both as administrator and religious teacher in the kingdom of Orissa proved to be epoch-

17. This information was given to me by Prof. K. B. Tripathi in the education service, Orissa State.

18. *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 43 ff.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 262 and n.

making in the annals of the Mādhvas of Karnāṭak. The *Narahariyatistōtra* narrates that as a reward for his selfless services, Naraharītīrtha secured from the royal treasury the sanctified images of Śrī Rāma and Sītā and handed them over to his *guru* Ānandatīrtha. These images, ever since, are under perpetual adoration in one of the Mādhva *maṭhas* of Karnāṭak and every follower of the faith is acquainted with the mysterious account of their historic origin and acquisition. This may be considered a unique living link between the two states, Orissa and Karnāṭak.

ve
al
sic
on
Th

of
th
th
all
In
of
of
th
of
Cu
Sw
th
pa
th

so
Is
18
'P
B
'S
in
M

Press—and India's Struggle for Freedom, 1858 to 1909

BY

M. M. AHLUWALIA, M.A., PH.D.

For decades, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the vernacular press preserved the mask of its inception, being given almost exclusively to theological controversies. The Christian missionaries were encountered by the Brahmo Samaj. From the fifties onwards, the political and national problems attracted its columns. The reasons were obvious and diverse.

The policies of Lord Dalhousie, the storm of 1857, the spread of Western education, the agrarian disputes, the recurring famines, the Council Acts of 1861 and 1892, the costly imperial wars and the controversies during the Viceroyalties of Lytton and Ripon—all spurred journalistic activity. The failure of British justice in India, the contemptuous attacks of Anglo-Indian papers, thousands of assault cases in which Indians frequently suffered at the hands of Europeans, the plague operations, the role of the Congress, and the persecution of Tilak in 1897, further stimulated the growth of the National Press in India. The unpopular measures of Lord Curzon, the proved ineffectiveness of Congress methods, the Swadeshi and Boycott movements, and the repressive methods of the Government—helped the emergence of the revolutionary papers. Among the external factors may be mentioned especially the rise of Japan and the Home Rule Movement in Ireland.

Therefore, during the period under review (1858 to 1909), some of the most powerful organs of public opinion came out. Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar founded the 'Shome Prakash' in 1858, the 'Times of India' was founded in Bombay in 1861, the 'Pioneer' in Allahabad in 1865, the 'Madras Mail' and the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' in 1868 in Madras and Bengal respectively, the 'Statesman' in Calcutta in 1875, the 'Civil and Military Gazette' in Lahore in 1876, the 'Tribune' in Lahore in 1881, the 'Hindu' in Madras in 1878, and the 'Bengali' in Calcutta in 1879.

During the last twenty years of the 19th century and the first decade of the next, powerful revolutionary papers like the 'Kesari', the 'Yugantar', and the 'Bande Mataram' were added to the list. In 1902, there were more than 700 newspapers, 575 periodicals and 2192 registered printing presses in the whole of India.

TONE OF THE PRESS

About the tone of the press, the Government translator admitted as early as 1867: "The Hindu papers fearlessly record their opinions based upon the broad principles of universal equality. And the authorities are often subjects of unceremonious comment, sometimes severe. The Mohammedan papers rarely venture any opinion".

The tone of the national press from 1858 to 1909 may be judged from the way it took notice of the economic, administrative, political and other policies of the alien Government.

The press was acutely conscious of the grave economic exploitation that attended British rule in India, and it was forthright in its criticism. Condemning the excise policy of the Government of India in 1863, a Bengali paper alleged: "in many places Abkaree Amlahas introduce prostitutes to promote the sale of liquor". Another paper said: "the Government of India is pursuing a most dangerous and damaging policy; for a few rupees gained now... it will have debauched, degraded and demoralised the mass of the people of India". When the Road-cess was imposed in Bengal, Amrita Bazar Patrika wrote: "It is a shameful imposition". When in 1888, the salt tax was increased by the Government of Lord Dufferin, a Bengal paper, Praja Bandhu, wrote: "cursed was the hour when His Excellency set foot on Indian soil. His crooked policy has impoverished India". Another paper, 'Bangavasi' advised the people in 1892 to forego the use of all foreign salts.

The Indian press was highly critical of the imperial wars on ethical and economic grounds. About the 2nd Afghan War, a Bengali paper wrote on 12-1-1880: "Heaven only knows where the consequences of the dishonest actions of the Hebrew Premier (Disraeli) will ultimately lead us. Has the English nation lost its vitality that it cannot bring about the overthrow of its bad

ministry"? The 3rd Burmese war had meant a military expenditure of more than 8 crores of rupees (1885-6 to 1895-6), about which a newspaper, *Sanjivni* wrote on 17-3-1888:—

"When we think, that our money assuming the form of bullets, is falling upon the breasts of heroic Burmese patriots, is serving to fill with lamentation thousands of Burmese homes, and is helping to deprive a people of their God-given independence, we cannot help losing all patience."

About the Tibetan War of Lord Curzon, "*Amrit Bazar Patrika*" wrote on 12-5-1904: "Every Englishman should be ashamed of the Tibetan Mission".

The costliness and inefficiency of administration also came in for severe criticism. *Bangabasi* commented in July 1886:—"If in England the salaries...had been fixed at such high sums, the people would have rebelled". To the contention of Sir John Strachey that an English boy (for I.C.S.) inherited qualities from his forefathers which a Bengali aspirant for I.C.S. never inherited, a Bengali paper shot back the reply (*Banganivasi*, 28-12-1894):

"When your tattooed ancestors lived in mountain caves or underground holes, ate raw flesh and jumped about like monkeys from tree to tree in search of fruits, our forefathers ruled Kingdoms. This is no empty boast, but historic truth."

The national press severely criticised the police and public works departments of the Government of India. About police oppression, *Koh-i-Nur* of Lahore, 16-4-1892, enquired: "Why Government should appoint wolves to look after the welfare of sheep." About P.W.D. *Som Prakash* wrote in 1869: "This is a nursery of thieves".

Another thing which greatly exercised every one in the last decades of the 19th century was the problem of assault cases in which it pleased the Europeans to kill the Indians, and it pleased the European judges to let off the culprits on silly pretexts. Nearly 500 cases occurred every year in each of the provinces. At Wazirabad three English soldiers killed a Sadhu. "*Amrita Bazar Patrika*" wrote a bitter satire:

"The Sadhu looked so much like a pig that the tommies were tempted to shoot him. Oh! dear! dear! and now a hue

J. 17

and cry would be raised in the native newspapers. But after all no harm is done in this case; it is the ultimate object of a Sadhu to seek Nirvan and three sons of Mars by shooting him dead simply helped him to reach his goal at once."

The national press was greatly conscious of the drain of India's wealth to England. A paper 'Samay' wrote on 3-1-1896: "Like locusts they came in swarms and drain the country of its riches, which they spend not in India but in their own country". Another paper compared them with Muslim rulers: "The Muslims did not suck the peoples' blood like India's present rulers. India's wealth never crossed its frontiers. During the Mohammadan's five hundred years, we had one Aurangzeb. But under the civilised and enlightened British rule, a new Aurangzeb is starting up into life every day to make the land so coveted by the gods, unfit even for men's habitation".

The Yugantar compared, in 1906:

"If the Mussalmans were oppressive, their oppressions were open, so that people could resent them on the spot. But the oppressions of the English are covert, and the fact that such oppressions are not felt immediately, destroys the power of the poor-oppressed to resent or retaliate."

The powerful voice of the Indian press was heard everywhere during the famous Ilbert Bill controversy (1883). One newspaper, "Prabhati", 18-5-1883, warned: "If Mr. Ilbert's Bill is not passed... we shall treat Europeans like enemies". "Bharat Mihir", 30-6-1883, reminded: "If the Government of India fails in this trial, it will drive a sharp knife into its own bosom". Another paper said: "Indians will have to strike terror into hearts of the English."

Before passing on to the more revolutionary type of journalism, a reference and appreciation is due to the foreign journalists and correspondents who toured the famine-stricken land in the nineteenth century and expressed themselves with great emotion and sympathy. Reuter's Special (famine) correspondent, Mr. Merewether, said about dying humanity at Bilaspur in 1898: "In the case of these poor wretches death had lost its sting". Special correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian", Mr. Vaughan Nash wrote:

"It is impossible to see the peasantry of a country reduced to such a pass, to see wives and mothers and children toiling for a morsel of bread under a flaming sun, without a sinking of the heart. The stupor and silence (on these faces) is horrible, and you wish that the unspoken horror of these sapping mouths could be given some sort of a voice".

Revolutionary Tone

When the twentieth century opened, the press had already begun to declare for complete freedom. It began to express and preach extremist views. In Bombay Presidency, papers like "Kesari", "Kal", "Arunodaya", "Kaiser-i-Hind" began to express themselves strongly. "Kal" wanted people to achieve India's object by deeds wrought by hands". It suggested a confederacy of Asiatic nations under the leadership of Japan. In Bengal, Yugantar (1906-8) called upon "fifty millions of men" to sacrifice themselves "in an attempt at deliverance". It wrote "the Bengalee will henceforward begin to take a life for a life given" and that "we will bathe in the enemy's blood, and with it dye Hindustan". It called upon the educated to organise the cultivators into "looting parties" to "loot rice in famines". It exclaimed: "Look there, the terrible sword glowing with blood is swirling. Look there, the guerilla bands are swarming the country; there...they are plundering the arsenals....there the vacant throne of the demon is being washed away by the waves of Bengal".

Akin to Yugantar, there was the Bande Mataram, edited by Aurobindo Ghosh. It declared: "the time is coming, the call will soon go forth" for the "hero, the martyr, the man of iron will.... the great fighter, the born leader in action....the priest of Kali who can tear his heart out of his body and offer as a bleeding sacrifice on the Mother's altar". Third paper, "Sandhya", declared: "If you want life and independence, then the Feringhis' rights will have to be extinguished one by one and you will have to descend into the dark cave of barbarism". About the victory of Japan, it wrote: "The spell is broken; the magic web is torn, the opportunity has arrived to wash off the mire of English luxuriousness".

At the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai in 1907, the "Jan Ratan" of Ambala wrote: "The swan has been carried away from the garden of India". "Sandhya" of Bengal said "Lalaji....You are the first

offering at the Mother's Yajna". Yugantar declared (12-5-1907): "Let those who want to die for the mother's sake make their preparations without talk".

Persecutions

Besides the stringent measures passed by the Government from time to time a large number of prosecutions were launched. In one single year, 1908, in the Bombay Presidency, three successive editors of "Vihari", two editors of "Hind Swarajya", the Editor, Joint Editor and Printer of "Vishvavritta", two editors of "Swarajya" and the editors of "Kal", "Urdu-i-Mualla" and "Arunodhya" were sentenced to rigorous imprisonments ranging from two to seven years. Lokamanya Tilak, in the same year, was deported for six years. In the Panjab and Bengal the story was not different. Zai-ul-Huq, the editor of "Peshwa" of Lahore, was sentenced to five years transportation for his article 'Akhri Awaz Suno (Hark—the last call). In Bengal "Yugantar" alone offered six of its editors for the prison-walls, during its brief career.

Conclusion

But the National Press of India was never disheartened. Thrown repeatedly into the consuming ovens of persecution and impediments, it developed a vitality and maturity which come only after being immersed in the flame of suffering. It succeeded in helping the educated people to assimilate progressive ideas, and pass these on to the common people. Through it, the doctrines of the great masters of political thought were made palatable even for the unlettered masses. It also helped provincial and intra-provincial contacts at cultural and political levels. It produced a world outlook by drawing upon international movements in its columns. For example, its references to the Russo-Japanese war proved extremely significant.

For achieving all this, and in giving the clarion call of struggle against tyranny, the press had to bear the heaviest of crosses. Even then, it bore the scars of the battle of India's freedom with the all defying faith and solace of a missionary to whom every pain and suffering is endearing to the utmost. The example it set on the sacrificial pyre of nationalism and patriotism was never lost on those who heard its call and watched its crusade against the evil of foreign rule.

The Imperial Pratihāras: Mahendrapāla I and Mahipala*

(A Revised Study)

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A., D.LITT.

The last known date of Bhoja I is 276. If we refer it to the Harṣa era, it would come to either 882 or 888 A.D., its initial year being 606 or 612 A.D.¹ Later than it, however, must be the Barton Museum inscription describing Bhoja's pursuit of the fleeing Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces of the two Kṛṣṇas, Kṛṣṇa II of Mānyakheta and Kṛṣṇa II of Lāṭa, up to Bhṛgukachcha.² The first inscription of his son and successor, Mahendrapāla I, known to us also as Mahindrapāla, Mahiṣapāla, Mahendrāyudha, Nirbhaya-rāja and Nirbhaya-narendra is of the Valabhi year 574 which corresponds to 893 A.D.³ Considering this fact along with the events of the last few years of Bhoja's reign, already detailed elsewhere,⁴ we should not be unjustified in putting Mahendrapāla's succession in c. 892 A.D. We have a *yuvarāja* Nāgabhaṭa mentioned as a *dūtaka* in Bhoja's Daulatpurā grant of V. 900 (843 A.D.). But it is unnecessary to conclude from this fact that a ruler named Nāgabhaṭa (III), though otherwise unknown to us from history, intervened between Mahendrapāla and Bhoja.⁵

*This paper is a continuation of my earlier studies of the Pratihāras published in *JIH* (1943, 1944), *IHQ* (1934, 1937, 1944, 1958), *PIHC* (1958), *PO*, *If* and *ABORI*, XVIII, and follows the same policy of clearing up those points where I differ from eminent writers like Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. R. S. Tripathi.

1. Dr D. C. Sircar advocates the date 606. Dr R. C. Majumdar would on the other hand put the beginning of Harṣa's era, if he started any, not before 612 A.D.

2. See *IHO*, XXXIV, pp. 148 ff.

3. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1379.

4. *IHQ*, XXXIV, pp. 148 ff.

5. The view has been advocated by Dr B. N. Puri in his *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 66.

Actually, Nāgabhaṭa might have been one of Bhoja's younger brothers,⁶ for the practice of having a younger brother as *yuvarāja* was not unknown to Rājput history. At Ābū, for instance, Dhārāvarṣa had his younger brother, Prahādāna, as *yuvarāja* in V. 1265.⁷ In V. 1287, the ruler of Ābū was Dhārāvarṣa's son, Somasiṃha who speaks in the highest terms of his uncle's valour and learning.

The inscriptions relating to Mahendrapāla I's reign give a good idea of the extent of his empire, political ambitions and achievements. Of these inscriptions, two come from Ūnā in Saurāṣṭra, one from Bengal, six from Bihar, one from Dighwā-Dubauli (Sāran district), recording the grant of a village in the Nepalese Tarāi, two from Siyadoṇī Long. 78°23 E., Lat. 24°50 N.) and Terahī (a village 27 miles NW. of Siyadoṇī) respectively, and one from Pehvā in S.E. Panjab. Obviously Bhoja's empire had passed into no weak hands.

The two records from Ūnā are important, because they show not only that Saurāṣṭra was within the Pratihāra empire during Mahendrapāla's reign but also indicate how it was subjugated and administered. His local feudatories, Balavarman Chaulukya, whose grandfather, Bāhukadhvala, also had put in good service for the empire^{8,9} and Balavarman's son, Avanivarman II, known also as Yoga, proved good henchmen. Balavarman is mentioned not only as having defeated powerful chieftains like Viśaḍha, about whose clan nothing is known, and Jajjapa, a Hūṇa,¹⁰ but also as having acquired by his own valour the Nakṣisapura 84,¹¹ i.e., the locality of this name with the 83 villages attached to it. Acting probably under imperial authority, Balavarman's son, Avani-varman II, carried the work of subjugating the province still further. He put to flight a chief named Yakṣadāsa and defeated Dha-raṇivarāha who saved himself from further harm by seeking re-

6. There is nothing to indicate that Bhoja I was old enough in 843 A.D. to have a son of 25 years or so.

7. *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 454.

8, 9. See the account of Bhoja I.

10. Avani-varman II's Ūnā inscription, lines 27-31, *EI*, IX, pp. 2 ff.

11. Balavarman's Ūnā inscription, line 10, *ibid*.

fuge with Avanivarman.¹² This Dharaṇivarāha is generally regarded as identical with Dharaṇivarāha of the Chāpa family of Waḍhwān.¹³

That there should be so much fighting against chiefs of minor or second-rate importance may appear a bit strange. But the situation would be easily understandable, if we compare it to that in the reigns of powerful Chaulukya rulers like Jayasimha Siddharāja and Kumārapāla who had off and on to send armies to chastise their refractory feudatories in Kāthiāwār. The general direction of these operations in Mahendrapāla's reign might have been under his *tantrapāla Dhūka*, whose signatures appear on the grants of Balavarman and Avanivarman, though actual fighting was probably left to these feudatories whose services to the empire were rewarded with a share in the conquered lands and award of high-sounding titles like *mahāsāmanta* and the privilege of using the five musical instruments, *śṛṅga*, *śaṅkha*, *bherī*, *jayaghaṇṭā* and *tammaṭa*.¹⁴ We hear no more of Jajjapa, Yakṣadāsa and Viśaḍha, after 899 A.D., the date of Avanivarman's grant. Perhaps their territories were passed on to some loyal feudatory. But that Dharaṇivarāha, who was wise enough to submit to royal authority, remained in enjoyment of his ancestral lands can be seen from his Haḍḍala grant issued from Waḍhwān in the reign of Mahendrapāla's son, Mahāpāla.¹⁵

Eastwards, the Pratihāra empire continued its natural expansion, for no imperial power would be satisfied with supremacy over only a part of the Gangā valley. In the reign of Bhoja I, Bihār had been for a number of years the scene of a protracted struggle between the Pratihāras and the Pālas. For nearly fifteen years of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign there are neither Pāla nor Pratihāra inscriptions in this province. But in the reign of Mahendrapāla we find the Pratihāras not only fully entrenched there but proceeding even further. As pointed out above, six of his inscriptions (with

12. Avanivarman's Ūnā inscription, lines 39-43.

13. See below, the account of Mahāpāla's reign.

14. Balavarman's Ūnā inscription, lines 3-4; Avanivarman II's Ūnā inscription, line 45. The names of the musical instruments are, as given by Revakopyachara and quoted by Dr. A. S. Altekar in his "*Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*", p. 263.

15. See below.

dates ranging from his second of the ninth year) come from this area; and the whole of it can be presumed to have been subjugated by or before the fifth year of his reign when we find an inscription referring to him even at Pahārpur in North Bengal. Partly the Pratihāra success might have been due to Nārāyaṇapāla's military incapacity, partly also on account of the fact that he found himself faced almost simultaneously by many enemies, the Pratihāras, the Utkalas, the Assamese and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

It was probably from Bihar that the Pratihāra empire expanded northwards. The Dighwā-Dubauli grant issued by Mahendrapāla from Mahodaya (Kanauj) records the grant of Piṇiyakagrāma in the Valayikā-viṣaya of the Śrāvasti-maṇḍala in the Nepalese Tarai.^{15a} His control over Mālwā is indicated by the Udaipur *Praśasti* which mentions the Paramāra chief, Vākpati I, not only as gladdening the eyes of the ladies of Avanti but also reaching with his armies the place where the Gangā meets the sea. This latter achievement could have been possible only by his being one of Mahendrapāla I's generals.^{15b} From Ahār (Bulandshahr) we have a number of records which can be assigned to Mahendrapāla's reign.

The Pehvā inscription¹⁶ is good evidence of his possession of S.E. Panjab. In Bhoja's reign, the Pratihāra dominions had probably reached as far as the confines of the kingdom of Kashmīr¹⁷ and encompassed within Bhoja's sphere of influence might have been the territories of some chiefs of the Panjāb like Alakhana. Mahendrapāla however, had to face the rivalry of Śaṅkaravarman (883-900 A.D.), the ambitious and energetic ruler of Kashmīr, who had subjugated Darvabhisāra, reduced the kingdom of Trigarta to the status of a dependency, and forced the Gurjara chief, Alakhana, to surrender Takka. By either force or diplomacy Śaṅkaravarman succeeded in having the government of

15a. *IA*, XV, pp. 105 ff.

15b. verse 10. His grandson, Siyaka, was ruling in Mālwā in 949 A.D. Vākpati I can therefore be easily assumed to have been Mahendrapāla I's contemporary. The fact was brought to my notice by Miss Pratipal Bhatia who is working on the history of the Paramāras, under the present writer's supervision.

16. *EI*, I, pp. 244 ff.

17. See *IHQ*, XXXIV, pp. 146-8.

some principality, which remains unspecified by Kalhaṇa probably on account of its insignificance, transferred to a member of the Thakkakīya family who had accepted the post of Śaṅkaravarman's chamberlain.¹⁸ In this direction, therefore, there was some contraction of the Pratihāra influence, though probably of only a temporary nature, because on the death of Śaṅkaravarman Kashmīr had enough of troubles to absorb her energies; and the Pratihāras, as we shall see, established once again their supremacy over the area that they had lost.¹⁹

On the southern side the retention of the territories in the Madhya Pradesh going up to 24°50' north is proved by the Siyaḍonī inscription. But on this frontier, as on the western, the Pratihāras created powerful feudatories. In 906 and 907 A.D. we find Siyaḍonī governed by Undabhāṭa who bore the titles of *mahāpratihāra* and *mahāsāmantādhipati* and enjoyed the privilege of having the five *mahaśabdas*.²⁰ *Mahārāja* Dhūrbhāṭa who governed the place in 912 A.D. was probably his son. Another great *jāgir*, as we might call these feudal charges, was that of Guṇarāja near Terahī. And how little these feudal lords could sometimes care for the bond of allegiance to a common over-lord, where

18. The only authority for presuming that Mahendrapāla had to give a part of his territory is the following verse of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*:

Hṛtaṁ Bhojādhirājena sa sāmṛājyamadāpayat

Pratihāratayā bhṛtyābhute Thakkiyakānvaye V. 151.

Sāmṛājya of this verse cannot have its usual sense of an empire. It can mean only rule over some small piece of territory which had passed into the hands of the Pratihāras and was now restored to the Thakkiyaka chief, probably without any fighting, for the Sanskrit root used here is *adāpayat* which, unless joined with some word like "baḷat" or "prasahya", does not indicate compulsion.

19. A minor named Gopālavarman succeeded Śaṅkaravarman and ruled for a very short period. He was assassinated by his mother's paramour, the minister Prabhākara. The next king died within ten days of his accession. Gopālavarman's mother, Sugandhā, assumed royalty but was forced by a military faction to leave the capital in 906 A.D. Eight years later when she tried to recover her lost power, she was defeated and killed. These chaotic conditions, deprived Kasmir of that share of political influence which it could have exercised. That Mahendrapāla's son, Mahipāla actually conquered some territories in the Punjab during the period of the political weakness that followed Śaṅkaravarman's death will be seen below.

20. *EI*, I, pp. 169, 173.

their own interests were at variance, can be seen from the fight on the Madhuveni (Mohwar) river, near Terahī, in which Guṇarāja's follower, the Koṭṭapāla Chaṇḍiyana lost his life.²¹

Another instance of the quarrels of feudatories came from Rajasthan-Delhi area where Chandanarāja of Śākambharī slew the Tomara chief, Rudra^{21a} who is regarded by some scholars as a petty ruler of the tract now known as *Taṇḍvarvaṭī*. But in view of the fact that he is called "*inabhūpa*", i.e., a mighty monarch, in the Harṣa inscription of Vighraharāja II and also the tradition ascribing the migration of the Tomaras to a period not earlier than V. 1200, it is better, as suggested elsewhere by us,^{21b} to regard him as a ruler of the Delhi area, the well-known seat of Tomara power in North India. Almost at the same time we find a Tomara principality at Pehoa, S.E. Panjab;^{21c} and earlier still, somewhere in the fourth or fifth century they were somewhere near the Himalayas which again suggests that the course of their migration was from the north towards the south.

The southernmost extension of the Pratihāra dominions went up to Bhṛgukachchha. It was in Nāgabhaṭa I's possession in 756 A.D.²² Bhoja I's victories once again put it under the Pratihāras towards the end of his reign. But by 910 A.D., it had, as already pointed out,²³ passed into the hands of a governor appointed by the Rāstrakūṭa ruler, Kṛṣṇa II whose greatest achievement, according to the Rāstrakūṭas themselves was the liberation of Khetakamaṇḍala from the Pratihāras.²⁴ There may have been some severe fighting before the Pratihāras surrendered this distant possession. But it was a vulnerable outpost which had to be given up at some time or other, even though its abandoning meant some loss of prestige.

21. IA, XVII, pp. 201-2.

21a. Harṣa inscription, verse 14. As Chandanarāja's father, Guvaka II, was a contemporary of Bhoja I, Chandanaraja is being regarded here as Mahendrapāla's contemporary.

21b. *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 26-7.

21c. See the Puranic Lists of Peoples, *IHQ*, 1945, p. 304 and also our paper, *New Light on the Tomaras of Delhi in PIHC*, 1956, p. 150ff.

22. *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 14-15.

23. *IHQ*, XXXIV, p. 150.

24. *Ibid.*

The cultural side of the reign is represented by Mahendrapāla's *guru*, Rājasekhara, whose Prakrit play *Karpūramañjarī* and the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, a Sanskrit drama in ten acts, rightly styled a *mahānāṭaka* by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, were first staged during Mahendrapāla's reign. Rājasekhara continued to reside at the Pratihāra court, after his pupil's death also and was patronised by his son and successor, Mahīpāla. We shall have more to say about Rājasekhara later on.

In spite of a few losses here and there, the Pratihāra empire may be presumed to have reached its zenith during Mahendrapāla's reign. It extended from Ūnā in Saurāṣṭra to Pahārpur in North Bengal and from the Valayika-*viṣaya* in the Nepalese Tarāi to Siyaḍonī and Terahī in the Madhya Bhārat. But its expansion had brought with itself problems which were not being tackled with necessary firmness and foresight. A large number of feudal nobles now controlled the territories on the frontiers' with powers extensive enough to threaten some day the stability of the empire in spite of some supervision by the *tantrapālas*, and with the bond of common allegiance so loose that any small matter could make them fight among themselves and perhaps also feel angry if the central government did not back their claims. This did not obviously presage any good to the empire and betokened one of the ways in which it broke up ultimately.

Mahīpāla

Mahendrapāla's two queens, Dehanāgādevī and Mahīdevī, were respectively the mothers of his sons, Vināyakapāla and Bhoja.²⁵ The name of Mahīpāla's mother remains unknown. As Mahendrapāla's last inscription is of 908 A.D. and the first inscription of Mahīpāla, so far known, is of the year 914 A.D., Mahīpāla must have come to the throne somewhere between 908 and 914 A.D. Whether during this interval some other ruler occupied the throne of Kanauj remains a matter of speculation, and will be continued to be so, unless we have some new evidence.

According to Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Mahīpāla was preceded on the throne by his step-brother Bhoja II, who succeeded in keeping Mahīpāla away from the throne with the help of the Chedi ruler,

²⁵ Bengal Asiatic Society Plate of Vināyakapāla, IA, XV, p. 140.

Kokkalla I. But Mahipala's cause was taken up by the Chandella ruler, Harṣa. Bhoja II was defeated and Mahipāla became the ruler of Kanauj.²⁶ On the basis of the same evidence which enabled Dr. Tripathi to reach the foregoing conclusions, Dr. B. N. Puri carries the speculation further by writing, "We propose the following suggestions: Mahendrapāla died about 910 A.D., and Mahipāla ascended the throne as his heir apparent, but Kokkalladeva, joined by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, Kṛṣṇa II—represented by his grandson Indra III—marched against Kanauj, and after defeating Mahipāla placed Bhoja II on the throne. Mahipāla left Kanauj and probably sought shelter with the Chandellas. Bhoja II ruled for a short time and, with the withdrawal of his allies, Mahipāla made a bid for capturing once again, the throne of Kanauj. At this time Kokkalladeva was probably no more, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas could not help. Mahipāla *alias* Kṣitipāla was backed by the Chandella king Harṣadeva who was against the king of Kanauj, as mentioned in the Khajurāho inscription No. 1."²⁷ These assumptions make interesting reading. But is the evidence on which these conclusions are founded strong enough to stand their weight?

The chief facts on which these theories rest are as follows:—

- (1) The absence of Bhoja II's name in the Asnī Plate of Mahipāla. (This could, according to these writers, be explained only by assuming enmity between the two brothers and a war of succession.)
- (2) The statement of the Bilharī inscription that Kokalladeva Chedi set up two unprecedented columns, Kṛṣṇarāja in the south and Bhojadeva in the north. (The statement is believed to support the hypothesis given in 1.)
- (3) The statement in the Banāras grant of Karṇa to the effect that Kokkalladeva had his protecting hand on Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Śrī-Harṣa, the ruler of Chitrakūṭa and the *rājan* Śaṅkarakaṇa. (This is believed to corroborate the statement in No. 2 and strengthen the hypothesis reached in No. 1.)

26. *History of Kanauj*, pp. 256-7.

27. *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 81.

- (4) A fragment of line 10 of the Khajurāho inscription, No. 1 which reads:—

— — — —punar-²⁸

yena Śrī-Kṣitipāla-deva-nṛpatiḥ śimhāsane sthāpitaḥ ||

(According to Dr Tripathi the lines proves that Harṣa Chandella intervened in the war of succession on behalf of Mahīpāla and put him on the throne of Kanauj. Dr Puri interprets it a bit differently but he also sees in it intervention by Harṣa in favour of Mahīpāla as against Bhoja II.)

As regards the first of these facts, a better explanation can be provided by regarding Bhoja II as Mahīpāla's successor, in which case there would be no question of the occurrence of his name in Mahīpāla's inscriptions. In fact, there is nothing to suggest that Bhoja II was the earlier of the two rulers, unless we assume the identity of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla. And for this we find no compelling reason. The names are different. The dates do not overlap; and the arguments advanced by Kielhorn, in the first instance in favour of the identification and thereafter by many others are far from convincing.^{28a}

Similarly the statement of the Bilharī inscription is irrelevant to the issue. It does not state that Kokalladeva I helped Bhoja against a rival claimant to the throne. Actually its significance has to be understood differently. Kokalladeva had 18 sons. Probably he had some daughters also. If he gave them in marriage to Bhoja Pratihāra, Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, Harṣa Chandella and Śaṅkaragaṇa Guhila, he could easily claim having extended to them his *āśīrvādātmake* hasta or *abhayada pāṇi*, if he chose to call it so in a mood of self-glorification. Or it may be that the Chedi princesses married to these rulers were his grand-daughters, in which case also he could have the privilege of extending his blessings and *kṛpa* to them and their spouses. In no other manner can the statements of the Bilharī and Banāras inscriptions be interpreted satisfactorily, for Kokkalla I was at no time in his career

28. Dots represent short *mātrās* and dashes the long ones. The metre used is *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

28a. For refutation of Kielhorn's arguments see below the account of Vināyakapāla.

stronger than the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pratihāra rulers. Later on his descendants exaggerated even more unabashedly. We are told, for instance, in the Āmoda plates of the Haihaya ruler, Prthivīdeva, dated Chedi Samvat 831 = A.D. 1080, that Kokkalla "erected a pillar of victory on this earth by seizing forcibly the treasure, horses, and elephants of the rulers of Karnaṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, and Śākambharī and also of those born in the Turuṣka and Raghu families."²⁹ In other words the *praśastikāra* makes him almost a *digvijayi*. The Bilharī inscription put the names of two rulers only. The Banaras Plate increased the number to four. The Āmoda plates roped in also Vaṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Śākambharī and Gurjara, meaning in this case probably the Chaulukya kingdom of Gujarāt as it is differentiated from the Rāghūdbhava state of the Pratihāras, and the distant Turuṣkas who happened to be in occupation of a part of the Panjāb in 1080 A.D. when this inscription was incised. The historical value of these plates obviously is insignificant as far as Kokkalla's conquests are concerned.

Further, even if it be assumed somehow on the basis of the verse from the Bilharī inscription referred to above that Kokkalla I helped Bhoja against some rival claimant to the throne—though to be a little consistent we should look out also for a rival of Kṛṣṇa II and none seems to have done so—where is the proof that this Bhoja is identical with Mahīpāla's brother, Bhoja II? In this connection the following facts should be borne in mind:—

(a) Rājaśekhara was a contemporary of Bhoja II's brother, Mahīpāla, as well as Kokalladeva's grandson, Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī.³⁰ Therefore, it is better to regard Bhoja II's grandfather, Bhoja I, as a contemporary of Kokkalla I.

(b) Indra III, a great-grandson of Kokkalla from his daughter's side was married to Kokkalla's great grand-daughter, Vijāmbā in c. 915. It is highly improbable that Kokkalla should not have been only living but also intervening in the affairs of northern as well as Southern India about that time.

29. *El*, XIX, p. 78, verse 5.

30. See the writer's paper on the staging of the *Viddhaśālabhāṣṇikā* in *IA*, LX., pp. 61 ff.

(c) Indra was a son of Lakṣmī who is mentioned as a daughter of Chediśvara Saṅkaragaṇa.³¹ If Saṅkaragaṇa had come to the throne, as indicated by the term Chediśvara at the time of giving his daughter in marriage to Indra's father, Jagattuṅga, Kokkalla must have died before even the birth of Indra and probably also before the birth of Mahīpāla and Bhoja II.

(d) The eastern Chālukya ruler Guṇaga Vijayāditya (844-888 A.D.) is stated to have defeated Saṅkila, the ruler of Dāhala. As Saṅkaragaṇa succeeded Kokkalla, the latter must be presumed to have died before 888 A.D.³²

(e) Kokkalla I was the father-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II who died an old man towards the end of 914-5 A.D., leaving as his successor a grandson who was old and capable enough to defeat rulers like Upendra and Meru before his accession to the throne.³³

In the face of this evidence, it is idle to maintain that it is Bhoja II who is referred to in Chedi records as Kokkalladeva's contemporary. Nor is it possible to find a way out of self-created difficulties by supposing, as Dr Puri has done, that Kokkalla I, though a contemporary of Bhoja I, lived long enough not only to be on bad terms with Mahendrapāla but also to interfere in the affairs of Kanauj on Mahīpāla's accession and to throw his weight on the side of Mahīpāla's rival, Bhoja II.³⁴ The facts listed in the last paragraph leave no room for such a supposition. Nor can self-created difficulties be made to disappear by putting Indra's invasion in the reign of his grand-father, Kṛṣṇa II, for Indra's achievements as a *yuvarāja* have not been left to the imagination of a historian. They are duly listed in the Bagumrā Plates and do not include any invasion of North India. Indra invaded the Pratiṅhāra dominions only after he had ascended the throne in 915 A.D.

31. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 104, footnote 50.

32. For this argument in particular and some others too with reference to the contemporaneity of Bhoja I and Kokkalla I, I am indebted to Dr D. C. Ganguly's paper on Mahīpāla Pratiṅhāra in the *Bhāratiyā Vidyā*, IX,

33. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 100. See also *Sarūp-Bhārati*, pp. 293 ff. for Nilakanta Sastri's paper, "The achievements of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III as Yuvaraja".

34. *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp. 80, 81.

As to the line from the Khajurāho inscription, it may refer not to a war of succession at all but to Mahīpāla's restoration to the throne, after Indra Rāṣṭrakūṭa's invasion, to which we shall refer presently. But in either case we have to be sure that the word Kṣitipāla stands for Mahīpāla. Of this equation even, however, one cannot be sure. The Siyaḍonī inscription reveals to us the existence of a Pratihāra *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Kṣitipāla who was the father of PMP Devapaladeva (948 A.D.).³⁵ We find this very ruler probably mentioned again as PMP Kṣitipāla, the father of PMP Vijayapāladeva, in the Rājor inscription (959 A.D.) of the latter's reign.³⁶ If the name Kṣitipāla had occurred in some versified portion of a record, the change from Mahīpāla to Kṣitipāla could be attributed to exigencies of metre. But as the name Mahīpāla occurs in the prose portions of two inscriptions, separated from each other by three years only,^{36a} though a good deal by distance, and the name Kṣitipāla also occurs in two important prose records,^{36b} later than Mahīpāla's inscriptions by more than thirty years and separated from each other by eleven years, one has to look askance at the generally accepted identity of these two rulers. If mere synonymity and proximity of time were proof enough to identity (and in the case of Mahīpāla and Kṣitipāla proximity even is not very great) one would be equating Skandagupta with Kumāragupta, Purandrapāla of the Durjayanagarī with his son Indrapāla and Vairisimha with Arisimha Guhila, though no doubt wrongly.

On leaving behind this welter of speculative theories we find that the first fact of which we are sure in Mahīpāla's history is the invasion of his dominions by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, Indra III. Bhoja I had carried his arms as far as Broach,³⁷ and though Kṛṣṇa II had succeeded in recovering Khetaka-maṇḍala by 910 A.D., the insult to their arms must have rankled in the hearts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Therefore when Indra III decided to raid North India, he was probably not only repeating old history but

35. *EI*, I, p. 170 f.

36. *EI*, III, pp. 263-7.

36a. Haḍḍalā and Asnī inscriptions of 917 A.D., respectively.

36b. Siyaḍonī and Rājor inscriptions referred to in this paragraph.

37. "Rāmabhadra and Bhoja: the Imperial Pratihāras", *IHQ*, XXXIV, p. 149.

also avenging an injury to family prestige. According to Dr. A. S. Altekar, Indra III prepared the ground for the invasion by defeating the Paramāra chief, Upendra of Mālwa.³⁸ But as shown by Miss Pratipal Bhatia, Upendra lived nearly a hundred years before Indra's accession to the throne.³⁹ Nor need it be believed that Indra passed through Mālwa to reach Kanauj. It was neither the direct route from Mānyakheṭa to Kanauj nor one easier to follow than the other routes which an invader could follow.

The only indication that we have of the route followed by the invader through the PratiĪhāra dominions comes from the following verse of the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV:⁴⁰

*Yan-mādyad-dvipa-danta-ghāta-viṣamaṁ Kālapriya-prāṅgaṇaṁ
tīrṇā yat-turaagair=agādha-Yamunā sindu-pratisparadhini/
yenedam hi Mahoday=āri-nagaraṁ nirmulam=unmūlitaṁ
nāmnādyāpi janaiḥ Kuśasthalam = iti khyātim parāṁ
niyate//*

"The court-yard (of the temple of the god) Kālapriya became uneven by the strokes of the tusks of his rutting elephants. The unfathomable Yamunā which rivals the sea was crossed by his horses. He completely devastated this Mahodaya, the city of the enemy, which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of Kuśasthala."

Dr. Altekar and Dr. Tripathi regarded Kālapriya probably as Mahākāla of Ujjain. But it is much better, as pointed out by Mm. V. V. Mirashi, to identify it with the Sun-god Kālapriya whose temple at Kālapriya or Kālpī on the Yamunā was one of the holiest sites of Sun-worship in India.⁴¹ From this place which is only 75 miles to the south of Kanauj, Indra III must have pushed forward with some speed. There was no difficult physical barrier on the way, and the resistance put up by Mahīpāla, who was perhaps caught unprepared, did not for some time prove very effective. Kanauj was captured and sacked; the raiders for a while had every thing their own way. Indra's commanders, Nara-

38. *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 101.

39. *IHQ*, XXXIV, pp. 172-4.

40. *EI*, VII, pp. 38, 43, verse 19.

41. *Bhāratī*, March, 1951, pp. 34-6.

siṃha Chālukya "plucked from the Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory, whom though desirous of keeping he had held too loosely."⁴² "He captured the champion elephants which marched in front and putting to flight the army of the Ghurjararāja secured the victory....Terrified at the army of this Naraga, which fell like a thunderbolt, Mahīpāla fled in consternation, not stopping to eat or sleep or rest. His own horse he bathed at the junction of the Ganges and the sea."⁴³

We have no definite information about the way in which Mahīpāla freed himself from these raiders in South India. Did they retire on account of political trouble in the South, while Indra III was busy fighting with the Pratihāras in the North? His general, Śrī-Vijaya, defeated some of his enemies.⁴⁴ But many others, perhaps a little stronger, needed Indra's own attention. Mahīpāla's feudatories, too, might have rallied to their overlord's support, for the Rāṣtrakūṭa advance threatened not only the political existence of the Pratihāra empire but in some cases their own also, specially of the *mahāsāmantādhipatis* like Dhruvhaṭa and Guṇarāja whose territories lay at the southern end of the empire. Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. Altekar have fairly plausible grounds to think that Harṣa Chandella "assisted Mahīpāla to re-establish his authority over his shattered kingdom". But we cannot, as already pointed out, be absolutely sure of this on account of the restoration referred to there being not of Mahīpāla himself but of a ruler named Kṣitipāla who may or may not be identical with Indra's Pratihāra adversary.⁴⁵

42. As quoted by Dr Tripathi from *Vikramārjunaviṇaya*, ed. Lewis Rice, pp. 3-4.

43. *Ibid.*, as quoted by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, *IHQ*, X, p. 619. The junction referred to here is generally equated with the *saṅgama* at Allahabad.

44. Altekar—*Rāṣtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 103.

45. See above the discussion on line 10 of the Khajūrāho inscription. But in all fairness to the position taken by Dr R. C. Majumdar and Dr A. S. Altekar it should be noted that Kṣitipāla of the Khajūrāho inscription No. 1 has greater claim to be identified with Mahīpāla Pratihāra than the Kṣitipālas of the Siyadonī and Rājor inscriptions. Here exigencies of metre can change Mahīpāla into Kṣitipāla. From its line 9 also it appears that "afraid of being churned, i.e., afflicted, again" some ruler, probably Kṣitipāla of line 10 had left his own place and sought refuge with Harṣa (*tyaktvā sthānamivāyātaḥ punarmathanasāṅkitaḥ*). In Khajūrāho inscription No. 4 Harṣa is called *apakṣa-dhātṛi-dharaṇa-kṣamāh*, i.e., one capable of

Equally vague is the information that we have from the following *gāthā* of the *Chāṇḍakauśika* of Kṣemīśvara:

Yah saṁsṛtya prakṛti-gahanām=ārya-Chāṇakya-nītiṁ
 jivā Nandān Kusumanagaram Chandragupto jigāya/
 Kārṇāṭatvam dhruvam=upagatān=adya tān=evahantum
 dor-darpādhyah sa punar=abhavach=chhṛī-Mahīpāla-
 devah//

"He, who, by resorting to the naturally astute policy of the noble Chāṇakya, defeated the Nandas and conquered Kusumapura, has now once again become the mighty-armed illustrious Mahīpāla-deva, with a view to destroying them (the Nandas) who have surely now been born as Kārṇāṭas".

Most scholars see in this verse a reference to Mahīpāla Pratihāra of Kanauj who fought against the Kārṇāṭa (Rāṣṭakūṭa) invader, Indra III, and succeeded ultimately not only in recovering his capital but also his supremacy over Āryāvarta.⁴⁶ Like Chandragupta Maurya, Mahīpāla also had to remain in exile from his kingdom for some time and ultimately recovered it not only by the force of one's own arms but also foreign aid and diplomacy. If Chandragupta Maurya recovered Kusumanagara or Pāṭaliputra, Mahīpāla also recovered Kusumanagara, i.e., his own capital, Kānyakubja, which too was known by this name in ancient times.⁴⁷ But regarding the people who actually assisted him in freeing his kingdom, this verse is even less helpful than the line from a fragmentary verse of the Khajurāho inscription discussed above.

But that Mahīpāla did succeed in expelling the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from his dominions can be inferred from sources, epigraphic as

protecting the *mahīdharas* without any *pakṣas*. We have a *double entendre* here, with probably a comparison between *samudra* which protected the *mahīdharas* (mountains) whose *pakṣas* (wings) had been cut off by Indra and Harṣa who assisted Mahīdhara (Mahīpāla) whose *pakṣas* (allies) had been destroyed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, Indra III. A combination of all these references supports the view advanced some years ago by Dr Majumdar on the basis of the Khajurāho inscription.

46. Among the most prominent supporters of this view are A. B. Keith, Pischel, Sten Konow, Hoernle, R. C. Majumdar and S. K. De.

47. See my paper, *Kusumanagara of the historical Gāthā of Chāṇḍakauśika*.

well as literary. An inscription from Asnī, a village about 10 miles north of Fatehpur-Haswā, the chief town of the Fatehpur-Haswā district, U.P., dated in V. 974 (917 A.D.),⁴⁸ speaks of the victorious, auspicious and increasing rule of PMP Mahīpāladeva on this earth. Of Mahīpāla's success elsewhere we have evidence in Rājasekhara's *Bālabhārata* which wishes success to the Raghu family, the abode of renown in which was born Mahīpāla who had made the Muralas bow down their heads (in salutation), who was like fever⁴⁹ to Mekalas, who had driven the Kalingas before him in battle, who had spoilt the pastime of Kerala ruler, who had conquered the Kulūtas, who was like a battle-axe to the Kuntalas, and who had taken away by force the fortunes of the Ramathas.⁵⁰ As in the same context, Rājasekhara speaks of Mahīpāla as a pearl-jewel of the Raghu family and the *Mahārājādhirāja* of Āryāvarta,⁵¹ he probably wrote his play when Mahīpāla was at the zenith of his political career, and his enemies had been repulsed, defeated and crushed.

According to Rājasekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, the Muralas are a people of South India.⁵² As they were obviously connected with the river Muralā which the *Raghuvamśa* puts near the Sahya range, to the north of Kerala but to the south of Trikūṭa, it would perhaps be best to identify them with the Śilāhāras who like the Muralas of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* were neighbours of the Vanavā-

48. IA, XVI, pp. 173-5.

49. *pākalah*. The word occurs also in the *Harṣacharita* in the description of Prabhākaravardhana's achievements.

50. *Namita-Murala-mauliḥ pākalao Mekalānām
raṇa-kalita-Kalingaḥ keli-tat Keralendoḥ /
ajani jita-Kulūtaḥ Kuntalānām kuṭhāraḥ
haṭha-hṛta-Ramaṭha-śrīḥ Śrī-Mahīpāla-devaḥ // I.7.*

The verse is preceded by the words, "Yaśo-nidhir=vijayatām soyaṁ Raghoraṇvayaḥ. Tatra cha—".

51. *Raghuvamśa-muktā-maninā Āryāvarta-mahārājādhirājena Śrī-Nirbhaya-narendra-nandanena.*

52. Muralas are put in between the Kāveras and Vanavāsakar (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, G.O.S. third edition, p. 93). This goes against the identification, with the Keralas accepted by B. C. Law. The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* has Murala as a synonym of the Narmadā. But as Rājasekhara may be expected to have given it the location which he himself has assigned to it in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, we need not think of identifying it with the Narmadā.

sakas.^{53, 54} And of the Śilāhāras, Dr. A. S. Altekar mentions three houses, ruling respectively in South Konkan, Northern Konkan and Kolhapur. Avasara II and his son, Indrarāja, ruled in South Konkan, Jhanjha at Sāmūr or Chaul, and Jaṭiga in Kolhāpur as Mahipāla's contemporaries. All the three, being the feudatories of the Rāṣtrakūṭas could have directly or indirectly come into conflict with the Pratihāras.

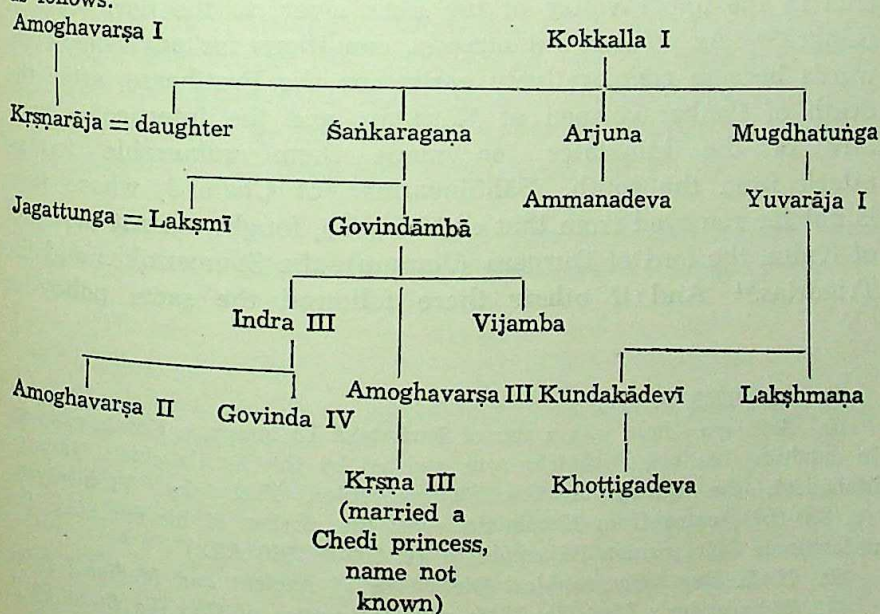
The Mekalas should be identified with the Chedis. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* of Rājasekhara, the Chedi ruler is called *Ḍāhaleśvara*, i.e., lord of the *Ḍāhala* territory, *Narmadālanikṛta-maṇḍal* = *ādhipati*, overlord of the *maṇḍala* of which the Narmadā is the ornament, and *Mekalapati*, the lord of the Mekalas.⁵⁵ Similarly in the poet's *Bālabhārata*, Śiśupāla, who is known to us all as a Chedi, is termed as *Mekalānām kulodbhavaḥ*, i.e., as one born in the family of the Mekalas.⁵⁶ As people who had matrimonial relations for generations with the Rāṣtrakūṭas⁵⁷ and co-operated pro-

53, 54. See the last footnote.

55. *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Jivananda Vidyasagara's edition, pp. 138-9.

56. *Nirṇayasāgar* edition, p. 16.

57. These relations have been put in tabular form by Dr. A. S. Altekar as follows:



(*Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 104)

bably with them in their ventures, they deserved being troubled by Mahīpāla. Their ruler at the time might have been Bāla-Harṣa.

Mahīpāla's expedition against the Kālīngas sounds like an exaggeration. But if Nāgabhaṭa II could, at the outset of his political career, come into conflict with the Āndhras, the Saindhavas, Vaidarbhas and Kālīngas,⁵⁸ where the improbability in the claim for Mahīpāla put forward by Rājasekhara? He does not claim that Kālīnga was conquered by the Pratihāras. He merely speaks of the Kālīnga ruler being repulsed in battle. This could happen any day, with the boundaries of Kālīnga not very far removed from those of the Pratihāra empire. The ruler defeated or repulsed by Mahīpāla might have belonged to the Kara dynasty.

The position of the Keralas in the South was in some ways similar to that of the Chedis. Many Kerala princesses were married to Chola and Pāṇḍya rulers.⁵⁹ But they were so far to the south that it is difficult to see how they could have come into conflict with Mahīpāla. Probably the expression that he "spoilt the pastime of the Kerala ruler" means nothing more than that Mahīpāla's victories made even the Kerala ruler entertain fears about his own safety.

Kulūta can be easily recognised as Kulū in the Kāngrā district in the upper valley of the Beās river, to the north-east of Kāngrā.⁶⁰ As pointed out already, conditions for advance northwards became comparatively easier for the Pratihāras, after the death of Śaṅkaravarman of Kāshmir; and the internecine warfare of the hill-states too made them vulnerable to an attack from the south. Sāhillavarman of Chambā, whose time is not far removed from that of Mahīpāla, fought against the chief of Kullu, the lord of Durgara (Jammu), the Saumantikas and the Trigartas.⁶¹ And if others there followed the same policy of

58. *JIH*, 1943, p. 102.

59. Ariṅjaya Chola was a son of Parāntaka I's queen, a Kerala princess. In subduing Madurā Parāntaka was assisted by the Kerala chief. Vānavan Mahādevī, the queen of the Pāṇḍya ruler, Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa (c. 880-900), came from Kerala and was the mother of his successor, the unfortunate Māravarman Rājasimha II (c. 900—c. 920 A.D.)

60. N. L. Dey—*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*.

61. *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1826; and *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I, pp. 184 f.

aggrandising themselves at the cost of their neighbours, the Prati-hāras obviously had a good chance not only to recover but even to extend their influence in these northern areas.

In this connection Mahāmahopādhyāya V. V. Mirashi has rightly drawn the attention of historians to the following example of a *kathottha muktaka* in the *Kāvyaṁmāṁsā*:⁶²

*Dattava ruddha-gatiḥ Khas-ādhipataye devīm Dhruvasvāminīm
yasmāt=khaṇḍita-sāhaso nivavṛte Śrī-Śarma-gupto nṛpaḥ/
tasminn=eva Himālaye guru-guhā-koṇa-kvaṇat-kinnare
gīyante tava Kārttikeya nagara-strīṇāṁ gaṇaiḥ kīrtayati//*

The verse, as he points out, is addressed to Mahīpāla, who was known also as Kārttikeya,^{62a} and speaks of his glory being sung by the women of Nagara, the capital of Kulūta, in that very Himalayan area where the king Śarma-gupta (Rāmagupta), with his movements blocked (by the enemy), had surrendered the queen Dhruvasvāminī to the Khasa ruler. Mahīpāla's achievement did not, no doubt, result in any permanent conquest, for Kulūta had not long after to recognise the sovereignty of Chambā, but it was impressive enough to be sung and eulogised.

The location of the Ramaṭhas is uncertain. The *Kāvyaṁmāṁsā* puts them in the Uttarāpatha. The *Brhatsaṁhitā* mentions them along with the Pāñchanadas and the Pāradas. The editor of *Kāvyaṁmāṁsā* suggests their identification with the Rāmas, a tribe put by him near Aornos.⁶³ With their defeat probably ended the north-western conquests of Mahīpāla.

The Kārnātas of the verse have generally and rightly been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta. Though Indra III

62. IA, 1933, pp. 201 ff.

62a. That he was known as Kārttikeya can be seen from the following verse of the *Chandaḥkauśika*—

*yenādiśya prayogaṁ ghanapulakabhṛtā nātakasuāsya harsāt
vasatralaṅkārahemnām pratidinamakṛśā rāśayāḥ sampradattāḥ /
tasya kṣatraprasūter = bhramatu jagadidaṁ Kārttikeyasya kīrtiḥ
pāre kṣīrābdhasindhorapi kaviyāsaḥ sārddhamagresareṇa //*

63. p. 304, G.O.S., 3rd edition.

lived up to c. 929 A.D.,⁶⁴ he confined himself to southern India. In fact, he seems to have been so much pre-occupied with something or other, probably the defence of his empire against Pratihāra counter-attacks, that his political activity practically came to a dead-stop with his retirement to the Deccan after his northern raid. Of the Pratihāra anti-Rāṣtrakūṭa activity on the other hand we have evidence not only from the *Bālabhārata* and the *Chanda-kauśika* but also the Chāṭsū inscription of Bālāditya which speaks of the southern sea presenting jewels to Bhaṭṭa who defeated the southern rulers in battle at the behest of his master.⁶⁵ As Bhaṭṭa's grandfather, Harṣa, was a feudatory of Bhoja I, one can easily assume that Bhaṭṭa's "master" was Mahīpāla. The drift of the verse, of which unfortunately four letters are gone, is clear enough. It shows that Bhaṭṭa won his victories somewhere in South India;⁶⁶ and if this be a fact, it explains also the references to the Muralas and the Keralas in the verse from the *Bālabharata* which we have been discussing. They may have been allies of the Rāṣtrakūṭas.

64. In his recently published work, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras* Dr. B. N. Puri gives 915-918 as the reign-period of Indra III (p. 81). Dr. Altekar had suggested these dates in his monograph on the Rāṣtrakūṭas but later suggested 922 as the year of Indra's death. We have now a copper-plate grant issued by one of his viceroys, with the genealogy of the Rāṣtrakūṭa family from Govinda I to Indra III. As this was issued on 17th April, 926 A.D. and his successor, Amoghavarṣa II, who ruled for one year only, did not come to the throne earlier than 929 A.D., Dr D. C. Sircar does not put Indra III's death much earlier than the end of 928 A.D. (AIOC, Part I, 1959, pp. 176-7).

65. *Ākrāntā vīkṣya ś(s)ainyair = vvi*
bhīto bandhād = iv = ālam punaramṛdu-marud-vepamān = orvī-bāhuḥ
yasy = ādad = dakṣiṇābdiḥ samiti jītavato dakṣiṇātyān kṣitīśān
iśadeśād = aśeṣān lasad-asama-rucho velayā ratna-rājīḥ // 26 //
 (EI, X, pp. 10 ff).

66. Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the verse points to "a time of great danger, when the kingdom was invaded by foreign soldiers" (*Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 36). Actually, however, the reference is to operations in the south. The ranges of hills all around got broken by the relentless march of Bhaṭṭa's army. Seeing this the sea was afraid that it would be bound again (as it was with blocks of hills in Rama's time) and tremblingly offered jewels to Bhaṭṭa who at the orders of his master had defeated the southern rulers. For the text of the verse see the last footnote.

In one direction, however, Mahīpāla does not seem to have regained lost ground. In the 54th year of his reign, Nārāyaṇapāla probably conquered a part of Bihār and this remained in the hands of his successors.⁶⁷ Mahīpāla's hands might have been too full in other directions to let him think of fighting against the Pālas also.^{67a}

Mahīpāla inherited his father's literary taste. The poet Rājasekhara had his *Bālabharata* staged at his court. The *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā*, the maturest of his works, was also in all probability composed at his court.⁶⁸ He patronised Kṣemīvara, the author of the *Chāṇḍakaśūka* and *Naiṣadhānanda*.⁶⁹ Another writer of his court was perhaps the poet whose highly eulogistic *kathottha muk-taka* has been illustrated in the *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā* and has been quoted by us above as evidence of Mahīpāla's conquest of Kulūta.

On the whole Mahīpāla had a successful career. Not only did he repulse Indra's army with the help of his feudatories, but he also avenged his own defeat in a large measure by his counter-attacks, during the course of which his armies probably marched by a westerly route and penetrated deep into the territories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their feudatories and allies. Mahīpāla lost some territory in the eastern direction; but probably he more than made up for it by his northern and north-western conquests. Though internally the empire might have weakened during his reign on

67. The Uddanapur (Bihār) inscription (IA., XLVII, p. 110) is indicative of the recovery of power by Nārāyaṇapāla. That his successors, Rājapāla and Gopala II, continued to hold it is proved by the Nālanda inscriptions of these rulers.

67a. In the Sādaḍi inscription of v. 1439 Khommāṇa Guhila of Mewār is described as having defeated the Aṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Triliṅgas, Surāṣṭras, Choḍas, Draviḍas, and Gauḍas. Khommāṇa could be supposed to have, as suggested by Dr. G. C. Raychaudhari, fought against these powers in the company of Mahīpāla, if the description were not only conventional but also unsupported by any other evidence.

68. See the present writer's paper, *Rājasekhariya-Kāvyaṁīmāṁsāyā rāchanāsthānam* (*Sārasvatī-suśamā*, VIII, 301 ff).

69. See A. B. Keith's Sanskrit Drama, pp. 239-241. The reference to *Śvapnadaśānana* of Kālīñjarapati Bhīmaṭa in one of Rājasekhara's verses needs investigation. I feel like regarding him as a relative of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Undabhata (907, 908) and Dhūrbhata (913). He may have been the latter's successor even.

account of the increased power of its feudatories, the exterior remained as imposing as before, and Kanauj continued to be the centre of Indian culture and set as it were a standard for the rest of India.⁷⁰

70. See Rājyaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* in this connection and also his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, X, 98.

For the conditions in the earlier part of the reign, one may usefully refer to the account of Al Masūdī who was in Sindh in 915-6 A.D. He speaks of Bāhurā, the king of Kanauj, who was an enemy of the Balharā (the Rāṣtrakūṭa Vallabharājas of Mānyakheṭa) and maintained four large armies, each one of them numbering 700,000 or 90,000 men. The northern army was maintained to fight against the Arabs of Multān and with the Moslems, his subjects, on the frontier. Obviously at that time the Pratihāra empire went up to Sindh. As the account of Masūdī was written in 943-4 A.D. and till then he saw no reason to make any change in his observations, there might not have been any major changes in the political condition of North India up to 940 A.D. (For Masūdī's account, see Elliot's *History of India*, I, pp. 21-23).

System of Espionage in the Nitisara of Kamandaka

BY

DR. R. K. DIKSHIT

Modern governments employ spies, informers and secret agents to keep themselves informed of the activities and affiliations of the disloyal and disgruntled elements within their states, as well as of the strength and attitude of contemporary powers. This practice, however, is not of recent origin; its history goes back to a remote antiquity. In ancient India, too, considerable importance was attached to the system of espionage, and it was regarded as a very important branch of administration. We have the earliest references to it in the hymns of the *Rigveda*, which often allude to the *spāśaḥ* of Varuṇa and other gods, noted for their untiring vigil and devotion to duty.¹ In subsequent ages, it attracted the notice of Kauṭilya, and other political philosophers, who have devoted considerable space, in their works, to a discussion and description of the work of *charas* and *gūḍha-puruṣas*.² There are also certain historical or semi-historical works, like *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and *Mudrārākṣhaśa*,³ and a few epigraphic records⁴ which show how the system worked in actual practice.

Kāmandaka, who has devoted an entire *prakaraṇa*⁵ to the topic, describes the spies as the 'eyes of the king'⁶—a phrase sug-

1. Cf. *Rig.*, I. 24. 13; VI. 4.3; 67.5; VIII. 61.3; 87.3; IX. 73.4;7; X. 10.8; *Atharva.*, VI. 16.4, etc. *Rig.*, I.33.8, refers to the spies of the enemies of the gods.

2. *A.S.*, I. 11-14; *N.V.*, XIV *Yuktikalpataru*, pp. 9-10; *Agni.*, CCXX. 20-22; CCXLI. 11-15, etc.

3. Cf. *R.T.*, IV. 323; VI. 171; VII. 627, 629, 1016, 1045; VIII. 1326, 2085, 2200, 3311, etc. Besides *Mudrārākṣhaśa*, spies figure in other Sanskrit dramas also, e.g., in, *Kirātārjunīya*, *Śiṣupālavadha*, *Uttararāmcharita*, *Mṛichchhakatika* *Lalitavigrahanātaka*.

4. Cf. *I.A.*, XI. pp. 18; 162.

5. *N.S.*, *Prakarana* 19, in *Sarga XIII*.

6. *N.S.*, XIII. 29: *chārachakshu-r-mahāpatih*; also *Ib*; XIII. 28, 31.

We come across the same idea in other texts as well, viz, *M.Bh.*, I. 142,

gestive of the importance that he attached to them. By way of elucidation, he adds that the spies "are the eyes . . . that enable the king to look at distant things . . . A ruler-having the spies for his eyes is awake even when he is asleep . . . ; he, who does not look through their medium, stumbles down, out of ignorance, even on level ground, like the blind".⁷ There is no exaggeration in this statement. The rulers have always depended on their confidential agents for a knowledge of the things that lay beyond their direct perception.

Persons possessed of requisite qualifications alone could be appointed to the Intelligence Service. They should be polite and soft-spoken, agile and swift in action, gifted with the presence of mind and a strong memory, and capable of enduring privations and all sorts of difficulties and discomforts. They should also be well-informed (*sarvavārtā-vid*) expert in different arts and sciences (*aneka-śilpa*), and good psychologists, able to gauge the thoughts and sentiments of others (*chittavedināḥ*). Above all, they should be thoroughly loyal and of unblemished character. Spies were trained in the technique of adopting disguises, in the science of nods and signs, cipher-writing, as well as in the art of detecting criminals, swaying public opinion, and sowing dissensions in the ranks of the enemy.⁸

Kāmandaka, like Kauṭilya, classifies the spies as Stationary (*Sansthānavatyāḥ*) and Wandering (*sañchārāḥ*). However, he differs from the latter in respect of their nomenclature. To the former category belong the Vanik, Kṛishibala, Liṅgī, Bhikshuka and Adhyāpaka varieties of spies, and to the latter the Tikshṇa, Pravrajitā, Sattrī and Rasada. Of these, we have no difficulty in recognising the Vaniks as Vaidehakas (merchants), Kṛishibalas as Gṛihapatikas (agriculturist householders) and Lingins and Bhikshukas as Udāsthitas (recluses) and Tāpasas (ascetics

75-77; V. 33.32, 34; XII. 96.21; Ram., III.33.10; Manu., IX.256; Agni., CCXX. 22; Matsya, CCXV 89; N.V., XIV. 1; Mṛichchakatika, VII. 8. etc; also Hobbes, Leviathan, II. 23.

7. N.S., XIII, 28-29, 31. Elsewhere (XVI. 52), it compares a monarch, deserted by his spies, to a man deprived of his eye-sight.

8. Ibid, XIII. 26.

Also Ib., XIII. 28, 37, 49, 50, etc.

Cf. A.S., I. 12.8.

practising austerities) of the *Arthaśāstra*. Śankarārya equates Adhyāpakas with Kāpaṭikachhātras. Likewise, in the case of Wandering Spies, Tikshṇas (desperadoes), Sattrins (class-mates or colleagues) and Rasadas (poisoners) are common to both the lists, while Pravrajitā evidently stands for Bhikshukī or Parivrajikā.⁹ Evidently, spies were recruited from all the walks of life—from students, teachers, farmers, merchants, artisans, sectaries, ascetics and even poisoners and desperadoes, without any distinction of age or sex.

The designations of various classes of spies are apparently based on their disguises to which there was no end (*bahulingirūpā*). The disguises very commonly adopted were those of ascetics or mendicants, merchants and artisans, but we also find them posing as wandering minstrels (*chārāṇas*), artists, cooks and confectioners, barbers and shampooers, bath and toilet attendants, attendants at the table, or as the bearers of parasol, yak-tail and vase, orderlies entrusted with the serving of water, betels, flowers, perfumes and ornaments, or as grooms, drivers and animal-trainers (*mahāmātra*). Occasionally, they simulated the hunch-backs, dwarfs and pigmies, feigned to be blind, deaf and dumb, or posed as idiots and eunuchs.¹⁰ In short, they put on any garb that would give them an access to the object of their attention.

There was a net work of spies, not only in the home state, but also in foreign states (*sva-pakshe para-pakshe cha*), friendly, inimical or neutral.¹¹ They were posted at all vulnerable positions and points of vantage, particularly in localities 'where there was a constant conflux and gathering of people', such as *tīrthas*,

9. N.S., XIII. 36, 38: A.S., I. 11-12.

Medhātithi, on *Manu*, VII. 154, also refers to the five classes of stationary spies.

10. N.S., XIII. 27, 44-48.

Cf. A.S., I. 12. 9-11; 15, 23; I. 13. 23; IV. 4. 3; *Manu*, IX. 261 etc.

11. N.S., XIII. 30 (*Rājā charai-r-jagat-kritsnam vyāpnuyāt*); also *ib.*). XIII. 27, 37, 39.

Cf. *Vishnu*, III 35; *M.Bh.*, III. 150.37-38, 42, 43.

Classical writers have noted the existence of spies in Mauryan age. Arrian calls them *Episkopoi*, and Strabo, *Ephori*. Their number must have been large enough to mislead Megasthenes to regard them as one of the seven classes of the Indian people.

āśramas and *āśrayasthānas*.¹² It appears from Kauṭilya that the posting of spies depended on the nature of their disguise. Merchant spies lived inside the forts and cities, saints and ascetics in the suburbs, cultivators in rural areas, herdsmen on the outskirts of the villages, and foresters, hunters and recluses in forests and wild tracts—all ostensibly engaged in their own business. Others, disguised as servants and professionals, took service in the houses of the suspects.¹³ Their abodes became the rendezvous for other spies, who visited them off and on, in different guises and on various pretexts.¹⁴

The functions assigned to the Intelligence Department were of a varied character—to keep the government informed of the trend of public opinion, to detect sedition and crime, and to assist in the administration of justice. The spies kept vigilant watch over the actions and movements of the people in general, and of the disgruntled and seditious in particular.¹⁵ They took special notice of government officials,¹⁶ of all grades and cadres. The members of the royal household, too, did not escape their attention.¹⁷ The 'fiery spies', noted for their reckless courage were selected to safeguard the person of the king,¹⁸ while others kept vigil on the forts and frontiers of the state.

The *charas* were required to acquaint themselves with the feelings and sentiments of the people,¹⁹ as also to find out if there was any discontent among them, and its causes. Kauṭilya makes it a part of their duty to create dissensions among the disloyal and disgruntled people, as well as to make them incur popular

12. N.S., XIII. 14.

13. A.S., I. 12, 23-25.

14. N.S., XIII. 35.

15. *Ibid.*, XIII. 40; Cf. A.S., I. 13. 1; II. 35.

16. N.S., XIII. 37, and Śankarārya's comments thereon.

17. N.S., XIII. 39, 44-45.

As a safeguard against the activities of foreign spies, the Royal Guard were expected to be 'capable of reading the hearts of spies' (*chara-chittajña*) *Ib.* XV. 38.

18. *Ibid.*, XIII. 47-48; A.S., I. 12.9.

19. N.S., XIII. 50: *Samāpibanto jagatām matāni jalāi bhumeniva sūrya-pādāḥ...charā-ś-chareyu-r-bahulīṅgirūpā.*

Also, *Ibid.*, XIII. 27.

Cf. A.S. I. 13. 13-14.

SYSTEM OF ESPIONAGE IN THE NĪTISĀRA 631

disapprobation, by different devices.²⁰ Simultaneously, they strove to mould public opinion in favour of the king and his government. To achieve that end, they frequently engaged themselves in discussions and disputations at public places, upholding the royal cause.²¹ The spies were naturally employed to detect criminals—'the thorns of public peace'—viz., thieves, robbers, poisoners, murderers, fire-setters, adulterers, counter-feiters of coins, and those engaged in witch-craft and harmful magical rites. They also worked as departmental Intelligence Officers, checked official records and accounts,²² and exposed the officials guilty of corruption, extortion or oppression.²³ In extreme cases, their services were utilized for the adjudication of legal disputes,²⁴ and for the exposure of false witnesses.²⁵

Kāmandaka advocates the employment of spies along with the army—in the camp as well as on the front. They not only brought to light 'the latches of the foe',²⁶ and foiled his intrigues, but also served to keep up the morale of the troops by asserting the success of their own operations and the inevitable failure of the enemy.²⁷

He warns the king against the activities of foreign spies,²⁸ and undoubtedly, the most important function of the Intelligence Department was to trace them out. The maxim was to detect spies by others of a like character. Penal measures, often of an extreme nature, were taken against the enemy agents on detection.²⁹

Secret agents were deputed to foreign states also to ascertain the strength, attitude and resources of their rulers.³⁰ Kāmandaka

20. *Ibid.*, I. 13. 17-18.

21. *Ibid.*, I. 13. 2-13.

22. *Ibid.*, II. 35.

23. *Ibid.*, IV. 4.

24. *Ibid.*, III. 1. 59.

25. *Ibid.*, IV. 4. 15-16.

26. *N.S.*, XVI. 52.

27. *A.S.*, X. 3. 51.

28. *N.S.*, XIII. 51. Cf. *A.S.*, I. 12. 26; II. 35. 12.

29. Cf. *R.T.*, VIII. 2200; *Ram*, VI. 20. 29-30, 34; 25. 15; 29. 16, ff; also, Aiyangar, S. K.: *Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, p. 187.

30. *N.S.*, XIII. 37, 39. Cf. *A.S.*, I. 12. 22.

recognises it as a cardinal principle of political diplomacy. 'A sovereign', he says, 'who does not know the designs of the rulers of his or his enemies' *maṇḍala* is . . . asleep, even though wide awake, and he never wakes up from such a sleep'.³¹ The spies worked there in collaboration with their ambassadors, to whom they passed on whatever information they could gather.³²

The duties of the *charas*, posted in foreign, particularly enemy states, were partly political and partly military. They formed an estimate of their military strength and economic resources, sounded public opinion, made a note of all the happenings therein,³³ specially of those that would affect the interests of their states, and established contacts with the discontented and alienable parties,³⁴ fomenting discord and encouraging dissensions and desertions. They also started a whispering campaign against the local kings by giving currency to their failings and frailties—real or fancied, while publicising the invincibility and virtuous conduct of their own sovereign. The idea was to keep the neighbouring states, particularly the enemy states, preoccupied with their domestic problems, so that they may not indulge in aggressive designs. It was also the duty of the spies to anticipate and prevent hostile combinations.

The role of the secret agents assumed greater importance on the outbreak of the war. They not only observed the plans and movements of the enemy, or his weak and vulnerable points, but also tried to foil his schemes.³⁵ They contrived to demoralise his subjects by spreading false rumours about the weakness and inevitable defeat of their army, or made them nervous by setting fire to their temples and altars, and by a show of unfavourable omens. They even induced and encouraged them to play the

31. N.S., XIII. 39. Kautilya advises a weak king, menaced by a powerful adversary, to rely chiefly on his spies, and to wage the 'battle of intrigues' (*mantra-yuddha*).

32. N.S., XIII. 13-14, 34.

33. *Ibid.*, XIII. 32.

Also, *Ib.*, XIX. 70.

34. Cf. A.S., I. 14.

35. N.S., XIII. 29: *Sūkshma sūtra prachāreṇa paśyed vairivicheshṭitam*. Also, *Ibid.*, XVI. 52; XIX. 70.

part of fifth-columnists—to destroy the stores and supplies, and to obstruct reinforcements. Spies disguised as hunters and snake-charmers let loose ferocious beasts and poisonous snakes in the vicinity of the enemy camp, while others, operating within his capital, provoked quarrels amongst his officers and induced them to desert their sovereign: nor did they have any scruples in poisoning and killing them, while implicating others in the crime. *Tikshṇa* spies, who gained admission to the palace of the enemy king, in the guise of cooks and personal attendants, were made instrumental in administering poison to him.³⁶ Others, in the garb of astrologers, sooth-sayers, horologists and story-tellers, sought to create in conquered territories, an atmosphere favourable to their sovereign.³⁷

Unlike Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka, unfortunately, gives very little information about the practical working of the Intelligent Department. The spies organized into *saṁsthās* (Institutes of Espionage) were stationed in particular localities, and their headquarters became the rendezvous of the Wandering Spies, who visited them off and on, on various pretexts. The *charas* were in the service of the state, which made adequate provision for their safety and comfort.³⁸ Those who were posted inside the Royal Palace kept a vigilant watch there (*antaḥpuragatām vārtā*), while others concerned themselves with what happened beyond its precincts (*vahī-r-vārtā*).³⁹ All of them operated swiftly and imperceptibly,⁴⁰ even unknown to each other (*nānyonvavedinaḥ*).⁴¹ If they communicated amongst themselves, it was through the media of code words, cipher-writing, and tokens or gestures understood by themselves alone. Some of the spies secured employment in two states⁴² simultaneously. These *ubhayavetana*

36. N.S., XIII. 48.

R.T., shows that *Tikshṇa* spies were often employed for secret assassination of the enemy, Cf. IV. 323, etc.

37. N.S. IX. 73.

38. N.S., XIII. 35-36.

39. *Ibid.*, XIII. 44-48.

40. *Ibid.*, XIII. 30: *Vivasvān-iva-tejobhi-r-nabhasvān-iva cheshtitaiḥ*. Also, 47.

41. *Ibid.*, XIII. 38.

42. *Ibid.*, XIII. 49.

charas were generally employed for the detection and winning over of alienable parties in foreign states.⁴³ Every care was taken to ensure the veracity of the reports of the *charas*. Meritorious service was rewarded and dereliction of duty punished.⁴⁴

The government acted upon the information supplied by the spies. They had free access to the king, who reserved a particular period in his daily routine to receive their reports.⁴⁵ Kāmandaka's aphorism is that 'guided by his spies, a king should proceed to any work, like *ṛitvijas* in a sacrifice being guided by the *sūtras*'.⁴⁶ The disaffected were ingratiated by the bestowal of gifts and honours, while the seditious and disloyal persons were punished. Their reports also revealed the short-comings of the government, and provided them with an opportunity of taking remedial measures (*chhidrañ=cha paripūrayet*)⁴⁷ before it was too late. Kāmandaka ends with the sane advice that a king should be cognisant of the fact that as he strives to play his enemies false through the instrumentality of his spies, the latter will also try to pay him back in the same coin.⁴⁸

43. *Ibid.*, XIII. 13; XVIII. 24.

44. Cf. A.S., I. 12.

45. N.S., XIII. 28.

46. N.S., XIII. 34.

47. *Ibid.*, XIII. 40-43.

48. *Ibid.*, XIII. 51.

Sculptural Representations of Lakulisa and other Pasupata Teachers

BY

DR. KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI

The Pāśupata sect of Śaivism was founded in about the first century A.D. by Lakulīśa born at Kāyārohaṇa, identified with modern Kārvān in the Ḍabhoi *taluk* of the Baroda *prānt* in the former Baroda State.¹ The history of its subsequent development is not very clear from the materials so far discovered, but from the Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II² and the Cintra Praśastī of the Chālukya King Śāraṅgadeva³ it appears that during the life-time of Lakulīśa or soon after his death, two of his disciples, Upamita and Gārgya, founded each a line of Pāśupata teachers respectively at Mathurā and at Somanātha in Kathiawad. The archaeological evidences of its spread to other parts of India prior to the Gupta Period are still to be traced, but it is doubtless that by the fourth century A.D. the sect had become firmly established in India and its founder Lakulīśa recognized as an incarnation of Śiva. This is evident from the Vāyu Purāṇa, generally taken to have been completed in the early Gupta Period, which contains an account of the Pāśupata sect and recognizes Lakulīśa as the incarnation of Śiva. This orthodox work would not have incorporated an account of the sect and would not have particularly recognized Lakulī as an incarnation of Śiva, had not the sect assumed an all-India character.

Unfortunately, however, only a few archaeological evidences have so far been discovered, which can throw some light on the earlier activities of the sect. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar not only first discovered references to the Pāśupata sect in the Purāṇas, but also threw considerable light on the date of its origin and its

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 5 ff.

2. *Ibid*, p. 6.

3. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 281.

spread and religious beliefs.⁴ He was also the first to identify and publish the images of Lakuliśa,⁵ which shows the Pāśupata teacher with two hands, a citron and with a *lakuṭa* or the club. The images of Lakulī published by him all belong to Rajputna, which can be assigned to the medieval or late medieval period. He has also referred to their occurrence in Malwa, Mysore and Orissa. The present writer for the first time identified the numerous images of Lakuliśa occurring on the Śaiva temples of Orissa, particularly of Bhubaneswar, and published their typical specimens.⁶ Subsequent investigations have unfolded their historical character and led to the discovery of welcome evidences about the origins of these Śaiva shrines.

The Śaiva temples are scattered all over Orissa, but a singular concentrated group with a magnificent wealth of sculpture exists at Bhubaneswar where on the earliest standing temples like the Paraśurāmeśvara and its cognates, assigned to the seventh century A.D. on epigraphical and other evidences,⁷ the images of Lakuliśa occupy a place of honour. On the Paraśurāmeśvara, the most well-preserved of all the earliest temples of the place, are to be noticed three images of Lakuliśa, of which one occurs on the northern outer face of the *Jagamohana* (the porch) and the other two on the main temple. The image that occurs on the front facade of the main temple, has been carved in a most prominent manner so as to attract the notice of a visitor on his first approach to the shrine. It holds, as its prototype on the *Jagamohana* does, a *lakuṭa* or the club and seated in *yogāsana*, shows *Dharmma-pravarttatna-mudrā*. The second image to be found within a Chaitya arch on the eastern side, has four small male figures, two on each side, each with a *pustaka* held in the left hand, and the right showing *abhaya-mudrā*. They are all seated on lotuses with stalks rising from a common lotus forming the pedestal of the central figure. The central figure, Lakuliśa, holds as usual a *lakuṭa* and shows *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā*. Because of their *yogāsana*, half-closed eyes, *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā* and the distinctive treatment of hair, the Lakulī images not only of this

4. *Ibid*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff.; *J.Bo.Br.R.As.Soc.*, Vol. LXI pp. 151 ff.

5. *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1906-7, pp. 179 ff. Figs. 2-7.

6. *Orissa Review*, *Orissa Monuments Special*, 1949, Figs. 17, 27-30.

7. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 109-118.

SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LAKULIŚA 637

temple, but also many other early temples of Bhubaneswar, are likely to be mistaken for those of the Buddha, but their distinctive attribute *lakūṭa* discloses their identity. The four male figures found in association with the central figure, are certainly the representations of the four disciples of Lakulī, who, as we know from the Vāyu and Liṅga Purāṇas and also from the Cintra Praśasti of the Chālukya ruler Śāraṅgadeva, were Kuśika, Gārga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The common origin of all these four disciples is indicated by the lotuses on which they sit and which rise from a common lotus forming the pedestal of their master, and that they were all preachers is indicated by the books held in their hands. The *Dharmma-pravarṭtana-mudrā* shown by Lakulī indicates that, like the Buddha who first turned the wheel of law, he was also the first to give a start to the Pāśupata sect of Saivism.

That these forms of Lakulī images also occurred in the still earlier temples of Bhubaneswar, no longer in existence, is evidenced by their existence as later fixations (Fig. 1) in the Bhārati Maṭha and the Pañcha Pāṇḍava caves both situated in Bhubaneswar. Prominence given to the images of Lakulīśa in the earliest temples, leads us to believe that these shrines were in some way connected with the Pāśupata sect which he founded in about the first century A.D.⁸ This belief gains ground from the fact that some of the earliest temples were named after the famous teachers of this sect. The name Paraśurāmeśvara was not certainly the original name of that temple as is evident from an inscription appearing on the southern door of its *Jagamohana*. This inscription which has been edited by Mr. A. Ghosh,⁹ records the donation of two *āḍhakas* of rice¹⁰ made by one Pramadāchārya to be first given as offering to Pārāśaśvara Bhaṭṭaka and then distributed among ascetics and others. The script used is Nāgarī and the epigraph on palaeographical grounds can be assigned to the eleventh century A.D. Pārāśaśvara is no doubt the deity inside the temple for whom the donation was made and this fact proves that up till the eleventh century, the temple was known as Pārāśaśvara but not Paraśurāmeśvara which is a later corruption or invention. As

8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 7.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 126 ff.

10. *Āḍhaka* or *adhā* as a measurement is still in prevalence in some parts of Orissa and it is equivalent to 192 standard seers.

Mr. Ghosh has rightly pointed out, the name Pārāśaśvara was most likely a corruption of Parāśareśvara. We have thus reasons to believe that the temple was originally named after the Pāśupata teacher Pārāsara, mentioned in the Mathurā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II as a successor of Kuśika, one of the four disciples of Lakulī¹¹ The naming of the shrines after the names of the dead teachers was an established custom of the Pāśupata sect.¹²

The second notable temple that was named after a Pāśupata teacher is that of Kapileśvara. The present temple of Kapileśvara represents an older one which might have been earlier to or at least a contemporary of the Paraśurāmeśvara. Kapila being one of the successors of Kuśika, a disciple of Lakulī, who established a line of Pāśupata teachers at Mathurā,¹³ we may reasonably trace the origin of the Kapileśvara shrine to the Pāśupata sect. The name of Kapila is connected not with only a temple but also with a work known as *Kapila-saṁhitā* which is one of the four Sanskrit texts that profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar. With a view to give it a more authoritative form, the authorship of this work has been attributed to Kapila who, judging from its contents, should be taken as the Pāśupata teacher mentioned in the Mathurā Pillar Inscription, and not as the author of the *Sāṁkhya*. The name of another temple, Mitreśvara, which stands in the close vicinity of the Yameśvara temple, has also been derived from Mitra who was one of the four disciples of Lakulī.

The names of the temples have changed from time to time and some names have disappeared with the disappearance of the temples, nevertheless, the lists of shrines given in the orthodox works, which were intended as pilgrims' guides, contain a few more names which were certainly derived from those of the famous Pāśupata teachers. The lists contained in the 28th chapter of the *Svarṇnāḍri-mahodaya* and in the 64th chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* include Nakulīśvara, Nakuleśvara and Īśāneśvara as the names of the temples which were derived from Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, and Īśāna, the sixth commentator of the

11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 5-6.

12. *Ibid*, p. 5.

13. *Ibid*, p. 1 ff.

SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LAKULĪŚA 639

Pāśupata Sūtras.¹⁴ Narasiṃha Bājapeyī, the author of *Nityāchāra Pradīpa*, who was a man of Orissa, mentions a temple at Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar), known as Gārgēśvara, quoting the *Skanda Purāṇa* as his authority.¹⁵ The name of this temple was also derived from Gārga, the second disciple of Lakulī.

It will thus appear that the name of Lakulī and those of some famous teachers of his sect were connected with the earlier shrines and one orthodox work. Besides, the oldest *maṭha* of the place still follows a custom which was observed by the followers of the Pāśupata sect. As Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out, it was a practice with the sect to set up a *liṅgam* to represent a dead teacher, and to erect a temple for it. The same practice is still being followed in the Bhāratī Maṭha of Bhubaneswar, as a result of which a *gurvāyatana* has sprung up within its compound.¹⁶ There are now as many as fifteen miniature temples of sandstone and laterite, each of which contains a *liṅgam*. Besides, a number of *liṅgams* are to be found in the open space and the niches made in the temples and if credence is given to the statement of the present Mahanta of the *Maṭha*, many more still lie buried in the kitchen garden. It is difficult to ascertain their exact number, but it may be taken to be fairly large. Since each of the *liṅgams* represents a generation of teacher, we may reasonably conclude that the origin of the *Maṭha* may go back to the time of the earliest standing temples. This conclusion gains ground from a tradition mentioned in the seventeenth chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* that Yama, the builder of the Yameśvara temple, gave a splendid *maṭha* to a Pāśupathāchārya who lived in the close vicinity of the temple. The present temple of Yameśvara is a monument of the Gaṅga period, situated opposite the Bhāratī Maṭha,

14. *Pāśupata Sūtras*, edited by Ananthakrishna Sastri, University of Tri-vandrum, 1940, Introduction, p. 1.

15. *Bibliotheca Indica* published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1908, No. 1194, p. 559.

16. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Mathurā Pillar Inscription, Uditāchārya set up two *liṅgams* to represent his teachers Upamita and Kapila when they were dead (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff.), but according to Dr. D. C. Sircar's interpretation of the same inscription, the *liṅgams* were set up when the teachers were living (*Ind. Hist. Q.*, 1942, pp. 271-275). Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation accords with the practice still followed in the Bhāratī Maṭha of Bhubaneswar.

but it represents an earlier shrine and still contains the lower portion of an earlier temple which may be taken to be a contemporary of the earliest temples of Bhubaneswar.

Although the influence of the Pāśupata sect can thus be traced on the earliest shrines of Bhubaneswar, it is difficult to say whether it came from Kāyārohaṇa Somanātha or Mathurā which are yet known to have been the earliest centres of the sect. The names of the successors of Kuśika, the disciple of Lakulī, who established a branch at Mathurā, are found connected with the two early shrines of the place, viz., Pārāsareśvara and Kapileśvara, and with one orthodox text, viz., *Kapila-saṁhita*. Kāyārohaṇa identified with Kāravān in Baroda *prānt* of the now-defunct Baroda State, was included in the Chālukya dominions and a few points of correlation between the Chālukyan and Kalingan schools of art and architecture have been pointed out by the present writer elsewhere.¹⁷

At any rate, the cult was in its full vigour and Lakulī and his disciples were still in the memory of the people, when it came to Bhubaneswar. This is evident from the accurate number of the disciples represented in the images of Lakulī and the names of the famous Pāśupata teachers connected with the earliest shrines. As it was a practice with the Pāśupatas to set up *liṅgams* to represent their dead teachers, this practice seems to have led to the setting up of innumerable Śiva *liṅgams* at Ekāmra which the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the allied works represent as ten millions or ten millions less by one (*ekonakoṭi*). The numerous images of Lakulīśa still to be found at Bhubaneswar, enable us to trace the changed conceptions about him and his disciples in the later periods. The different types of his images show that in the earlier specimens, his disciples appear as youthful figures, but in the later representations, as old, bearded and emaciated ones. In the latest evolutionary form, Lakulī appears as a four-handed deity with some of the attributes of Śiva such as the snake and the third eye (Fig. 2), but that he and his disciples continued to be considered as teachers or preachers, is indicated by the books held by the disciples in all specimens and by Lakulī himself in his latest representation. The later builders of the Bhubaneswar

17. J.A.S., Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 112-114.

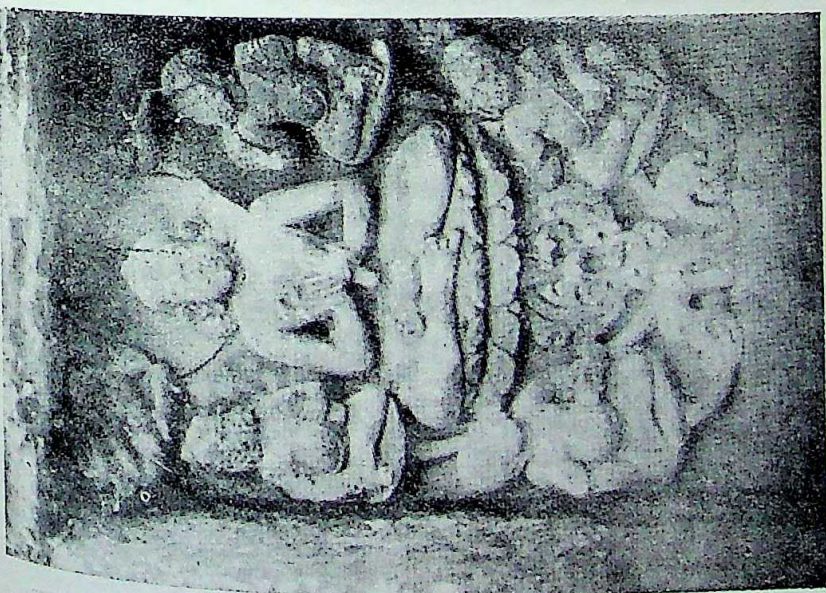


FIG. 1. Lakuliśa, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

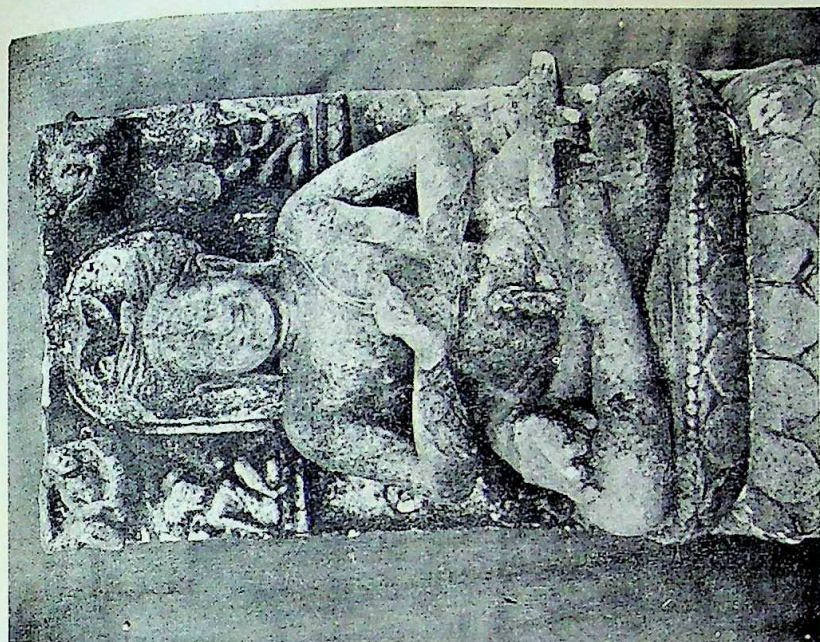


FIG. 2. Lakuliśa, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

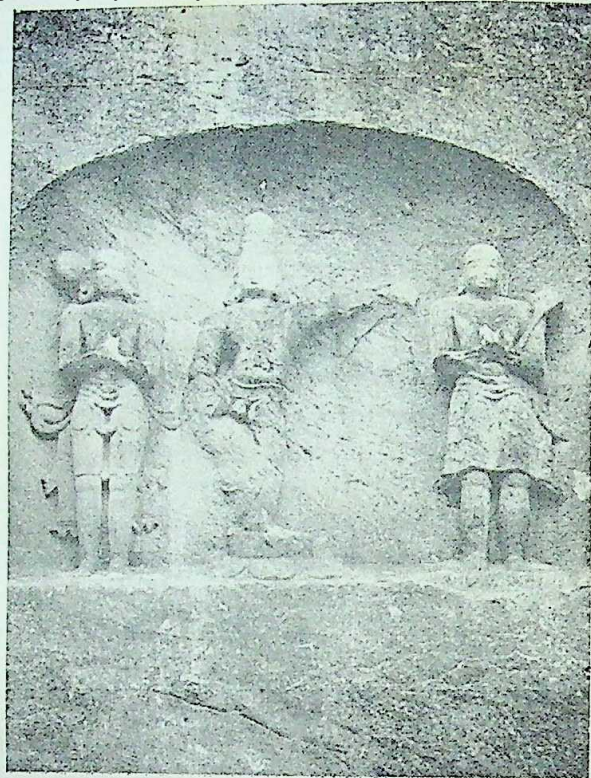


FIG. 3. Scene depicting Siva's command to Lakulīśa to become his incarnation, Tiruparankunram near Madura



FIG. 4. Pāśunata teachers, Tiruparankunram near Madura.

SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LAKULĪŚA 641

temples had a fair knowledge of the cult, which they have shown not only in the representations of Lakulī and his disciples, but also of the famous expounders of the cult. The famous commentators of the Pāsupata Tantras were eighteen, viz., 1. Nakulīśa, 2. Kauśika, 3. Gārgya, 4. Maitreya, 5. Kaurusha, 6. Īśāna, 7. Parāgārgya, 8. Kapilāṇḍa, 9. Manushyaka, 10. Kuśika, 11. Atri, 12. Piṅgala, 13. Puspaka, 14. Brhadārya, 15. Agasti, 16. Sanātana, 17. Rāsikara (Kaundinya) and 18. Vidyāguru.¹⁸ These commentators appear in two panels of sculptures on the lintels of the Marichikunḍa in the Mukteśvara temple and of the Jagamohana of the Rājarañi. That Ekāmra continued to attract the followers of the Pāsupata sect upto a late period, is evident from the inscription of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple referred to above, wherein the donor Pramada styles himself as an *āchārya*, a title which has been given in the Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II to the living Pāsupata teacher Uditā, the tenth successor of Kuśika.¹⁹ It is most probable that Pramada was a Pāsupata teacher.

Not only on the temples of Bhubaneswar where no less than one hundred specimens of Lakulīśa images are available for study, but also on other Śaiva shrines of Orissa the same images make their appearance. At Khiching in the district of Mayurbhanj out of the three existing Śaiva temples of the ninth-tenth century A.D., the two bear the images of the founder of the Pāsupata sect. The images that occur on these temples are exactly similar to the one to be found on the great temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar.²⁰ In these specimens Lakulī appears as seated cross-legged with the cross legs tied round with a *yogapaṭṭa*, the knees being necessarily held aloft. Four male figures, two on either side, appear in association with the central figure. A specimen of the type with a *yogapaṭṭa* as one of its attributes can also be seen in a collection of sculptures which originally belonged to the temples, now no longer in existence, at Benisāgar in the Singbhum district of Bihar, which is only five miles from Khiching. This image, mistakenly taken to be an image of the Buddha by

18. *Pāsupata Sūtras*, edited by Ananthakrishna Sastri, University of Triandrum, 1940, Introduction, pp. 1-2.

19. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff.

20. *J. Bihar R.S.*, Vol. XLII, 1916, p. 8, Fig. V.

Mr. Beglar,²¹ was first identified by the present writer as an image of Lakuliśa²². Some specimens of Lakulī images with four disciples on the side panels have also been published by the late Mr. N. N. Basu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, 1916, but they have not been correctly identified.

The foregoing discussions will show the wide-spread influences of the Pāsupata sect on the Śaiva shrines of Orissa from the late Gupta period to the late Medieval period. Investigations will no doubt reveal similar influences on the Śaiva shrines of other parts of India. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam has exhaustively dealt with literary and epigraphical evidences which prove the influences of the Pāsupata sect in South India.²³ The sculptural representations of Lakuliśa and other Pāsupata teachers in South India are, however, yet to be traced and published. With the help of Shri K. R. Vijayaraghavan, now Assistant Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, the present writer had the good fortune to see and to obtain the photographs of the very early images on the inner walls of the cave shelters at Tiruparankuram, situated in the neighbourhood of Madura. Though the local people identify one group of these images, consisting of two figures, as those of Agastya, and the other group, consisting of three figures, as the three Śaiva saints, Appar, Sundarar and Manickavasagar, these images undoubtedly represent the Pāsupata teachers and one incident from the life of Lakuliśa. In the group which consists of three figures (Fig. 3), the middle image, because of the presence of the *membrum virile* in it, can easily be recognized as that of Śiva, who stands on one leg on a *śakti* with a lotus base and stretches his left hand in a manner signifying command, towards another male figure standing in the same row. This male figure can also be identified without doubt with Lakuliśa because of the presence of the *lakuṭa* or the club held between the arms, the elongated ear-lobes, the woolly hair on the head and the preaching pose shown with the hands. The female figure which stands to the right of Śiva in the same row, cannot be correctly identified, but in all likelihood she represents

21. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XIII, p. 70.

22. *J. Bihar R. S.*, Vol. XIII, 1956, pp. 7-9, Fig. IV.

23. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXVII, 1949, pp. 43 ff.

SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LAKULĪŚA 643

Pārvati or the mother of Lakulīśa. The *Kārteān Māhātmya* which professes to deal with the life of Lakulīśa, and of which a summary has been published by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,²⁴ is a very late work and it does not appear to contain the earlier traditions about the founder of the Pāśupata sect. These three figures in the Tiruparankunram cave shelter represent, in all likelihood, an earlier tradition about Lakulī. The scene appears to represent Śiva's command to Lakulīśa to take his place in the earth as his incarnation.

Since we find the images of Śiva and Lakulīśa in this cave shrine, it is reasonable to identify the two male figures of the other group of the same shrine (Fig. 4) as those of the Pāśupata teachers. They have become badly defaced, but their *vaddhāsana* and *jaṭābhāra* are characteristic of the similar attributes to be found in the images of the Pāśupata teachers at Bhubaneswar. Of the two, the bigger image holds in the right hand a *japāmāla* and in the left an indistinct object which looks like a *pustaka* generally to be found in the hands of Lakulīśa's disciples. These images therefore represent the Pāśupata teachers, though their correct identification is not possible. The cave shrine at Tiruparankuram was without doubt a shrine of the Pāśupata sect.

24. *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* 1906-7, pp. 180-83.

(Continued from p. 426 of Volume XXXVIII, August 1960)

Culture—Contacts in South India

BY

T. K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A., L.T.,

Retired Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Serpent worship¹³⁸ is one of the oldest cults of the world. The elaborate festival of Nāga Pañcamī celebrated in Western India testify to the fact that the serpent cult had deeply entered into religion. Hemādri refers to the Nāga Pañcamī festival as an old festival. Śiva wears serpents as his ornament. He is Nāganātha, Lord of the Nāgas. Viṣṇu reclines on a serpent-bed. Serpent hoods cover even Buddhist images both in North and South India. It is significant that some of the figures found in the Indus Valley have the snake hood. The names Nāgarkōil in the West and Nāgapattinam in the East indicate the wide prevalence of serpent worshippers in the past in South India. Many writers believe that the Hindu Nāga is the prototype of the Chinese and Japanese dragons. Priests in these lands propitiated them by offerings and the chanting of incantations. The idea of the dragon travelled also to Polynesia. It is a common sight in South India to find serpent images in stone installed under sacred trees like pīpal or margōsa or near tanks. Childless women often vow to set up snake-stones if blessed with a child (Nāgapratiṣṭha). The incised snake may have a single or many hoods. Sometimes, the image is of a pair of snakes intertwined. At times, the upper part of the body is human and the lower snakelike. There is also the common belief in South India that it is a sin to kill a cobra, and often milk is poured in serpent holes.

The development of the cult of rivers and ponds is an interesting study. Sarasvatī of the *Ṛig Veda* was originally the spirit of a river. The goddess of the Gaṅgā is Gaṅgā (consort of Śiva). The *Mahābhārata* describes the tīrthas which Yudhiṣṭira visited and their location extended from the Himālayas to regions beyond the Vindhya. The *Silappadhikāram* has a passage which shows that this practice was also established in South India. 'If you bathe in (the three ponds referred to)....' uttering with equal

¹³⁸. See Crooke's article on serpent worship in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, pp. 716-19.

reverence the two great Vedic mantras of the Five Letters and the Eight Letters, you will achieve results which cannot be realised even by the hardest of penances'.¹³⁹ According to the *Maṇimekhalai*, a bath in the sea at Kanyākumārī freed a woman from the sin of incest.¹⁴⁰ All the important rivers of North and South India—the Gāṅgā, the Yamunā, the Godāvārī, the Sarasvatī, the Narmadā, the Sindhu and the Kāverī—are considered holy and invoked on sacred occasions.¹⁴¹ The cult of rivers along with the growth of sacred places led to the importance of pilgrimages. By Kālidāsa's time, pilgrimages became very common. The Hindus reckon seven sacred places which include Ayōdhya, Mathura, Hardwār, Vārāṇasi, Kāñcī, Ujjain, and Dvāraka.¹⁴² In later ages, there grew up *sthalapurāṇas* extolling the fame of particular local deities and the efficacy of the particular tīrthas in that locality. Some local festivals assumed such importance that vast concourses of devotees flocked to them, for instance the Mahā Makham festival at Kumbakōṇam and the Kumbha Mela at Prayāg.¹⁴³ These pilgrimages had a potent influence in bringing about movements of people from place to place. It must be remembered that Kāñcī was as sacred as Kāśī and the Kāverī as sacred as the Gāṅgā. So, it became common to find pilgrims going in all directions. South Indian pilgrims go as far north as Badarī, and north Indian pilgrims come down to Rāmeśvaram. Scholars like Śaṅkara preached in different parts of India. There is also the tradition that Caitanya came on a pilgrimage to South India and defeated a great Buddhist scholar in argument at Vriddhācalam. Such contacts brought the north and the south closer together.

139. Canto XI, 11.112-34. Strabo refers to the river-cult.

140. XIII, 11.5-7.

141. The invocatory verse, for example,

141. *Gaṅge ca ya munecaiva*

Gōdāvarīsarasvatī

Narmadesindhukāverī

Jalesmīn sañnidhimkuru.

142. *Ayōdhyāmathurāmāyā*

Kāśīkāñcī avantikā

Purīdvārāvaticāiva

Saptaita mōkṣadāyikāh.

143. Death at the holy places was regarded as meritorious. Persons suffering from incurable diseases voluntarily drowned themselves in sacred rivers. An instance of this Jala-samādhi was that of the Cālukya, Sōmeśvara.

The sanctity of the cow was originally an Āryan conception. The *Rig Veda* declares that the cow is not to be killed.¹⁴⁴ The *Mahābhārata* established the sacredness of all the limbs of the cow. This idea spread all over the land. The secure acceptance of this idea in the south is seen even in the saṅgam period, in which the slaughter of a cow was regarded as a heinous offence.¹⁴⁵ In the formula of the Tamil grants of the later periods we find the same idea.—Those who violate the charter were to suffer the sin of having slain a black cow on the banks of the Gāṅgā.¹⁴⁶ This feeling of the sanctity of the cow also led to the Hindu feeling against eating beef. Marco Polo noted in South India that people did not touch beef at all.

As contrasted with this feeling with regard to the cow, we find that animal sacrifices were practised in the Hindu faith. Sacrifice of animals before deities¹⁴⁷ was already practised by the older people before the Āryans adopted it in their yāgas. Even by the saṅgam period, yāgas had spread to South India. The Rājasūya was performed by a few South Indian kings like the Cōlas and the Viṣṇukūṇḍins. As described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹⁴⁸ it was a complicated ritual lasting for five days and the performer of the sacrifice claimed imperial dignity.¹⁴⁹ The sacrifice is said to have involved a puruṣamedha, in this case the offering of a Kṣatriya prince, perhaps a prisoner of war. The subject of the ritual of human sacrifice is an attractive study. Whether the puruṣamedha sacrifice involved the actual sacrifice of a human being is open to dispute. Hillebrandt supposes that there is an allusion to human sacrifice in *Rig Veda* Book X. On the other hand, Keith denies it. The legend of Śunaśśepha mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is considered by some to pre-

144. Several *smṛitis* deal with the reverence to be shown to the cow, e.g. *Āpastamba Smṛiti*, ch. 10.

145. *Purāṇa* 34.

146. கங்கைக்கரையில் காராம்பசுவைக் கொன்ற டாவத்தில் போவாராகவும்.

147. Amongst other pre-Āryan gods adopted in the Hindu pantheon is Sāttan (Sāstā in Kerala) who was given a status as the son of Hara and Hari. Silappadhikāram mentions his shrine. Besides, there are many village deities like him. These are all propitiated by animal sacrifices.

148. VII, 3 & 4 which describe at length Hariścandra's Rājasūya.

149. The Rājasūya included offerings to the chief officials, a formal sprinkling of sacred water on the king by the priest, a cattle raid, a sham fight and a dice game in which the sacrificing ruler is made the victor.

serve a memory of human sacrifice.¹⁵⁰ But, there is no doubt that the Tantras recognise human sacrifice. Human sacrifice in the primitive form was, also, offered in later times. Nuniz says that when the gods demanded human sacrifice for the completion of big schemes like those of irrigation, prisoners who deserved death were offered as victims.¹⁵¹ Aboriginal tribes like the Khonds offered human sacrifices to propitiate the earth-deity. Sir James Frazer gives instances of highly civilised peoples practising human sacrifice.¹⁵² The Carthaginians and the Mexicans who were civilized peoples sacrificed human beings to the deities. In the first century B.C., a law had to be passed in Rome forbidding human sacrifice.¹⁵³

Another important sacrifice was the Aśvamedha. This was also old, and the performer had first to establish his power over surrounding princes in a Dig-Vijaya. The sacrificial horse roamed at will guarded by warriors through all kingdoms. Any prince who interfered with its progress had to fight with the warriors, and, if defeated, had to acknowledge the power of the royal owner of the steed. The actual ritual lasted three days during which bards sang about the glories of the previous kings and of the performer of the sacrifice.¹⁵⁴ The horse was then sacrificed. The Sātavāhna performed Aśvamedhas.¹⁵⁵ The Kadamba kings celebrated eighteen Aśvamedhas in all. There are several instances in South India. There is an instance of the frustration of a contemplated Aśvamedha illustrated in the Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. These show that he defeated the warriors who accompanied the steed sent by the Eastern

150. The *Mahābhārata* refers to the rescue by the Pāṇḍavas of many kings who were held in captivity by Jarāsandha to be offered in sacrifice. But, the *Grihya Sūtras* prescribe the substitution of metal images for living creatures at the sacrifices.

151. Sewall *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 365.

152. *The Golden Bough*, (*The Dying God*, p. 160).

153. Pliny—*Natural History*, XXX 3, 4.

154. The Vīṇa-gātin sang, to the accompaniment of his vīṇa, extempore poems lauding the sacrificer.

155. The Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman claims to have performed the Agnistōma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices (*Epigraphica Indica* II, 480-5). In the Vājapeya, the king does homage to the earth and is formally enthroned. There is also a chariot race in which he is made the victor. The third Sātavāhana king, Śātakarṇi I, is said to have performed two Aśvamedha and Rājāsūya sacrifices.

Cālukya king, Viṣṇuvardhana III.¹⁵⁶ Horse sacrifice was found in several lands. White horses were sacrificed to the sun in ancient Greece. The Romans offered horse sacrifice to Mars. The Mongolian tribe called the Buriats living in Siberia are supposed to do it even now. Curtin¹⁵⁷ gives a description of their horse sacrifice. We found that the yāga involved animal sacrifice. In some yāgas, the victim is the goat. The primitive method of offering animal sacrifices in the old ritual which did not involve the use of fire continues in South India, to propitiate village deities or to avert their anger. It may be noted that such bloody sacrifices in Vijayanagar were noted by foreign travellers. Such sacrifices are found in many countries. Even in Christian Europe, these old superstitions still linger. Lawrence Gomme mentions that "within twenty miles of the metropolis of Scotland, a relative of Prof. Simpson offered up a live cow as a sacrifice to the spirit of the murrain".¹⁵⁸ In 1859, a farmer in the Isle of Man offered a heifer as a burnt offering to avert the anger of a ghost. In the worship of these village deities of South India, there is also found the peculiar custom of hook-swinging. Subjecting oneself to an austere vow for obtaining a desired end is the chief reason for this. Originally, human beings underwent this experience themselves.¹⁵⁹ There are numerous instances. An inscription of 1123 A.D. in the reign of the Western Cālukya king, Tribhuvanamalladeva, a cowherd vowed to undergo it if the king obtained a son.¹⁶⁰ Barbosa gives a detailed description of this custom in Vijayanagar, and says it was vowed by maids who wanted to marry the men they loved.¹⁶¹ Another traveller, Della Valle, noted that it was done by devotees.¹⁶² Buchanan heard that it was prevalent in Malabār even in the eighteenth century.¹⁶³ In modern times, usually, a

156. *Epigraphica Indica* III, p. 143 ff.

157. *A Journey to Southern Siberia*, pp. 44-48.

158. *Ethnology in Folklore*, p. 137.

159. One of the followers of Nītimārga, the Western Gaṅga king, showed his loyalty to his master by offering to be buried alive under his master (*Epigraphica Carnatica* III, Tri. 91). The object was the same as for hook-swinging.

160. *Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, Sk. 246, p. 141.

161. Barbosa I, pp. 220-22.

162. *Travels* II, p. 259.

163. *Journey to Malabar* III, p. 342. This custom is called *Seḍil-kuttal* in Tamil. The tenacity of the survival of some of these customs is illustrated in the following news item published in the *Hindu* on March 20, 1946: 'An order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, has been promulgated

sheep is attached to the hook and I have personally seen this done in a Māriamman festival. Though hook-swinging of human beings has disappeared, in some outlying corners of the country, we still find devotees walking with needles stuck into their body in fulfilment of their vow. I have myself seen this in a village. Another peculiar custom in connection with the worship of these village deities is found in South India. It is the fire-walk. Thurston remarks that this ceremonial 'secures to the villagers their cattle and crops and protection from dangers of all kinds. An individual who suffers from any chronic complaint makes a vow in the name of the goddess that if he is cured he will walk over the fire.'¹⁶⁴ The goddess is, usually, Draupadi. Draupadi, it may be remembered, was the wife of the Pāṇḍavas and she became one of the village deities of South India. The devotee walks over glowing embers of charcoal with measured steps and quite calmly. This custom seems to have prevailed in Vijayanagar. It is found now all over South India from Ganjam on the north to Travancore in the south. It is followed by Muslims in some places during the Muharram, the object of propitiation being, of course, different. The custom was practised in Polynesia and was found in China.

Besides performing yāgas, the kings sought religious merit by offering gifts. We find in South Indian inscriptions grants of Hiranyagarbha. The Ānanda kings made such grants in the Āndhra Deśa. The Velvikūḍi grant refers to such grants by the Pāṇḍyan king, Māravarman Arikesari.¹⁶⁵ The Tiruvisalūr grant refers to grants by the Cōla king, Rājarāja I.¹⁶⁶ We have a number of such instances. The Hiranyagarbha is one of the sixteen mahādānas mentioned in the Śāstras. The performer of the dāna enters into a big golden womb and, after some rituals there, comes out, the idea being that he takes a superior birth after this. The womb is then gifted to the officiating priest. Another dāna—the Tulābhāra—is said to have been performed by the Cera king, Seṅguṭṭuvan, and the receipt is said to have been one

by the Sub-Magistrate of Tranquebar prohibiting hook-swinging and similar other forms of self-torture vow offerings by worshippers during the ensuing Olugamaṅgalem Māriamman festival'.

164. *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 471 ff.

165. *Indian Antiquary* XXII, 57-75. *Ibid* (1922) page 211.

166. 42 of 1907.

Māḍalan.¹⁶⁷ Whether this story is true or not, numerous grants of later kings refer to Tulābhāras performed by them. The Tulābhāra is praised as one of the sixteen mahādānas. The granter should be weighed in gold and this gold is then gifted. The Velvikuḍi record speaks of such dānas by Māravarman Arikesari Pāṇḍya. The Cōlas and the Rāṣtrakūṭas also made such grants. A late instance is that of Jaṭāvarman Sundarapāṇḍya (thirteenth century) who performed several Tulābhāras at Chidambaram.¹⁶⁸ On a maṇḍapa on the bank of the Mahāmakhham tank at Kumbakōṇam, there is sculptured a representation of the Tulābhāradāna.¹⁶⁹

Worship tended to follow a stereotyped form. Image worship is not found in the *Rig Veda*, but it seems to have prevailed in the Indus Valley and it must have been adopted later. Pāṇini refers to images. It is now admitted that the worship of images was not due to Greek influences.¹⁷⁰ Image worship seems to have first become prominent in Buddhism. Later on, it was adopted in Hindu temples as well as in the private worship of the Hindus at home.¹⁷¹ The worshipper has a ceremonial bath of purity. The use of the tilaka (mark on the centre of the forehead) has been noted in the Indus Valley culture and this forms an essential ritual

167. (*Silappadhikāram*) Canto XXVII., 11.175-6.

168. Inscriptions Nos. 179 and 183 of 1892.

169. It is said that Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore performed a Tulābhāra when he was crowned.

170. Cūrtius says that an idol of Hercules was carried in front of the army of Pōrus when it met that of Alexander in battle. Patañjali refers to images of Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha. Dr. J. N. Banerjea (*Development of Hindu iconography*. 1942) thinks that image-worship prevailed in the lower ranks of Vedic society, adopted from the pre-Āryan custom of the Indus Valley. Some think that sangam literature refers to it e.g. reference to kollippāvai (*Aham*. 209).

171. Image worship is an old institution which prevailed in the ancient world and was practised by the Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Greeks. The Hebrews practised it at least during the latter part of the period of the old Israelite monarchy. Both the Roman Catholic Christianity and the highest Hindu thought justifies adoration of images on the principle that 'the homage passed through to the proto-type' and that the image by itself is not a deity. But, in actual practice, the masses tended to identify it with the deity. At Constantinople, in the 9th century, a letter of Emperor Michael says that prayers and incense were offered to images. Images were dressed in linen clothes and carried in processions. Miracles were supposed to be wrought by particular images or pictures. But, even today, an idol in India is a mere block of stone or metal till it had been sanctified for use by a special ceremony, and there is no compulsion that images should be worshipped.

for the worshipper, whether this mark happens to be made with vibhūti or śricūrṇa. The devotee, before performing the worship, ties his āṅgavastra (cloth worn on the upper part of the body) round his waist. It is curious that this custom should have been misinterpreted in the notes to Tawney's translation of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (edited by Penzer). The note says "Seminudity has always been regarded as a mark of respect when in a holy place or before superiors".¹⁷² The Hindus never associate nudity with respect. The removal of the āṅgavastra is the same symbolic act of respect as that of an European who removes his hat when in a holy place or before superiors. The worshipper then follows the prescribed rituals of worship which treats the deity as an honoured guest who is given arghya and bath, and offered flowers, perfumes, food and fruit.¹⁷³

172. Vol. II, p. 119.

173. This ritual homage is more elaborate in the temples. But whether in a public shrine or at home, each part of the rite is accompanied by the uttering of the appropriate mantras, sounding of bells and waving of lights. Pūja with flowers, leaves and water is regarded by some as a Non-Āryan ritual as contrasted with the hōma of the Aryans. See *History and Culture of the Indian People* Vi. I. *Vedic India*. Pūja was well known in the saṅgam age. e.g.

சிறப்போடு பூசனை செல்லாது வானம்

வறக்குமெல்வாளுக்கும் ஈண்டு.

(Kural II, 18).

Some scholars have traced temple-worship (which is not referred to in the *Vedas*) to Drāviḍian ideas. That temple-worship was known in the saṅgam period is clear in its literature e.g. reference of the poet, Kāri-Kiḷār to the king, Palyāgasālai mudukuḍumipperuvalūdi circumambulating the shrine of the three-eyed god. 'Koil', the word for temple is pure Tamil. The question of the origin of the South Indian temple has been much discussed. Longhurst traces the temple to the Buddhist stūpa and holds that the shrine which was the receptacle for relics became the resting place for the image. Sewell supports this view (*A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, p. 169). It is supposed that the dome of the stūpa became the Vimāna. Dr. Venkataramanayya who opposes this theory suggests that the temple developed from the primitive funerary monument. He says that from early times there existed in South India two types of temples—one imitating the shape of a dolmen, the other based on the shape of an aboriginal hut like the Tōḍa 'boath'. He thinks that these two types coalesced under the influence of the Āryans. The latter type was adopted in North India. The latter type, with the former type super-imposed on it, became the South Indian temple. The erection of Śiva temples on tombs of important persons is testified to in inscriptions. (*Epigraphica Indica* VII. 193). Another theory is that the temple was an expanded palace of the king. It is not possible to give any conclusive opinion on this point. A symposium on the origin of temples was held by the Archaeological Society of South India in July, 1944. No agreed view was found possible.

Reviews

FORT WILLIAM—INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE (Public), Vol. I, 1748-56. Edited by K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Patna University, Patna. Indian Records Series, Published for the National Archives of India by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Civil Lines, Delhi, 1958, pages 22, xlix, and 1160. Fifteen illustrations including maps, plans and facsimiles.

The volume contains twenty-two letters from the Court of Directors to Fort William and sixty-eight letters from the Fort to the Court; there are brief notes (five pages), bibliography, and a serviceable index at the end. The editor contributes, besides the notes, an Introduction, about fifty pages, drawing attention to the salient features in the correspondence included in the volume. The General Editor, T. Raychaudhuri, writes a short preface, a little over two pages, in which he sets forth the plan of the series of 21 volumes of this correspondence between the Court and Fort William during the year 1748-1800, in accordance with a recommendation of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Of the value of these records for the historian he writes: 'This correspondence forms a very small part of the records of the Government of India, but its value and importance are without question. While it does not give the detailed story of every action or every policy, for which one has to go to the discussions, minutes, decisions, etc., available in the proceedings of the Board, it nevertheless gives a bird's-eye view of the Company's activity in all its aspects, which enables the reader to form a clear idea of the history of the time'.

This observation which is quite correct so far as it goes, and a comparison of the volumes publishing records in extenso in recent years including the present one and the others published earlier in the Indian Records Series containing compilations of selections from records connected by significant narratives by the editors like Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, raises an important question of policy in relation to the National Archives. Admittedly it is impossible, with our resources in men and material, to publish all

the Records in extenso, and it is quite possible to hold the view, which is accepted in many countries, that the proper work of the Archives is just to take charge of collections of records, preserve them against damage and decay, and make indexes, press lists, and calendars, in a systematic manner calculated to help research workers by enabling them to trace the records bearing on their topic of research without undue trouble or delay. The task of editing and publishing in extenso or in suitable selections covering chosen periods or topics should be left to universities and other academic associations. It would seem that the National Archives and the I.H.R.C. have been following a haphazard policy without a proper plan, and the Archives administration is being hampered and confused by this. The general editor writes disarmingly of this volume: 'The present volume, though fourth in order of publication, is the first of the series. It had been sent to the press as early as 1952, but in view of other urgent work its printing was given a relatively low priority. The unfortunate delay in publishing the volume and the comparatively low standard of production are regretted'. The seven closely printed pages of errata at the end, by no means exhaustive, is a measure of the standard of production maintained in this volume which goes out in the name of the Government of India.

The Bengal history of this period of eight or nine years is well known and has been treated in great detail by different authors, and it is not to be expected that the editor of these letters sets Thames on fire. The introduction opens naturally with a section on Aliverdi Khan whose firm attitude towards the Europeans and whose constant study of their movements in South India saved Bengal from being converted during his life time into one of the theatres of their mutual hostilities. He often said to the French and English: 'You are merchants, what need have you of a fortress?'. But such a view was not acceptable to them, and they were inclined more to provide for their own defence than depend on the protection of Indian princes who were often themselves the victims of internal dissensions and external aggression, even Aliverdi not excepted. The relations between the European powers, and the dispute over fortifications are succinctly traced. Holwell's integrity is doubted and his stories of Aliverdi's death bed instructions to Surajud-Daulah to annihilate the Europeans and of the Black Hole are discredited. The editor has diligently culled

the most notable facts that find a place in the correspondence and set them forth in convenient groups. The section headings, calculated to indicate their nature, are: Military establishments and appointments, The Squadron of Admiral Watson, Swiss companies and Captain Polier, The Company's Servants, Mayor's Court, The Company as Zamindar, Trade and Commerce, Industries, Prices, Currency and Banking.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE SOMA-HYMNS OF THE RIG VEDA. A fresh interpretation, Part II (RV. 9.16-50) by S. S. Bhawe, Reader in Sanskrit, M. S. University, Baroda, M. S. University of Baroda Research Series, No. 5, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960, pp. 152 plus 10; price Rs. 5.50.

The work begun in Part I is continued on the same lines as before except for the omission of the differentiation between the longer and shorter notes on each hymn into two classes A and B. The study of hymns deity wise is not new and has been found helpful in the elucidation of difficult points. Ludwig followed the method in his translation, Oldenburg translated the Agni hymns in Maṇḍalas 1-4, Velankar did all the Indra hymns and has begun further work on the Agni hymns. Renou's monograph on the Uṣas hymns in *Études Vediques et Paniniennes* III is an even closer parallel to Mr. Bhawe's work. The importance of Soma is clear from the fact that the deity commands the whole of the ninth-maṇḍala and six other hymns elsewhere. The Soma hymns have been studied specially by other writers like Hillebrandt (*Vedische Mythologie* I) and Lüders (*Varuna* I), but those studies are made from a more or less exclusively mythological standpoint; Mr. Bhawe gives more attention to the linguistic and philological. The work is admittedly difficult and Indian scholars with the requisite learning for such work are none too many. As an Indian and a Hindu steeped in the traditional lore of the country, the author possesses certain natural advantages which the most eminent and earnest foreign scholar may not be able to command. The method of applying Pāṇini's rules to Vedic interpretation is sought to be justified and illustrated in detail by a new commentary (in Sanskrit) on one hymn (9.16) by Pandit Manishankar V. Upadhyaya of Baroda which figures as an Appendix (pp. 113-

42). The further progress of Mr. Bhawe's work will be watched by scholars with great eagerness.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

SELECT ASOKAN EPIGRAPHS (with annotations). Sachidananda Bhattacharya, M.A., Reader in History, Jadavpur University, Calcutta. Frima K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960, pp. xvi, 114.

This is the second edition of a book first published in 1942. The original scheme of the book was to give the texts (in translation) with annotations of 'only those edicts of Asoka which tell us of definite events in his career' arranged in the order in which these events took place. This edition contains in addition two Appendixes, giving all the inscriptions which had been excluded in the first edition; the translations in the body of the book are Hultzsch's, but these in the appendix are newly made by the author, who adds explanatory notes where necessary. Appendix B gives the English translation by Dr. Umberto Seerrato of the recently discovered bilingual (Greek and Aramaean) Asokan inscription of Kandahar in Afghanistan. Mr. Bhattacharya explains in his preface to the Second edition that Appendix A has come in as a result of a suggestion from the present reviewer; he is now glad he made it and Prof. Bhattacharya accepted it. The book is a handy and simple manual of the inscriptions of Asoka which incorporates the salient points of modern research on these precious documents which have been studied by scholars of many nations for well over a century. It has all the lucidity and compactness which may be expected of so experienced a teacher as Sachidananda Bhattacharya. The book has been well produced.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

UNION LIST OF COMMONWEALTH NEWSPAPERS IN LONDON, OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE, compiled by A. R. Hewitt. Sometime Secretary and Librarian, The Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, The Athlone Press, 1960.

Of the scope and usefulness of this handy bibliography the reader can form a very good idea from the short foreword con-

tributed by Kenneth Robinson, the Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies. "This is the second of two bibliographical guides which Mr. Hewitt has compiled whilst holding the office of Librarian in the Institute of Commonwealth Studies. Like its predecessor, the "Guide to Resources for Commonwealth Studies in London, Oxford and Cambridge", this Union List of Commonwealth Newspapers held by Libraries in these three cities has been prepared not only in the hope that it may be of assistance to research workers in the United Kingdom, but also with the needs of students in the overseas countries of the Commonwealth and in the United States in mind. It seemed to those responsible for this enterprise that a catalogue of the holdings of Commonwealth newspapers of the major libraries in the United Kingdom which contain such material might be particularly useful to scholars, and especially younger research students not normally resident in the United Kingdom, in making plans for what is often a relatively short period of research in this country. Some at least of the earlier newspapers published in some overseas parts of the Commonwealth are available only in this country. In certain cases, newspaper material may have to be compared with that from other sources only to be found here and it may therefore be important to know which newspapers are (and which are not) available."

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

BAHMAN SHAH by Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960. Pages xii and 192. Four plates of coins and inscriptions and one map. Price Rs. 12.00.

This book, which is substantially a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Dacca, is the first detailed account of the career and reign of Bahman Shah, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan. Dr. Husaini himself says in the preface: "This is the first elaborate attempt to record in one systematic thesis all the data available concerning an historical figure whose origin and early history have been topics of controversy among scholars for centuries." This claim is fully justified and the book is welcome addition to the rather meagre literature on Deccan history. Dr. Husaini has made full

use, generally on sound critical lines, of all available evidence from Persian chronicles, contemporary and later, and from archaeology, particularly inscriptions, coins and monuments.

Elphinstone, who almost implicitly followed Ferishta in his monumental *History of India*, made us believe that the Bahmani kingdom was founded by Ala-ud-din Hasan Gangu Bahmani, a Muslim servant of a Brahman Gangu, who honoured his early connection by adopting Gangu Bahmani as the end of his name. Ferishta has come in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of modern historians who have often impeached his veracity and impartiality. Dr. Husaini drives one more nail into the coffin of his reputation; he affirms roundly that Farishta invented a story and had a motive for doing so. He says: 'Ferishta, who was a Shiah servant of Bijapur King (Ibrahim Adil Shah II, 1580-1627), might have considered it his duty, both religious and secular, to lessen the local regard for the Bahmani dynasty by connecting the epithet Bahmani with an Indian Brahman, and not with Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, and by ascribing a low beginning to the career of Hasan. There is ground to suspect that Ferishta concocted a story which has absolutely no truth behind it and which is not borne out by any other testimony worth the name' (pp. 43-4). There were many Iranian emigrants in mediaeval Deccan, and a Persian origin for Hasan is quite a possibility and is now more or less generally accepted by historians. Whether his connection with Isfandiyar is fact or fiction is not so easy to settle. The other epithet was, according to Husaini, correctly Gangui and not Gangu; it shows that he spent his early life at Gangi which formed part of his first Jagir near Miraj. Not Hasan who was only Bahman, but only his descendants were Bahmanis.

Dr. Husaini tries to settle a vexed question of topography connected with Bahman Shah's wars by holding that Karraichur is just a copyist's error for Raichur (82) and this, if correct, would show that the long drawn tussle over the Raichur doab between the Bahmani and Vijayanagara kingdoms began almost with the foundation of the former. There must be some mistake in the statement, which Husaini repeats thrice, that Vira Ballala was encamped near Kayalpattinam in the Tinnevely Coast when his forces were besieging Koppam near Trichinopoly (pages 99, 101). If Dr. Husaini's plausible surmise that Vira Ballala IV.

lived till 1349 is confirmed by further evidence that would form a new fact, though of minor importance, in South Indian history.

The conquests of Bahman Shah are clearly traced and the extent of the empire built up as the result of his wars fully described in a chapter (VII) devoted to the subject. There are differences among the authorities about the duration of Bahman's reign, and Dr. Husaini boldly combines data from two sources to sustain his conclusion that he died on the last day of January 1359 A.D., and puts in a spirited defence for the course he has adopted (pages 120-25). Dr. Husaini rates Bahman Shah high as ruler and statesman, but carries his war against Ferishta in discounting his statement that the king showed a certain preference for the Hindus, as due to the historian's desire to defame the sultan before Muslims, and not to add to his glory (p. 132). Dr. Husaini reaches the moderate conclusion that 'Hasan's character must be considered good in the background of the age in which he lived'. (p. 133). The chapter on Government (IX) is well written and quite on a par with his previous work on the subject of the theory and practice of Muslim governments.

There are seven appendixes explaining the coins illustrated and some technical terms in administration, and place-names, besides giving notes on the manuscripts and original sources used and a bibliography. There is a good Index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

HISTORIANS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA by P. Hardy, Luzac & Company Ltd., London, 1960. Pp. viii and 146. Price in cloth binding 30/-.

'This monograph', says the author in his preface, 'a revised version of a thesis successfully presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London, is a first attempt at a more detailed study of the 'involuntary distortions' inherent in the manner in which five Indo-Muslim historians treated the past'. It is thus an exercise in what the Germans would call *quellenkritik*, criticism of the source material.

The opening chapter constitutes a brief and tentative study of previous trends and methods in the study of medieval Muslim

India by modern historians in the light of modern concepts of historiography, particularly that of R. G. Collingwood developed in *The Idea of History*. To the extent to which modern historians have culled their facts straight from the Persian authors without considering their main objectives in their narratives, they have failed to provide us with a proper history in the modern sense of the word, and it is the author's main purpose 'to show the weakness of the premise that the Indo-Muslim historian and the modern historian inhabit essentially the same world of ideas in historiography'. For a detailed demonstration of this thesis five historians are chosen, viz., Barani, Aff, Sirhindi, Amir Khusrau, and Isami, and one chapter is devoted to each of them. The two last authors were more poets who worked by aesthetic standards than historians even in the limited sense in which the three others were historians, viz., interpreters of the past from their individual points of view. The conclusions reached about each author are fairly well argued and generally convincing. 'Barani', the author finds, 'treats history as a branch of theology. He sees the past as a battle-ground between good and evil and men as combatants upon that field of battle' (39). Aff writes hagiology with the technique of a historian writing from 'authorities', trusting one reporter in preference to another where there is a conflict, his criteria for ascertaining the truthfulness of a narrative being religious. 'He wishes Firuz Shah Tughluq to be seen as a stereotype of the perfect man whose perfection consists in his distance from humanity. He is a tailor's dummy, rather than a figure of flesh and blood' (51). The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya ibn Ahmad Sirhindi was rated high by J. Sarkar and Wolseley Haig as a source for the period after Timur's invasion. But he 'wrote to win patronage from a reigning sultan' (57), and to him 'history is a body of transmitted fact, not to be questioned, but to be adorned at random by suitable saws and conventional morals in verse form' (66). He is quite fatalistic, and his only comment on Timur's murderous incursion was: 'we belong to God and we are content with His Decree.' (65). Amir Khusrau 'wrote about the past in order to please rather than to understand, to preach or to instruct' (88). He seems to hold that God wills everything, 'but his idea of Divine causation is quite arbitrary, events happen, so to speak, by spontaneous combustion. Nor do they appear to happen through some process of human decision intended, according to the pre-

vailing circumstances, to produce some humanly conceived situation' (90-91). 'Amir Khusrau did not write history — he wrote poetry' (93). Lastly, 'Isami aimed at establishing himself as a man of letters and not as a historian; Dr. Mahdi Husain was not wide of the mark when he said that the *Futuh al-Salatin* may legitimately be called the *Shah-Nama* of medieval India. 'Isami's work is not a critical history, not a theology, not an ethic, but an epic' (110).

Chapter VII discusses some general characteristics of the five historians considered individually before. Their main interest was to record the action and comment on the deeds of grandees and ministers, thrones and imperial powers. Again they concentrate only on the Muslims in Hindustan, the Hindus not being mentioned at all or only providing opportunities for the practice of Muslim virtue. 'Even Amir Khasrau, who in his *Nuh Sipih*r shows considerable interest in the languages, music and sciences of the Hindus, does so more to illustrate the interesting environment in which the Muslims in Hindustan live, than to understand Hindu civilization' (114). They do not care for facts in all their detail and in all their manifold variety, but organize the story of the past to point a moral or deliver a message and thus produce a sort of 'Whig' history to borrow Professor Butterfield's term. An ounce of religious truth weighs with them much more than a pound of fact (115). 'Amir Khasrau and Isami offer a literary dramatization of history in accordance with the ethics of orthodox Islam; they see each situation as complete in itself and history as a succession of moments, each possessing symbolic significance' (117). This view of history as a succession of events, significant only in their relationship to God, ill accords with presuppositions of social organism, change and process (120).

The conclusions emerging from the whole of this discussion are set forth in the final chapter (VIII). First what the medieval writers say is not history, but the raw material of history, requiring manufacture into the finished product. The historian must use his own powers of deduction and test his own system of postulates before making up his narrative; he may still be wrong, but, at least his conclusion is founded upon critical thinking rather than blind belief in authorities which has too often marked the histories of Muslim India so far written. The material which has

appeared to earlier writers to provide a solid basis for writing political history does not in fact do so, and in fact we know far less about the political history of medieval India than we have thought. Coins and inscriptions, doubtless, help us to a more detailed chronology than is possible for the Hindu period or for some periods of medieval European history, but chronology is not history, not even political history, and even here there are enough discrepancies to justify Blochmann's verdict that 'our knowledge of the Muhammadan period of the country is very limited and inaccurate in details'. It may be doubted if despite the best efforts of Wolseley Haig and Mahdi Husain the last word has yet been said on the chronology of Muhammad ibn Tughluq. More effort should be made than has been done to study the mentality of authors, Muslim and Hindu, whose mentality differs much from that of a modern historian, and who nevertheless reveal explicitly or through deduction, their religious, their ethical and their aesthetic ideas. 'The history of thought is not the whole of history, but there is no intelligible history without it' (131).

The Bibliography and Index are excellent. Dr. Hardy adds a P.S. to his Preface saying that as early as 1950 Hikmet Bayar wrote an article proving conclusively that 'Iletmis' is the correct form of the name of the Sultan whom we have been calling Iltutmish, which was itself offered as a correction of the older Altamsh, and that he examined this article too late for him to adopt the corrected form of the name in the body of the book.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

COLONIAL LABOUR POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION: A history of labour in the Rubber Plantation Industry in Malaya, c. 1910-1941, by J. Norman Palmer, Associate Professor of History, Northern Illinois University. Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies—IX. J. J. Augustin, Incorporated Publisher, Locust Valley, New York, 1960, pp. xii and 294, price \$ 6.00.

Prof. Palmer has produced a balanced, authoritative well-documented monograph on the subject he has chosen for study. His concern has been primarily with Indian labour, mostly South Indian, on the rubber plantations, though the Chinese and Java-

nese recruits also come in for occasional mention as alternatives open to the planters. Chinese labour, however, was not so amenable as Indian, and the unstable conditions in China prevented a negotiated policy of labour recruitment like the one adopted in India; the Chinese immigrants were also more interested in tin mines and other forms of employment. Chinese labour was recruited with the aid of contractors who got them from China or from lodging houses in Malaya. The Chinese labourer worked harder and commanded higher wages; he was far more aware of rubber prices than the Indian, and was capable of driving better bargains without any official protection or aid. Thousands of them were entering Malaya voluntarily, and sections of them were capable of violent political demonstrations and developed an anti-British outlook fed by the spreading fires of Chinese nationalism; the Malayan governments were not over anxious to increase their number and the Aliens Ordinance of 1930 was meant partly to restrict Chinese immigration and control the resident Chinese.

Malayan employers showed interest in Javanese labour whenever, as often happened, assisted Indian immigration seemed threatened. But the Dutch authorities and planters were not enthusiastic about the emigration of Javanese labour to Malaya, and Javanese labour as recruited and shipped by private recruiting firms involved high cost. Still when assisted Indian emigration was prohibited in 1938 owing to the employers' adamant refusal to end the Kangany system as well as their wage actions, Malayan authorities turned to Javanese rather than Chinese labour in 1940-41. 'Had the Japanese invasion not thwarted plans for large-scale Javanese immigration, the effect of that immigration on Malaya's population structure and ultimately on political and social questions would probably have been very significant' (252).

Indians from South India constituted the major labour force in the plantations. For the most part, poor and ignorant, they were much in need of protection against exploitation. The planters, with rare exceptions, were hard men and depended on rapacious middle men called Kanganies, for a regular and liberal supply of the labour recruited in South India. Both the Government of India, who maintained an Agent in Malaya for the purpose, and the British Colonial Administration in Malaya felt the call to interfere and regulate conditions in the plantations. The

Colonial Office generally left the High Commissioner in Malaya free to settle questions at his discretion. The actual administrative officer was the Controller of Labour who sometimes found himself overruled by the High Commissioner who was sometimes open to planter influence. The planters had an association of their own in Malaya and there was also a Rubber Growers' Association in London to aid them in bringing pressure on the Colonial Office if things did not go well in Malaya. Through the years there were numerous issues relating to wage and welfare conditions of labour in which different parties pulled in different directions. The Agent of the India government did not have an adequate staff and sometimes felt handicapped for lack of precise information. The Government of India set up a one man commission (The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri) to report on conditions in Malaya before they forbade assisted migration of labour altogether in 1938, after having abolished the indenture system in 1910. The role of Indian labour in the industry was thus described by the Controller of Labour in March 1936: 'The ease and readiness with which labour could be obtained from S. India was of enormous value to this country, and was an important factor in the development and consolidation of the rubber industry in Malaya. In consequence most rubber and oil palm estates today are equipped and organized for Tamil labour forces which have proved efficient, economical, and docile....The problem presented by the cessation of assisted Indian immigration consists therefore of conserving our South Indian estate population and inducing them to remain in Malaya instead of returning to India. In a nutshell, it is how to settle in and near estates, the maximum number of South Indian workers in shortest possible time'.

Mining and modes of employment other than estates were largely without regulation; the Labour Codes did little more than give legal sanction to prevailing Chinese employment customs and practices. This was an important and fundamental failure of British rule in Malaya. Official policy towards Chinese labour changed in 1938 and a measure of positive control was attempted by executive action. Had the policy been adopted earlier, the need of post-occupation Malayan governments to bring all Chinese workers under positive supervision might have been fulfilled.

The chief legacy of British labour policy and administration is the plural society. There were many Chinese already before the extension of British rule to the States, and many hundreds of thousands entered afterwards. The entry of additional thousands of Indians was the result of official design and encouragement to avoid too much dependence on Chinese labour. Yet no steps were taken to assimilate the immigrants. 'Against the creation of the plural society must be placed the fairly well-developed system of public services and the comparatively high standard of living enjoyed by many Malaysians as a result of British economic policies' (269).

There are nine tables of significant statistics, an excellent classified bibliography of over ten pages, and a brief but serviceable index. This fine study does great credit to all concerned in its furtherance and production.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

BROWNE CORRESPONDENCE, Edited by Krishna Dayal Bhargava, Director of Archives, Government of India, Indian Records Series. 1960. Pages xi, xii, and 363. Price Rs. 15.00 or 23s. 6d.

CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. X, 1792-93. National Archives of India. Pages xxx and 420 with Index xii. 1959. Price Rs. 20/- or 31sh. Both published for the National Archives of India by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi.

Major Browne was the personal agent of Warren Hastings in the Court of Shah Alam at Delhi, and though the story of his mission is generally well known, students would welcome the full text of Browne's letters now published for the first time. The volume has been made up from records in the National Archives, Delhi, and in the Commonwealth Relations office (whence the first forty letters missing in the N.A. volume were obtained); it also includes, for completeness, Browne's letters to Macpherson (who took over from Hastings in February 1785) which have been culled from the Secret Department Records of the National Archives. There are altogether 147 letters ranging between

J. 25

August 20, 1782 and October 11, 1785. Of these 129 are letters addressed to Warren Hastings and sent in copy to the Directors by Browne himself at their request to defend himself against the suspicion that he had been influenced by Shah Alam or Scindia. Of Browne's personal integrity there can, however, be no doubt. There is an Appendix (264-77) containing Browne's memorandum on the State of Affairs in Hindustan at the commencement of the year 1785. The letters have been carefully edited by Mr. K. D. Bhargava himself; his brief introduction furnishes the historical background and the main drift of the letters, and the notes at the end are generally precise and to the point. There are three illustrations (Shah Alam, Mirza Jawan Bakht and Mahadji Sindia) and a map of Northern India—Delhi, Agra, Oudh and part of Bihar drawn in 1775.

The tenth volume in the Calendar of Persian correspondence covers the years 1792-3. The work on this volume commenced when Dr. S. N. Sen was Director and was completed 'only recently', says Mr. K. D. Bhargava in his preface dated 30th May, 1959. There is an introduction of less than twenty pages by Mr. A. J. Tirmizi, Assistant Director of Archives, which comments in an informative and scholarly way on the contents of the 2,000 letters calendared in the volume. Six letters are put in as an Appendix and there is no explanation vouchsafed for this feature; possibly the somnolent pace at which the work was being carried out explains not only this but the formidable 4 page list (xxvii-xxx) of Corrigenda and Addenda to the volume. The period covered by the volume was the last two eventful years of the administration of Lord Cornwallis; they witnessed the end of the Third Mysore War, the reduction of some of the Rajput chiefs by Mahadji Sindhia and the subordination of the Nawab of Arcot and the Rajas of Tanjore and Travancore. They also saw the cessation of hostilities in Nepal, the death of Timur Shah of Afghanistan and the outbreak of war with France. Speaking generally the period was one of political and economic decline within India, and the social life of the period had touched a markedly low level. Nobles and princes were competing for the Company's favour and sent petitions for titles and empty decorations. The letters summarized here throw much light even by the fragmentary glimpses they afford into the customs and practices of the period. Religion was flourishing strong and lack of

transport facilities were no hindrance to the numerous pilgrimages to holy places. Hindu Muslim relations furnished many instances of cordiality and co-operation. You see clearly the dissolution of the old order hastened by the impact of the new industrial age in the West and the outlines of a new order are by no means discernible yet.

We note with some satisfaction the quickening of the pace of publication in the last year or two and wish that this is kept up in the ensuing years.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

INDIAN ARMED FORCES YEAR BOOK, 1958. Editor—Jaswant Singh, Price Rs. 10/-.

This Year Book pertaining to the Indian Armed Forces is the only reference book available on the subject. It presents a comprehensive treatment, dealing as it does with the history, present position, administration, personnel and future problems connected with the land, navy and air forces. While providing all the necessary technical details, the narrative as a whole, is intelligible and useful to the average reader.

It opens with an editorial on 'Defence Potential' by Jaswant Singh. Tracing the history of the two World Wars, it draws attention to the havoc caused by them and shows how the Second World War was the first major international conflict of applied science. The League of Nations was organised with a view to averting future international conflict, but it did not have the wherewithal to enforce its decisions and hence it collapsed. After the Second World War the United Nations Organisation has been set up. In spite of its notable achievements in several directions and in spite of the numberless attempts at Disarmament the success accomplished by the U.N.O. is not very much. The tension between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has become increasingly acute and in actuality, in the midst of talks of peace, the mad race for armaments is advancing vigorously.

India has always stood for peace and our present ideal of Peaceful Co-existence is but a natural corollary of our agelong policy of pacifism. But this love of peace has been responsible for the comparative inadequacy of our defence equipment. "We

in India seem to be living in utter and absolute ignorance of the revolutionary developments in the field of military activity and the rapidly changing character of warfare." The need for building up our defence potential is of supreme importance and urgency.

Part I of the book deals with modern war, its meaning and purpose, the general principles of war and importance of the morale of people no less than their economic resources. It is followed by an exhaustive treatment of the nature of war on land in the past and present. The changes in mechanisation, size of arms, militarisation of population, nationalisation of war effort, extension and intensification of military operations, the employment of ever-increasing new weapons of warfare are all systematically treated. The new methods brought into operation by the Second World War are described at some length. 'It was' as Churchill said, 'a conflict of strategy, of organisation, of technical apparatus, of science, of mechanics and morale.' Then there appears a detailed consideration of the war on land, sea and air against appropriate historical backgrounds.

Part II is specifically devoted to the consideration of the history of the Indian armed forces, while Part III describes their present position and their organisation. Thereafter, an account of the Ministry of Defence, the Headquarters of the army, navy and air forces is followed by a diary of events from January to December 1958.

The rest of the book concerns itself with such questions as the Military awards, the peace time role of the fighting forces, the methods of recruitment and training of personnel, followed up by a Who's Who. A War map of Kashmir and Jammu as on 27th October, 1948, which appears on p. 570 of the book is useful. A few more maps, like a world map and a map of India could have been included with advantage in order to illustrate the elaborate narrative. On the other hand, the far too many advertisements of commercial products and services could have been cut out or reduced. There are a few misprints. Nevertheless, on the whole, the book is useful since it provides in a single compass all the details connected with the problems of Indian warfare.

K. K. PILLAY.

GAIKWADS OF BARODA, Sayaji Rao II. A.D. 1821 to A.D. 1830 (Selections from the Baroda Residency Records) by G. B. Pandya.

This is a posthumous publication of Sri G. B. Pandya, lately Professor and head of the Department of History, Baroda University. This volume contains a useful collection of the English records of the British Residency in Baroda, bearing on the period from 1821 to 1830. The Marathi records pertaining to this period are embodied in the Historical Selections from Baroda Records, Vol. VII and Historical Selections from Baroda Records (New Series) Vol. I. But a full picture of the times cannot be had without reference to the English records of the Residency and that need is attempted to be fulfilled by the publication of this volume. The collection of these records was a matter of urgent public importance for 'the old records have been getting older, the ink in some of them is illegible and paper is fast getting brittle. A few years more and many of these records will be unreadable.'

In rescuing them from destruction and making them available for research workers on the period the late Sri Pandya has rendered a piece of valuable service. He has made a selection of the useful documents from out of a large mass and arranged them under suitable categories like those pertaining to the Gaikwad's family, Gaikwad's administration, the progress of trade and commerce, social events and so on. This grouping of the records helps research workers in the matter of ready reference.

The period from 1821 to 1830 is of special significance in the history of the British in Western India. With the end of the last Maratha war and the final collapse of the Maratha confederacy a new policy, namely, that of 'subordinate isolation' towards the Indian States, was inaugurated by Lord Hastings. "This policy can be best examined by concentration on a particular area. The relations of the East India company with the Gaikwad, the clash of their interests in Kathiawad and Mahikantha and ultimately the emergence of the East India Company as the supreme power in day-to-day administration with its allies makes an interesting study".

To the researchers working on the history of the period of the Gaikwads or on the Social history of this period, these records are bound to be great value. It is interesting to note the incidents

of Sati and of female infanticide specified in some of these documents. The records also mention the several castes and tribes of the region, the nature and volume of the commerce and the prevalence of fragmentation of land, particularly in Kathiawad. This is the 1st volume of the series and it is presumed that others will undertake to provide data for the period down to 1920.

K. K. PILLAY.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CASTE, by G. K. Pillai,
Director of the Centre of Indology, Allahabad.

The caste system, which is the most distinctive social institution of the Hindus, has of late received considerable attention at the hands of scholars. Sri G. K. Pillai attempts in this book an examination of the origin and development of caste in India. Rightly he discounts the traditional account embodied in the purushasukta hymn of the Rigveda. This hymn provides a mythical origin to the institution of caste; it states that the Brahman sprang from the mouth, the Rajanya (Kshatriya) from the arms, the Vaisya from the thighs and the Sudra from the feet of the Purusha. Manu, whose exposition of the caste system was based on this hymn, identified the Purusha with Brahma, while the Vishnu Purana identified him with Vishnu. However, on the basis of internal evidence, Max Muller pointed out long ago that the Purushasukta hymn is really a later interpolation into the Vedic text. This is rightly accepted by the author of this book. But it is not quite clear why he rejects the so-called Western theory that the Aryan invaders subdued the earlier inhabitants of the land and reduced them to the position of slaves, who are identified with the Dasas or Dasyus, mentioned in the Rig Veda. Mr. Pillai contends that the Dasyus are spoken of figuratively as dark clouds (Asvins), which according to him suggests that the Dasyus were not enemies in human form. But this is far from convincing; a figurative expression of the enemies as clouds in terms of natural phenomena is perfectly understandable. Further, the author's disbelief in the theory of Aryan invasion on the ground that there is no historical, traditional or archaeological evidence to establish the fact of an Aryan invasion, is based entirely on negative arguments.

The author of the book thinks on the other hand that caste emerged out of the herd instinct of the people as a result of which they grouped themselves into units for the purpose of mutual assistance and social service. He adds that caste divisions originated on the basis of calling or profession and not on the basis of political supremacy of one race or section over the other. Moreover, ancestor worship, arising out of a fear psychosis played its part in strengthening the bonds of caste. Religion, too, in due course became another factor of distinction. But this analysis betrays a tendency to read the present into the past. It is an open question whether the religious distinction itself was not based on the conquest and triumph of the victors. In fact, the fundamental question is what formed the original basis of caste distinction. Caste is a social organisation and as Maret says all social organisations should be investigated as set in motion by "many wheels in a social machine". The older view that the original basis of colour distinction arose out of the Aryan conquest seems still unimpeachable though other factors like those based on occupation, ancestor worship and religion contributed to the further development of the caste divisions.

Mr. Pillai goes on to trace the contribution of the Mundas and Dravidians to the growth of caste. He draws a parallel between the Munda social organisations and the Hindu organisations of 'gotras' and 'varnas'. From a review of conditions in Malabar and the growth of distinctions between the leisurely castes like Nambudris and Nairs, the occupational castes like the Panan and Kaniyan and the Unapproachables like the Vedan and Pulayan, he tries to show how the distinctions which had emerged on the basis of calling or profession became fused with other distinctions and contributed to the development of caste. There is considerable force in this analysis although in respect of a vast mass of people like the Hindus it is idle to contend that one or two factors alone could have brought about the same tendency all over India. It is tempting to oversimplify a complex phenomenon like the caste.

Writing on the history of the caste system, he says that sometime about 1000 B.C. the brahmins occupied merely the position of priests. There was considerable elasticity in the regulation of caste and intermarriages between the various castes were not

unknown. It was about the time of Pushyamitra Sunga, the brahmin king, that the social ascendancy of the brahmins began to be established on a firm basis. This impetus given to the exaltation of brahmanas continued even when non-brahmin dynasties like those of the Nandas and Guptas ruled. The remarkable ascendancy of Sanskrit which indirectly enhanced the position and prestige of the brahmins appeared in the Gupta age. Meanwhile Manu's classical treatise served to elevate the Brahmins to the most lofty position. Consequently their authority and special privileges increased in the courts and temples.

The Gupta age witnessed the development of Puranic literature in which pro-brahmanical ideas were stressed. Meanwhile, the reinforcement of the Kshatriyas by the incorporation of foreigners and certain low castes strengthened the Hindu hierarchy. The multiplication of sub castes and the increased rigidity of the groups expressed through meticulous restrictions of interdining and intermarriage were features of later ages.

Though caste has operated as a fissiparous element of Hindu society, as the author rightly says: it has also conferred substantial benefits in the matter of social development. It has contributed to the evolution of the solidarity of the groups. It has helped specialisation in different branches of occupation. It has fostered traditions in art, craft, industry and science.

But it is difficult to agree with the author's view that caste in ancient days never stood in the way of individual advancement. True, in the Vedic days those sudras who were prepared to join the *dvija* fraternity became prominent among the Rishis who founded even famous Rishi-Kulas and Gotras; in the days of the Upanishads they became teachers of repute. But exceptions should not be taken to have been the rule. Moreover, the author exaggerates the real position when he writes that 'even in medieval times they (the sudras) became great saints and propounders of religion'. Unquestionably in medieval and modern periods of India's history caste has been responsible for enormous social arrogance and intolerance and has promoted disputes between castes no less than between various sub-castes themselves.

In fact, the chapter on 'The Democratic' aspect of caste is strikingly one-sided. To say that 'every caste within itself is a

perfect democratic unit and that individuals enjoy perfect equality in their respective castes' (p. 191) is obviously a misstatement.

The book is no doubt the product of wide reading. It provokes thought on a hackneyed subject. There are several misprints besides those indicated in the Errata.

K. K. PILLAY

A. MENDOZA: *Panorama de las ideas contemporáneas en los Estados Unidos*, pp. 137, Mexico, 1958.

This is the fourth volume of the series in Spanish "Historia De Las Ideas En America", published in cooperation by "La Comisión de Historial del Institute Panamericano de Geografia e Historia" and "El Fondo de Cultura Económica" and with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation, one volume whereof I have reviewed earlier in the pages of this journal.

The book is divided into three parts, out of which the first is devoted to "El pensamiento economicoy social", the second to "Las ideologicas del sistema", and the third "Las ideas politicas y filosoficas", with "Introducción Estados Unidos: cincuenta años de transformación" at the beginning.

The book, which is written from the point of view of mainly the Latin Americans, examines with a penetrating analysis and an illuminating treatment the present day U.S.A.—its technology, its philosophy, and its socio-economic organization—and points out the Liberal Capitalism as the ultimate ideal of the American civilization. It shows that the American life is the resultant of the interplay of the two forces, viz., the "Purified Collectivism" and the "Protestantist Individualism", and that there co-exist in the American life (i) the big Captains of Industry, (ii) the formidable Leaders of the Working Class, and (iii) the Law that is typical of the eighteenth century with an uncompromising Individualism in its essence. It shows that today in the American life here is taking place a Silent Revolution, which the author has characterised as follows:

"Los organizadores de los grandes capitales", XXX, says the author, "han sabido aprovechar esta coyuntura dando un paso que transforma el regimen de la propiedad privada; han fundido las

corporaciones o empresas de capital en las que desaparecen los grandes propietarios para dar lugar a la clase de los gerentes o managers: en tanto que las propiedades de las empresas se atomizan en manos de miles de accionistas, el control de las mismas lo asumen tales administradores, que siendo de acuerdo con la ley sólo, depositarios, en la práctica disponen, venden, truecan, y compran los bienes que no les pertenecen jurídicamente. El obrerismo, por su parte, ante esos monstruos sin cabeza visible, ha tenido que organizarse al parejo y el líder obrero ha dejado de ser un agitador oportunista e improvisado para convertirse en un técnico hábil, bien informado, con el fin de que, auxiliado por economistas y abogados, pueda defender los intereses de sus compañeros en el plano en que las empresas se han colocado."

The book does not claim to have treated completely and exhaustively all the contemporary ideas. However it certainly gives the key to understand all those ideas and their foundation, which is the contemporary life itself in the U.S.A. This book is, in its essence, a contemplation on the contemporary society in the U.S.A. that is undergoing a radical transformation under the domination of the present-day technological era in the U.S.A., and contains an analysis of the contemporary capitalism in the U.S.A.

Today the U.S.A., according to the analysis of the author, seems to be in the throes of a new Industrial Revolution under the stresses and the strains of the extraordinary technological advance, which has been leading to an era of Automatism in the U.S.A. Today one can say definitely that the U.S.A. has entered into an era of automatic controls. Of course, "La fábrica totalmente automatizada aun no ha sido organizada"; however, "pero ya se hacen planes para aplicar el principio de retroacción en la fabricación de artefactos caseros.....en la medicina.....en espectáculos públicos. Actualmente utilizan calculadores y aparatos automáticos en actividades especiales como la publicidad, para proyectar la estrategia de las ventas en cada temporada; además, en las grandes oficinas se les utiliza para levantar inventarios y para la formación de ficheros para distribuir la correspondencia. Otro campo de aplicación está en el control del empleo de anestesia, rayos X y diatermia. Existen ya máquinas que leen, escriben, traducen; otras están a cargo, de sistemas electrónicos de navegación aérea, XXX, en prácticas de oceanografía y de cos-

mografía y efectúan operaciones aritméticas miles y millones de veces mas rápido que el ojo, lamente y las manos humanas."

The transformation, which the contemporary American society is undergoing, is characterised by the following dominant features: the private individual Ownership of Capital giving place to the public corporate Ownership of Capital, the separation between the Ownership and Control (i.e. the Management) of Industry, the growing ardour of difficulty of the Workers' fight with the principles of all their Movements initiated into the second half of the nineteenth century grows into a strong force inevitably born out of the social necessity but seriously handicapped in being transformed into Law because of the Constitution of the U.S.A. being essentially "individualistic" because of its coming into existence and being elaborated in the eighteenth century under the then dominating concept of the "individual" and not at all under the now dominating concept of the "class", the Workers' economic ideology not rebelling against the profit motive in the Industrial and Capitalistic organization and recognizing the value of the profit motive as a spur and yet having objectives revolutionary enough the revolution being the sense of aiming at a radical transformation of the American society but only with no other purpose than that of securing some advantages to the Workers, the Workers' old tactics of fighting consisting of Agitation, Strike, and Demonstration today being transformed into a new skilful technique of fighting, which is more well-informed and is aided by the economists and the advocates, wherein the Workers' Leader has ceased to be an opportunist agitator and has become a skilful negotiator, the Workers' Class-Consciousness not very acute today because of their aspiration to live in an Open Society wherein everyone can pass from the status of a "Worker" to that of a "Capitalist" the Open Society, however, being gradually "closed" today because of the anti-Workers offensive launched by the Big Corporations and the State during the post-war period with the result that the Worker today has ceased to claim to belong to the "Middle Class" but affirms to belong to the "Working Class".

As regards the religious ideas, the religious foundation of the American Society is essentially determined by the Puritan Protestantism, which explains the apparent severity of some inhabitants of the country and the obvious feeling of the Americans

being the carriers and preservers of the Christian values in the world. The U.S.A. has been extraordinarily receptive to every "ism" that appeared anywhere in the world in the field of religion in the recent times. A survey of those "isms" in relation to the Puritan Protestantist background would have added to the value of the book of such a nature. As regards the philosophical ideas, the American philosophical thinking, which can be characterised as Scientificism in a spirit, has, according to the author, led the majority of cases to an impossible metaphysics of the sciences. The author has given a clear picture of the various philosophical ideas in America both of the "transoceanic" origin as well as of the native origin. The American philosophy is characterised by a pragmatic temper, a scientific spirit, and an individualistic ideal.

This are, in brief, the contents of the book. Those, who are faced with a choice and hence are interested in the comparison between the two systems of life—one with "Free Enterprise and Freedom" and another with "Planning and Regimentation", may find much that is interesting from the side of the Capitalist system of life. The author's fear regarding the human labour being replaced by automatic machine and the result of the consequent unemployment is unnecessary in view of the experiences of the Industrial Revolution in England. The old Industrial Revolution in England somehow found later a solution of the problem, which it created earlier, and allayed the fears disproportionately raised in the beginning. It can therefore, be hoped now that the new Industrial Revolution following the introduction of the automatic machines in industry in the U.S.A. may also be able to do the same in due course. And besides, the human labour today shows a tendency to find fault not so much with the machine as with the owner of the machine. The quarrel today is more of the nature of the employee versus the employer than the human labour versus the machine. To examine the philosophical ideas, along with other ideas, in relation to the social life is an interesting feature of the volumes of this "History of the Ideas in America" series. It may help in toning down the usual criticism of philosophy as an intellectual pastime of soaring into a cloudland of speculation unrelated to life. Philosophy is rooted in life and has to bear fruit only in relation to life.

R. B. JOSHI

A REVIEW OF "TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF TAMIL LITERATURE"—Publisher: J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, B.A., B.L., Annamalainagar, Price Rs. 8.25.

Sri J. M. Somasundaram Pillai's collection of English renderings from Tamil, entitled "Two Thousand Years of Tamil Literature", is intended to awaken the interest of non-Tamil people in the glories of Tamil literature. It has to be confessed, however, that the title is a misnomer. It does not, by any means, represent Tamil literature throughout the ages. What two thousand years of Tamil literature have been there without the Kambaramayanam? And there has not been much sense of proportion in the space allotted to the selections. Far too much space has been allotted to Sangam poetry and ethical poetry, even to the Tirukkural. As the book stands, barring the translations from the Pura-nanooru, the impression conveyed through the translations is that the wealth of Tamil is only in its ethical sayings and its hymns. It appears that the editor has simply made a collection of competent translations from Tamil, that came in his way. But it would have been better if he had thought out another title.

As for the translation themselves, they are not, naturally, of the same value, being by different authors. The translations by the Rev. Pope are just as good as translations can be, representing devoted study, though he has occasionally misinterpreted the meaning. They do not indeed show a very sensitive style or absolute command of verse-form, but they are easily the best in the book. Mullai-p-pattu and Nedu-nal-vadai, the twin crown-jewels of Sangam poetry, have been rendered into English by Sri J. M. Somasundaram Pillai himself, and one is thankful that he has restricted himself to prose. They are faithful renderings and quite good as far as prose goes. Sri J. M. Nallaswami, in an otherwise good translation, has apparently been misguided by the commentator in rendering thus two lines from Kalittotai, which change the whole tone: "Lo! How fools call this evening beautiful! They know not it is the time for beautiful women to part from life". The poet really means: "Fools call this the evening! They do not know that this is the time that unfolds the lives of beautiful women". Sri J. M. Nallaswami's translations are on the whole competent. But he rather spoils his patient labour with irrelevant remarks, as for instance, on the chastity of Indian women. But more shocking and awfully misleading is the remark of

Sri Veerabhadra Mudaliar, that the ancient writers have 'imposed' upon husbands the 'duty' of 'patronising' harlots. His translations, by themselves, are more or less faithful. As for the hymns, those rendered by Sir P. Ramanathan, Sir P. Arunachalam and Sri S. S. Bharati are tolerably good. But the chief beauties of the Tamil hymns, their cadences and their sweet ardour, are not to be expected.

On the whole the book does not take us a very long way towards an understanding of Tamil literature, though attempts of this kind deserve to be encouraged, and as individual translations, many of the pieces are commendable.

JESUDASAN.

A HANDBOOK TO OLD RECORDS OF THE ASSAM SECRETARIAT. By Kesav Narayan Dutt, M.A., B.L., Deputy Director, Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam (1951-1954), Editor for the Revision of the District Gazetteers of Assam. Education Department, Government of Assam, Shillong, 1959. Pp. vii + 383 + XLVIII, price Rs. 5/.

The term "Old Records" used in the title of this book refers to the records in the Assam Secretariat at Shillong from 1823 to 1874. The province of Assam came into British hands in 1826 by the treaty of Yandabu signed on February 24 of that year which brought to a close the war between Burma and the East India Company, the First Burmese War.

The records of the first three years from 1823 contain correspondence which gives an insight into the Burmese reactions to the Company's policy of expansion on the Eastern Frontier which was the real cause of the First Burmese War. "David Scot who was then staying at Sylhet as Commissioner of Rangpur and Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier, later brought these papers to Assam and thus they constitute the starting pages of the Assam records under the British Administration." These are preserved in the first five volumes (numbered 1, 2, 2a, 2b and 3) of the Series "Letters Received". The sixth volume of this series bearing No. 4 is missing.

The Preface states how the scheme for this Handbook originated and how it was carried out. The Introduction discusses the lay out of the Handbook and it also tells us something of the physical condition of the "Old Records". It also whets the appetite of the student of Assam history and affairs by giving just a glimpse of the contents of the main body of the "Old Records". The Compiler tells us that they deal with "the early story not only of the formation, growth and development of the modern state of Assam and its administration, but also focus a flood of light on many matters such as the composition of the population and its habitat (*sic*), the progress of the people in different fields of life and activity, etc.... But more than anything else the records throw interesting light on the evolution of British policy—both administrative and political—in Assam and the North-East Frontier of India".

The Handbook itself is divided into eight chapters of which Chapter IV gives a list of the volumes comprising these *Old Records* and extends to 100 pages. The volumes, 400 in number, are divided into 13 series. According to an old register which, we are told, cannot now be traced, the number of volumes was 418. It is not known when this old register was compiled, but during the time that elapsed between the making of this old register and the preparation of the present *Handbook* 18 volumes of records seem to have been lost. This statement is based on the strength of a comparative table given on pp. 3-4 of the preface. But the figures should be actually 395 and 420, the former for number of existing volumes and the latter for number of volumes in the old list. The number of volumes not now traceable seems to be 25 and not 18 as the comparative figures on p. iv indicate.

The volumes comprising the *Old Records* are group in thirteen series and here the reviewer notes a small discrepancy in the number of volumes in Series I as given in Chapter IV, pp. 52-61. The number of the last volume of this series as given on p. 61 is 66 whereas the "number of existing volumes" in this series as given on n. iii is 73. In the list at pp. 52-66 we find volumes numbered as Volume 2, Volume 2(a), Volume 2(b) etc. Volumes 4 and 5 are noted as "Missing". Taking these facts into consideration the total number of volumes in Series I works out at 83. Perhaps the compiler of the *Handbook* has a perfectly simple explanation for these, what the reviewer considers, minor discrepancies. But

he thought it best to mention them as they may give a clue to the whereabouts of the missing volumes! It would be best if the number of volumes in each series listed at pp. 52-150 are checked and tallied with the "No. of existing volumes" on pp. 3-4 of the preface.

Besides the thirteen series there is also a group of papers entitled "Files and Bundles" consisting of 907 items which have been listed in Chapter VIII, pp. 329-383 in five sections. Contents of each file or bundle are indicated in brief.

Chapter V gives a general description of the contents of the volumes in each series and Chapter VII gives a survey of contents of each volume in a series. Chapter VI has explanatory notes on the "Files and Bundles".

Besides these chapters dealing with contents of the *Old Records* of Assam, the *Handbook* has two very useful chapters which help better in our understanding of the material contained in these records. Chapter I is entitled "Historical Sketch of the Period, 1823-1874" and Chapter II describes "British Relations with the Hill Tribes". Chapter III is a short one entitled "A note on the Personnel of the Administration" giving a brief indication of the officers that conducted the revenue and judicial administration of Assam between 1823 and 1874.

The arrangement of the *Handbook* is somewhat unorthodox and, by the very nature of the layout of Chapters IV to VIII, has entailed certain repetitions. But it gives an excellent idea of the contents and importance of *Old Records* of the Assam Record Office and it will prove an indispensable reference tool to all students of Assam affairs and to the administrators who may want to study the historical background of Assam tribes.

A very useful feature of the *Handbook* is an index extending to 48 pages.

Prof. Dutt deserves congratulations for having prepared and published such a fine reference volume.

P. M. JOSHI

CHRONOLOGY OF GUJARAT—HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL, by M. R. Majmudar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., published by Maharaja Sayajirao, University of Baroda, Baroda 1960; price Rs. 24.00; pages 342 qto. with 90 Plates and 8 maps.

The work under review has been compiled by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in collaboration with Dr. A. N. Jani, Prof. H. R. Kapadia, Shri Amrit Pandya and Dr. H. G. Shastri. The aim of the editor was to present the important facts of the early history of Gujarat, both political and cultural, arranged in a chronological order beginning from the prehistoric age down to c. 1000 A.D., in a manner intelligible to an ordinary educated Indian who is not a specialist in the subject. We are glad to note that this purpose has been realised to a considerable extent. The nature of the present work is somewhat like that of R. Sewell's valuable book entitled *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, though its scope is much wider since it discusses other antiquities besides inscriptions. While congratulating the editor, his collaborators and the publishers of the book, we eagerly wait for the next volume of the series.

The work is divided into eight chapters, the first of which deal with the prehistory and protohistory of Gujarat. The history of the land during the ages of the Mouryas, the Indo-Greeks, the Śaka Kshatrapas and the Guptas has been discussed in Chapters II-VI respectively. Chapter VII deals with the age of the Maitrakas and Gurjaras and Chapter VIII concludes the historical discussions with the delineation of the history of Gujarat in the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pratihāras. There is an Appendix dealing with the Puranic data on the geography of the land, in which the place names discussed have been alphabetically arranged. There is also a note on the recent excavations at Devani Mori. A large number of antiquities (e.g. inscriptions, coins, sculptures, temples, etc.) relating to the various sections are described with illustrations. The material presented is fairly exhaustive and will no doubt be useful to one willing to have an idea of the political and cultural history of ancient Gujarat.

There are some minor flaws in the book to which we draw the attention of the learned editor and his erudite collaborators so that they may be eradicated in a future edition of the work. The transliteration of Sanskrit words is often inaccurate; cf.

J. 27

p. 197, lines 3 and 4—*sri* for *śrī*; line 22—*nibaṇḍha* for *nibandha*; line 33—*Bhaṭṭakah* for *Bhaṭṭakkah*; etc. In some cases, there is a violation of the chronological order and inaccuracy in the references. Thus the Chumli copper-plate inscription 989 A.D. has been notice at p. 259 in the middle of references to 915 A.D., whereas its correct place is at p. 297 between the references to 972 and 999 A.D. Again, the work, wherein the Ghumli plates were published, is given as *CI*. which is a mistake for *EI*. (i.e. *Epigraphia Indica*). The quotations of the readings of certain small inscriptions (not yet published elsewhere) appear to be wrong. Thus the word *ghaṭaḥ* read in Plate XXVII A (A) is *ghaṁṭā* and what has been read elsewhere on the same Plate (C) as *ghaḥṭa* is *ghaṁṭ[ā]*. The reading of the Prabhās Pāṭan potsherd inscription is not *dasamapusitī* (pp. 94, 315; Plate XVII, A) but *Dasamasa sitī* (Sanskrit *Daśamasya smṛitiḥ*, 'the memorial of Dāśama'). We find it difficult to read the Buddhist formula *ye dharmā*, etc. in the Mahudi Buddha image inscription (p. 318; Plate LXXIX, B). It is not correct to say that, in the Rajkot Museum inscription of a Śaka *Mahākshatrapa*, "Except the words *Rājño Mahākshatrapasya*, nothing can be made out" (p. 315). The inscription has been read and interpreted in an article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, Part IV.

D. C. SIRCAR

PRINCIPLES OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. B. N. Pal.
Kitab Mahal. Price Rs. 18-0-0. Pages 751.

Seven hundred and fifty one pages of closely printed matter, this book looks more an encyclopaedia than a 'consolidated statement of the principles of agricultural economics' that it purports to be. The reader is treated to a rambling account of scope of agricultural economics, elementary economics, national agriculture, rural enterprises, agricultural operations and systems and a dozen and a half other topics. The book is evidently a compendium of class-notes pieced together without proper arrangement. It lacks perspective, proportion and poise.

The reader will readily appreciate the stand of the author in claiming no originality. For any one possessing some knowledge of agricultural economics the contents of this book are very familiar.

It is obviously intended for the student and the layman. But then both are likely to lose the wood for the tree. There is so much of repetition and overlapping in this book (Read Chapter III with Chapter IV for instance) that one feels half of it could be profitably deleted. A rigorous process of pruning and trimming would not only render this book more handy and digestible but also make it more useful for the general reader and the student.

K. S. LAKSHMANA PANIKKAR

THEORY OF MARKETING IN UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES: J. N. Chaturvedi. Kitab Mahal. Allahabad. Price Rs. 7.50.

The study of under-developed has registered a high rate of development in the post-war period. Sri Chaturvedi has shown considerable ingenuity in choosing an aspect of under-development which has not received much attention. It is doubtful if the author has reached his goal. The quest, it is said, is more exciting than conquest.

The author argues elaborately, but not convincingly, the case for a different theory of marketing for under-developed countries. The distinction drawn between real and forced marketable surplus rests on flimsy premise. It is clearly invalid at any rate in respect of products other than food materials and even in respect of products a negligible proportion of which is consumed by the producer. An American farmer's need for clothing is by no means less intense than the need of the Indian farmer; both eventually get it by exchanging their products.

The author tries to establish (again with little success) that production and marketing are distinct functions, the similarity between them being 'indirect' and 'remote'. Production creates form utility while marketing creates time, place and possession utilities. This dichotomy too turns out to be a distinction without difference. The view that regards marketing as a part of production is not only more sound but also is more realistic. It does not necessarily represent a laissezfaire approach. Even in a centrally directed economy production and marketing form an integrated problem. Marketing is related to the general economic theory by its intimate relationship with production narrowly defined.

While commenting on the prevalence of perfect competition in agriculture due weight is not attached to the inelasticity of agricultural production. In the same manner the limitations of mechanisations in the agriculture of an under-developed country are ignored. The author deals at length on the role of urban industrial sector but does not show how developments in it impinge on the structure and functions of marketing agencies.

The author vehemently opposes exclusive reliance on capital in under-developed countries to the neglect of "those factors whose continuance constitutes a serious obstacle to progress" (P. 111). Pray, what are these factors?

The exposition of the differences between the aims of producers in developed and under-developed countries and the arguments for eliminaiing middlemen are as unconvincing as they are fragmentary. In the new marketing system envisaged by the author the village grain-banks and retail societies have the pivotal significance. These exist in several under-developed countries and evidently they have not been a penacea for the manifold ills of agricultural marketing.

The reader is left puzzled by such patently self-contradictory statements as the following:

"The so-called similarity between marketing and production is therefore only indirect and remote one. They do not have much of a direct relationship" (P. 14).

"Efficiency of agricultural production and efficiency of agricultural marketing vary directly with each other. If one of them is inefficient the other must necessarily be so" (P. 36).

One will search in vain for a treatment of such significant developments as regulation of markets, co-operative marketing and the role of the State in agricultural marketing in Sri Chaturvedi's exposition. The writing is too diffused and the reasoning lacks analytical rigour. And above all the sum of Rs. 7.50 is too high a price for an amateurish publication of this type.

K. S. LAKSHMANA PANIKKAR

INDIAN ECONOMICS YEAR BOOK—1959-60 (Revised and Enlarged). Kitab Mahal. 56-A, Zaro Road, Allahabad. Price Rs. 3-00.

The Indian Economics Year Book—the publishers claim legitimately—is the first publication of its kind. It “has been written with a view to providing the Indian reader, interested in economic problems (which reader is not?) a bird’s eye-view of the latest facts relating to economic life in this country in the context of the world picture.” The publishers deserve to be congratulated on the successful pursuit of this aim.

This book gives in a readable form copious information regarding the land and the people, natural resources, five year plans, agriculture, land reforms, co-operation, irrigation and power, community projects, industry, labour, transport, communications, foreign trade, currency and banking, insurance, public finance, prices, national income and miscellaneous items. Such a publication can hardly be exhaustive. All the same the omission of highly important items like employment appears to be a serious deficiency. Under transport one should expect to find a treatment of aviation. A few facts regarding the rates and exemption in income-tax could have been usefully furnished. The world picture has been ignored in many cases as in the section dealing with prices and cost of living.

A good part of historical treatment could be deleted without harm in a book of this kind (e.g. Kaldor’s report). It would have been perhaps useful to give a list of the important economic publications (books, reports and periodicals) as also of leading institutions carrying on research and investigations in the country.

K. S. LAKSHMANA PANIKKAR

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Asiatic Society of Pakistan—Journal of the*, Vol. IV, 1959, Dacca.
 1. *Administrative System of the Sultans of the Khidr-Khani (The Sayyid, Dynasty*, by Dr. A. Halim.
- II. *Asiatic Society of Pakistan—Journal of the*, Vol. V, 1960.
 1. *Local Administration of the Sayyid*, by Dr. A. Halim.
- III. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the*, Vol. X, No. I, September, 1960, Baroda.
 1. *Capture of Chitor by the Imperial Prathiharas, probable Significance of the Citrangada-Sambhalisa Episode*, by Dasharatha Sharma.

Index of Contents of Periodicals

1. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. IV, 1901	1
2. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. V, 1902	1
3. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. VI, 1903	1
4. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. VII, 1904	1
5. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. VIII, 1905	1
6. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. IX, 1906	1
7. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. X, 1907	1
8. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XI, 1908	1
9. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XII, 1909	1
10. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XIII, 1910	1
11. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XIV, 1911	1
12. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XV, 1912	1
13. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XVI, 1913	1
14. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XVII, 1914	1
15. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XVIII, 1915	1
16. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XIX, 1916	1
17. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XX, 1917	1
18. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXI, 1918	1
19. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXII, 1919	1
20. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXIII, 1920	1
21. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXIV, 1921	1
22. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXV, 1922	1
23. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXVI, 1923	1
24. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXVII, 1924	1
25. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXVIII, 1925	1
26. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXIX, 1926	1
27. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXX, 1927	1
28. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXI, 1928	1
29. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXII, 1929	1
30. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXIII, 1930	1
31. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXIV, 1931	1
32. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXV, 1932	1
33. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXVI, 1933	1
34. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXVII, 1934	1
35. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXVIII, 1935	1
36. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XXXIX, 1936	1
37. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XL, 1937	1
38. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLI, 1938	1
39. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLII, 1939	1
40. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLIII, 1940	1
41. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLIV, 1941	1
42. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLV, 1942	1
43. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLVI, 1943	1
44. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLVII, 1944	1
45. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLVIII, 1945	1
46. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. XLIX, 1946	1
47. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. L, 1947	1
48. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LI, 1948	1
49. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LII, 1949	1
50. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LIII, 1950	1
51. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LIV, 1951	1
52. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LV, 1952	1
53. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LVI, 1953	1
54. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LVII, 1954	1
55. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LVIII, 1955	1
56. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LIX, 1956	1
57. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LX, 1957	1
58. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXI, 1958	1
59. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXII, 1959	1
60. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXIII, 1960	1
61. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXIV, 1961	1
62. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXV, 1962	1
63. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXVI, 1963	1
64. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXVII, 1964	1
65. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXVIII, 1965	1
66. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXIX, 1966	1
67. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXX, 1967	1
68. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXI, 1968	1
69. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXII, 1969	1
70. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXIII, 1970	1
71. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXIV, 1971	1
72. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXV, 1972	1
73. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXVI, 1973	1
74. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXVII, 1974	1
75. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXVIII, 1975	1
76. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXIX, 1976	1
77. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXX, 1977	1
78. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXI, 1978	1
79. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXII, 1979	1
80. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXIII, 1980	1
81. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXIV, 1981	1
82. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXV, 1982	1
83. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXVI, 1983	1
84. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXVII, 1984	1
85. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXVIII, 1985	1
86. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXIX, 1986	1
87. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXX, 1987	1
88. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXI, 1988	1
89. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXII, 1989	1
90. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXIII, 1990	1
91. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXIV, 1991	1
92. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXV, 1992	1
93. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXVI, 1993	1
94. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXVII, 1994	1
95. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXVIII, 1995	1
96. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXIX, 1996	1
97. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXX, 1997	1
98. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXXI, 1998	1
99. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXXII, 1999	1
100. Arya Samaj - Journal of the Vol. LXXXXXIII, 2000	1

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
15. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review*, Madras.
18. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review*.
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.

Printed by G. Srinivasachari, B.A., at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXIX, Part II

August, 1961

Serial No. 116

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
ACROSS THE OCEANIC FRONTIER OF KARNATAKA—by Dr. B. A. Saletore ..	211	DUTCH PIONEERS IN MALABAR (A narrative based on Dutch sources)—by T. I. Poonen, M.A., Ph.D. ..	267
A FEW THOUGHTS ON JAINISM —by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S. ..	225	FALL OF SIRAJUDDAULA, THE NAWAB OF BENGAL—by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvanshi ..	287
HISTORY OF NAGDA—by Dr. Kailash Chand Jain, M.A., Ph.D. ..	249	LAND SYSTEM IN MEDIAEVAL ORISSA (CIRCA 750-1200) by Ram Sharan Sharma ..	303
TWO SAIVA SHRINES IN TIRU- PATI—by Dr. V. N. Hari Rao, M.A., Ph.D. ..	257	THE LODI SULTANS AND THE RAJPUT STATES—by Dr. Ha- meed Ud-din ..	313
REVIEWS:—(1) Steamboats on the Ganges: by Henry T. Bernstein. (2) The Dutch East India Company and Mysore (1762-1790) by J. Van Lohuizen, Ph.D.; (3) World History: Our Heritage by M. Mujeeb; (4) History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. I by Tarachand. Foreword by Dr. Humayun Kabir; (5) An Outline of Czechoslovak History by Frantisk Kavka, Ph.D.; (6) Lesson from History by Dr. Václav Král; (7) Account of the Battle of Panipet (1761) by Kasiraj; Persian Text and translation by Dr. B. M. Gai, M.A., Ph.D.; (8) Writings and Speeches of Gandhiji relat- ing to Bihar, from 1917 to 1947: Edited with an Introduction by Dr. K. K. Datta; (9) The Heritage of the last Arhat or Lord Mahavira by Dr. Charlotte Krause (Leipzig); (10) Fresh Light on Kālidāsa's Mehadūta, by V. K. Paranjape; (11) A Survey of Isla- mic Culture and Institutions by K. D. Bhargava; (12) The National Culture of India by S. Abid Husain; (13) Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism by Dr. Radhagovinda Basak (14) The Decline of Bud- dhism in India by Dr. R. C. Mitra, M.A., D.Litt; .. 327			
Select Contents of Periodicals ..			351
Our Exchanges ..			353



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Journal of Indian History

CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

1. DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., HONY., D.LITT., Emeritus Professor, University of Lucknow.
 2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandal, Poona.
 3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., College of Indology, Hindu University, Benares.
 4. PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB, B.A. (OXON), Professor of History, University of Aligarh.
 5. PROFESSOR D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., University of Poona.
 6. DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON).
 7. A. N. TAMPI, B.A. (OXON), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.
 8. SURANAD, P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.
 9. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., formerly Principal, University College, Trivandrum.
 10. DR. YOUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS), Osmania University.
 11. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., University of Lucknow.
 12. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON), Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay.
-

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription: Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-65 Naye Paise

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15
Full page inside : Rs. 10

Half page cover : Rs. 8
Half page-inside : Rs. 6

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to :—

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Editor,
Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK
JOURNAL

of
INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,

*Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum.*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (OXON.)

*Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.*

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,

*formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.*

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (OXON.)

*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाए
NOT TO BE ISSUED

CONTENTS

ACROSS THE OCEANIC FRONTIER OF KARNATAKA—by Dr. B. A. Saletore	.. 211
A FEW THOUGHTS ON JAINISM—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., HONY. F.R.A.S.	.. 225
HISTORY OF NAGDA—by Dr. Kailash Chand Jain, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 249
TWO SAIVA SHRINES IN TIRUPATI—by Dr. V. N. Hari Rao, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 257
DUTCH PIONEERS IN MALABAR (a narrative based on Dutch sources)—by T. I. Poonen, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 267
FALL OF SIRAJUDDAULA, THE NAWAB OF BENGAL—by Dr. V. P. S. RAGHUVANSHI	.. 287
LAND SYSTEM IN MEDIAEVAL ORISSA (CIRCA 750-1200)—by Ram Sharan Sharma	.. 303
THE LODI SULTANS AND THE RAJPUT STATES—by Dr. Hameed Ud-din	.. 313
REVIEWS: (1) Steamboats on the Ganges by Henry T. Bernstein; (2) The Dutch East India Company and Mysore (1762-1790) by J. Van Lohuizen, Ph.D.; (3) World History: Our Heritage by M. Mujeeb; (4) History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. I. by Tarachand. Foreword by Dr. Humayun Kabir; (5) An Outline of Czechoslovak History by Frantisk Kavka, Ph.D.; (6) Lesson from History by Dr. Václav Král; (7) Account of the Battle of Panipat (1761) by Kasi-raj: Persian Text and translation by Dr. B. M. Gai, M.A., Ph.D.; (8) Writings and Speeches of Gandhiji relating to Bihar, from 1917 to 1947: Edited with an Introduction by Dr. K. K. Datta; (9) The Heritage of the last Arhat or Lord Mahavira by Dr. Charlotte Krause (Leipzig); (10) Fresh Light on Kalidasa's Mehaduta by V. K. Paranjape; (11) A Survey of Islamic Culture and Institutions by K. D. Bhargava; (12) The National Culture of India by S. Abid Husain; (13) Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism by Dr. Radha-govinda Basak; (14) The Decline of Buddhism in India by Dr. R. C. Mitra, M.A., D.Litt.	.. 327
Select Contents of Periodicals	.. 351
Our Exchanges	.. 353

Across The Oceanic Frontier of Karnataka

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORÉ,

Dharwar

The importance of the ocean as the western boundary of Karnāṭaka and of the natural features in furthering the material prosperity of the province is seen from the early centuries of the Christian era, when Western geographers and travellers became acquainted with the ports, inland cities, and peoples of Karnāṭaka, and when the foundations were laid of a brisk foreign trade and of internal prosperity. The history of Karnāṭaka from this point of view has not been studied at all, and the contribution of this province to the history of India in the spheres of inland and foreign trade and commerce has not been properly appreciated by scholars. In fact it would not be an exaggeration to state that the existence of Karnāṭaka as a decisive factor in the history of Western and Southern India, has been practically ignored, notwithstanding the fact that abundant materials are available in regard to the ancient and mediaeval history of the land. It cannot be understood how a most fertile province like Karnāṭaka, which is open to the west, and which has been inhabited by an industrious and intelligent people, could ever have remained inactive in the spheres of either foreign or internal trade. The recognized northern frontier of Karnāṭaka was the Godāvarī, although from the strategical point of view, the Kannadigas extended their frontier to the Narmadā, while in the south, it was bounded by the Kāverī. Now this vast area is watered by eight rivers—the Bhīmā, the Nīrā, the Krisnā, the Malaṇṇabā, the Ghaṭaprabhā, the Tungabhadra, the Varadā, and the Kāverī,¹ leaving out of account the smaller rivers like the Netravatī and others which flowing from the Western Ghats enter the Indian Ocean. These rivers by themselves served as the natural highways

1. Cf. Panchamukhi, R. S., *Progress of Kannada Research for 1941-1946*, Parts I & II, p. 36.

for the transporation of the products of the interior to the coast, and from the coast to the inland cities. The distribution of the forests of the Western Ghats which latter are the backbone of Karnāṭaka, and of the low-lying agricultural areas on the banks of the rivers, together with the wide-spread distribution of the building materials like trap rock which is found in the northern belt, limestone and similar porous materials of the Dharwar type deposited in the western regions, and sandstone of the Kaḷādgi variety found in the central parts, and of minerals like iron, gold, and diamonds which were needed for constructive and ornamental purposes,² have not a little been responsible for the promotion of internal and foreign trade and of the many works of art and architecture which have added to the material and artistic wealth of the country.

That the Kannaḍigas were certainly aware of the importance of their oceanic boundary for commercial and political purposes is evident when we note not only the many centres of trade within Karnāṭaka but also one of the distinguishing *birudas* or titles of their rulers. This was especially true of the kings of the regions bordering on the western ocean, and of the great monarchs of the Vijayanagara Empire. The particular *biruda* which was significant from this point of view was expressed in the phrase—"Lords of the Western, Southern, Eastern, and Northern Oceans", as noticeable in the long list of titles of the Vijayanagara monarchs. Of these the *biruda* "Lord of the Western Ocean" is traceable to the times of the Ālupa rulers of Ālvakheda (modern South Kanara and North Kanara) in the thirteenth century. That particular title was borne by the Ālupa Queen Balla Mahādevī, who ruled from A.D. 1276 till A.D. 1292. We have shown elsewhere that this Queen was an able administrator, who conducted the affairs of the Ālupa kingdom according to the time-honoured custom of the Kannaḍigas.³

2. Panchamukhi, *op. cit.*, p. 37. On centres of gold like Honnina Māvanūr, Hukkeri taluka, read Panchamukhi, *Progress Report of Kannada Research for 1947-52*, pp. 12-13. On diamond centres like those at Vajra Karur, near Bellary, read Sampat Iyengar, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, III, p. 119. Read also Sewell, R., *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar*, pp. 399-401. On the diamond centre of Kollur, read Foster, William, *The English Factories in India, 1618-29*, p. 208.

3. Read Saletore, B.A., Queen Balla Mahādevī in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, XI. P. IV (1943, Jan.) p. 25-30. See also 336 of 1931-1932 (*Ep. Report of the Southern Circle for 1931-1932*).

Of all the monarchs of India till the end of the middle ages, the Vijayanagara rulers alone may be said to have understood the importance of the ocean in the domain of politics. This is evident when we note the title referring to the four oceans given above. While the reference to the western, southern, and eastern oceans in that title is obvious, that referring to the northern ocean is not clear excepting on the assumption that those rulers may have had in their minds that Godāvārī was their northern boundary, as in the days of old. But the inclusion of this reference to the "northern" ocean in the general phrase referring to the four oceans, seems to have taken some time. When we meet with the general title, relating to the oceans we find only three oceans mentioned. Thus, the Kalleśvara temple stone inscription dated A.D. 1368 which we shall cite later on, while describing the relations between Kashmir and Kārṇāṭaka, gives, among other titles, the following *biruda* to king Bukka Raya I—"Lord of the Eastern, Southern and Western Oceans". (*pūrvā-dakṣiṇa-pāścima-samudrādhipatiḥ*).⁴ The next ruler king Harihara Raya II (A.D. 1377-1404), also bore the same title, as is evident from one of the stone inscriptions found in the village of Beḷagutti, Honnālī tāluka, Shimoga district, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1379 of the reign of the same monarch.⁵ The existence of an Admiral of the Eastern Ocean is proved by three stone inscriptions dated Śaka 1273 (A.D. 1351), Śaka 1275 (A.D. 1353), and Śaka 1283 (A.D. 1367) which mention Virāśrī Sovanṇa Oḍeyar as the Lord of the Eastern Ocean ruling from the capital Udaya-giripattana.⁶ So late as A.D. 1544 Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya is called the Lord of the Four Oceans (*uttara-dakṣiṇa-pūrva-pāścima-catus-samudādhipatiḥ*).⁷ We are not concerned here with the practical measures which the rulers of Vijayanagara adopted to protect the vast oceanic border of their empire. Nor are we concerned with their cordial dealings with foreign powers. Some of their feudatories on the western oceanic frontier, particularly on the coast of the two Kanaras, were primarily responsible for warding off a great danger which, if left unchallenged, would have wiped off the last trace of Hindu culture and tradition in this part

4. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, Sk. 281, p. 146.

5. *Ibid.*, Hn. 84, p. 175; text, p. 409.

6. Nos. 503, 500 and 509 of 1906; Rangachari, V., *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 63.

7. *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, P. II, No. 609, p. 619; No. 398 of 1928.

of the country. The most creditable achievements of the small rulers of Karnāṭaka on the western border of the Empire of Vijayanagara, whose history will be narrated in another context, presuppose the planning and execution of certain measures both by the feudatories and their suzerains, the rulers of Vijayanagara, concerning which some details are available in records.

But the Kannaḍigas seem to have had an age-long policy of tackling this problem of the ocean if we are to believe the detailed notices of some of their most important coastal and inland cities in the accounts of foreign geographers and travellers from the second century A.D. onwards. These foreign witnesses were the geographers and travellers of Egypt, Greece, Rome and China, and later on of Arabia. Their accounts enable us to affirm that so far as the oceanic border of Karnāṭaka was concerned, the Kannaḍigas had transgressed far beyond it. Of the many foreign writers for our purpose the earliest is the anonymous author of the work called the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. He is supposed to have been a native of Alexandria, and the work is reckoned to be an account of the Egyptian trade with East Africa and India as it prevailed in A.D. 60.⁸ This work is of particular importance for the history of the coast of Kathiawar and Gujarat, the major port of which (Bhroach) figures prominently in it. From Barygaza (Bhroach), according to the author of the *Periplus*, the coast tends southwards, the country being called Dachinabades (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*). "Among the market towns of Dachinabades, there are two of special importance—Paethane, distance about twenty days' journey from Barygaza; beyond which, about ten days' journey east, there is another very great city, Tagara. There are brought down to Barygaza from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethane carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea coast. And the whole coast to the end of Damirica is seven thousand *stadia*s but the distance is greater to the coast country".⁹

8. On the question of its date, read *History of Gujarat* (Bom. Gaz.) pp. 542-543. Read also Schoff, W. F., *The Periplus*, etc., p. 151, (London, 1912).

9. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 43.

Of the towns mentioned above, Paethane is easily identifiable with Paithan on the Godavari. Tagara was identified by Fleet with Ter (Thair), ninety-five miles south-east of Paithan.¹⁰

The anonymous author next proceeds to narrate thus:—"The market towns of this region are, in order, after Barygaza: Suppara, and the city of Calliena, which in the time of the elder Serranus became a lawful market town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares, the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard".¹¹

The towns mentioned here were obviously Sopara and Kalyāṇ both of which in those times belonged to Konkan which itself formed a part of Karnāṭaka. The reference to the Greek ships landing goods there by chance and then being taken to Bhroach under guard, may be borne in mind when we shall discuss about the Greeks and Karnāṭaka later on.

Beyond Calliena (Kalyan) the anonymous author of the *Periplus* continues, there are other market towns of this region; Semylla, Mandagara, Palaepatnae, Melizigara, Byzantion, Togarum, and Aurannoboas. Then there are the islands called Sescrienae and that of the Aegiddi, and that of the Caenitae, opposite the place called Chersonesus (and in these places there are pirates), and after this the White Island. Then come Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica, and then "Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance".¹² The places mentioned in this passage begin with Semylla which was undoubtedly Chaul. Mandagara has been identified with Mandagad, a lofty and prominent hill close to Mahāpral, a village on the Bankot creek at the mouth of the Sāvitri river. It is said to have been a centre of trade in teak wood and black wood and ship-building in former times.¹³ Palaepatanae is the same as Valaipatna (near Goa) con-

10. Fleet, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1901, pp. 537-552. James Campbell, *Bombay Gaz.*, XVI, p. 181; H. Cousens, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1908-1903*, p. 195, *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 82; XXIII, p. 284; Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

11. Schoff, *ibid.*, pp. 43, 195, 197.

12. Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 200, 201.

13. Nairne, *History of Konkan (Bom. Gaz.)*, p. 2 n. (51; Bandarkar, R. G., *Early History of the Deccan (in the Bom. Gaz.)*, p. 174. Schoff's identification of Mandagara with Bankot itself (Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 201) is not correct.

cerning which we shall mention a few words later on while discussing Ptolemy's narrative. The identification of this place with Dabhol, which was no doubt a port of some consequence from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, because of its extensive trade with the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea ports, is untenable. The argument that Dabhol boasts of an underground temple of Candrikā which is alleged to belong to the sixth century A.D., and that, therefore, it could have been Palaepatne of the *Periplus* is likewise unsatisfactory, since the existence of an old temple by itself proves nothing relevant to our issue. Schoff, who adduced these arguments, further explained that the word Palaepatne is probably the Sanskrit Paripatṇa, *Pari* meaning a general term applying to the Vindhya mountains and the southern coast, and *patṇa* meaning of course a town.¹⁴ These arguments are altogether unsound. Concerning the next word Melizigara, Mueller and McCrindle identified it with Jaigarh; while Schoff would identify it with Rājāpur, the only port of Ratnāgiri. According to Schoff, Melizigara is the same as Sigerus of Pliny and Melizegyris of Ptolemy, the name suggesting the Sanskrit word Malayagiri, "a name which covered the southern part of the Western Ghats. The name appears in the *Male of Cosmos* and our Malabar."¹⁵ While discussing *Cosmos'* narrative later on, we shall see that Male cannot be identified with Malabar at all.

The next town Byzantion we shall meet with in Ptolemy's list later on. Here we may note that it has been identified with Vijayadrag and Chiplun.¹⁶ Togarum, according to Schoff, who follows Vincent, Mueller, and McCrindle, was Devagarh. The last name in the passage in the *Periplus* is Auranoboas which Schoff would identify with Malvan. Schoff's derivation of Malvan from Mahālavana, "salt marsh", and its equation with Aranyāvaha¹⁸ is as ingenious as it is unconvincing. The islands mentioned next by the anonymous author of the *Periplus* have been identified thus:—the islands of the Sesecrinae probably the Vengurla Rocks; the islands of the Aegidii perhaps the island of Goa; the island or

14. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 201. On its identification with Dabhol, read *Imp. Gaz.* XI, p. 100.

15. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

16. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 201; *History of Guj.* (*Bombay Gaz.*), p. 546.

17. Schoff, *ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

18. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 202.

Caenitae perhaps the Oyster Rocks facing the roadstead of Karwar, and Chersonesus perhaps the projecting point of Karwar itself.¹⁹

Next to the White Island (unidentified) came two towns in order—Naura and Tyndis, the first marts of Damirica (which in some accounts is written Limyrike). While identifying Naura, Schoff rejects its identification with Honnāvūru, and maintains that by Naura is meant Cannanore. The arguments adduced by Schoff are characteristic of the confusion that has prevailed in the minds of scholars dealing with the history of this part of India. Schoff writes that "It seems clear that the identification of this place with the modern Honavar 14° 17' N, 74° 27' E, while a tempting one, owing to the similarity of names, is not in accordance with facts". Honāvar lies within the strip of coast which was a point of dispute between the Andhra and the Śaka dynasties, as well as the petty Maurya and Pallava princes: "while from similarity of name the modern Cannanore would answer equally well". In the previous paragraph, Schoff writes that this identification of Naura with Cananore rests on the fact that that place was "known to have been an active port in the days of the Roman trade and has yielded one of the most important finds in India of Roman coins, of the reigns of Tiberious, Claudius, and Nero"²⁰ While this argument relating to the find of Roman coins is certainly a weighty one, it cannot be understood how one could dismiss the claims of the entire coast of Kanara by adducing arguments relating to the Āndhras, the Śakas, the Mauryas, and the Pallavas, which are more imaginary than real. Historical research in regard to the history of Kanara and Karnāṭaka has certainly advanced enough to discard the statements of Schoff concerning the Āndhras and other rulers. The identification of Naura with Cananore does not rest, therefore, on any cogent ground except the one relating to the find of Roman coins.

The earlier identification of Naura with Honnāvūru appears to be more appropriate. Not only is the similarity between Naura

19. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 202. Campbell's identification are the following:—Sesecrinae (or Sesetreienai) the Burnt Island; Aegidii or Aigidii the Aryediva Islands; Caenitae or Kainetai the Island of St. George; Chersonesus or Khersonesos Goa; and Leuke the Laccadives. *Hist. of Gry.*, p. 546.

20. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

and Honnāvūru more striking than the one relating to Naura and Cananore (the latter being perhaps the "town of Kannan"), but the historical facts concerning Honnāvūru enable us to assert that that town was one of greater antiquity and has played a greater part in the history of the Indo-European relations than the town of Cananore. The antiquity of Honnāvūru dates to the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is alleged that Honnāvūru was no other than Hanuvara-dvīpa, or Hanūra-dvīpa, its patron being Hanumanta or Hanuman himself.²¹ It is one of the islands near the mouth of the Śarāvātī which is responsible for the famous falls of Gerosoppe. The principal island was later on fortified by the Kelādi king Śivappa Nāyaka, its present name being Basava Rāja Durga.²² If this ancient tradition could be trusted, then, it is obvious that Honnāvūru cannot be derived from the name of Poona, the chief (*arasu*), who is mentioned in an inscription found at Kekkar in the Honnāvūru tāluka, North Kanara district, and dated Śaka 900 (A.D. 978).²³ There is, no doubt, that Honnāvūru came into prominence in the eleventh century A.D. This is proved by a stone inscription dated Śaka 1002 (A.D. 1080), and found in the Caṇḍeśvara temple at Halḍipura in the Honnāvūru taluka. In this record we are informed that the Kadamba chieftain Kāvadeva, who bore the title of *Ponnāvūrapuravarādhīśvara* (Lord of Honnāvūru, the best of cities), fought for the capture of the Ponnāvūru fort (*koṭe*) in that year, and seized it from his opponent Nāgavarma Deva of Gokaṇṇa.²⁴ Honnāvūru continued to be a

21. Rice, Lewis, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Intr. p. xxx. Hanuvaradvīpa was one of the seventy-seven islands on the western coast of India, forming a part of the Ghorāṣṭra, according to tradition (Cf. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I. *History of Tuluva*, p. 17. n (1). This Honnāvūru is not to be confounded with its namesake in the Nirgundanād, which is mentioned in A.D. 1149, and again in circa A.D. 1174 (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, Hn. 65, p. 20; Hn. 67, 68, 69, p. 20); nor with another Honnāvūru in the Avinahalli hobli in Kelādi, mentioned in A.D. 1210-1247 (*Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1928, p. 70; nor with an unidentified Honnāvūru mentioned in A.D. 1278 (*Ep. Car.* IX, Ch. 65, p. 144); nor with still another Honnāvūru in the Dudda hobli of the Hassan Taluka. (*My. Arch. Rep. for 1942*, p. 171).

22. Rice, Lewis, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 279 (1st. ed.).

23. This derivation from Ponna is made by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi in his *Report for 1941-1946*, p. 5.

24. Panchamukhi, *Report for 1941-1946*, p. 6. For a reference to the same Honnāvūru in the same year, read *My. Arch. Report for 1928*, pp. 71-72.

prominent fortress in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Gerasoppe rulers turned it into one of their strongholds.²⁵

Its importance as a trans-oceanic commercial mart is evident when we note reference to it in the writings of foreign travellers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. All of them confirm the fact that it was an important trade centre. Ibn Batuta of Tangiers (born A.D. 1304, died 1377-78), who was the ambassador of Sultan Muhammad Tughlak at the court of the Emperor of China, on embarking from Cambay (called by him Kinbaiyyat, Khambāyāt) relates that on his way to Calcut he was honourably received by the king of Hunawar (Honnāvēru).²⁶ That it was one of the major ports of Western India from where foreigners sailed for the Persian Gulf, is proved by the fact that Abdur Razzāk, the ambassador of the king Shah Rukh of Persia to the Vijayanagara court (A.D. 1419), on his return voyage left Mangalore and reached Onore (Honnāvēru) from where he took the passage to Ormuz. The voyage from Onore to Ormuz, we may note by the way, lasted for 65 days.²⁷ It took two days for another Western traveller Luduvico di Varthema, a Bolognese, who travelled in India and the Eastern seas from A.D. 1503 to 1508, to arrive at Onore from Centacola (Ankola).²⁸ In A.D. 1505 Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India, on the pretext of paying a friendly visit went to Onore, where on not being well received, he burnt that town and a number of ships stationed there. But in this unprovoked attack Dom Francisco de Almeida received a wound from an arrow shot by the defenders. The fortress, according to the Portuguese historians, was under Timoja,²⁹ whom they called a pirate, and who played a prominent part in the history of the Indo-Portuguese relations of the sixteenth century. Indeed, Honnāvēru figures rather conspicuously in the history of this

25. *My. Arch. Report for 1928*, p. 93: I have discussed the importance of Honnāvēru elsewhere. See my *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, I, pp. 70-71.

26. Ibn Baluta, *Travels*, p. 231 (Gibb's Trans. 1953); *Travels*, pp. 165-166 (Lec.).

27. Abdur Razzāk in Elliot-Dawson, *History of India as told by Her Own Historians*, IV, p. 124.

28. Varthema, pp. 121-122 (Jone's trans.).

29. Danvers, C. F. *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 120. See also *ibid.*, pp. 61, 81.

period. The English recognized the importance of Honnāvūru early in the seventeenth century. In the list of the chief places where "sondry sorte of spices do growe in the East Indies", Richard Hakluyt, "Historiographer of the East India Company", mentions between the years 1601 and 1616, that the pepper of Malabar was embarked at "Onor, Barbelor, Mangalore, Cananor, Cranganor, Cochin, and Coulan".³⁰ The evidence of Richard Hakluyt that, so late as the first quarter of the seventeenth century pepper grown in Malabar was exported in addition to the ports in Malabar itself, also from Onor, Barzelor, (Basrur) and Mangalore, is highly important, particularly in relation to the identification of certain ports mentioned by Cosmos in A.D. 600, which we shall enumerate later on. In A.D. 1670 the English built a factory at Honnāvūru which came to be called the "Bulldog of Onore", because of the following incident. This factory was subordinate to Tellichery. In that year John Best, the chief of the English factory, got a fine English bulldog from the captain of a ship. On the ship sailing away, Best and seventeen persons who made up the factory staff, went out to hunt with the bulldog along with them. When they were passing through the town, the dog seized a cow belonging to the local temple and killed it. This infuriated the mob which murdered all the members of factory. Some persons who were friends of the English, made a grave and buried all the factors in it. The name of the factor and the number of the staff are revealed in the stone on the grave, which the neighbouring English factory chief of Karwar had sent to Honnāvūru.³¹ The English continued to have their factory at Honnāvūru in A.D. 1702-1709.³²

The evidence of the anonymous author of the *Periplus* enables us to affirm the following:—That in the first century A.D. there were at least two famous inland centres of trade in ancient Karnāṭaka, viz., Paithan and Tagara, while on the coast there were Byzantion and Honnāvūru. It seems as if we are to assume that in the first century A.D. there were few centres of oceanic trade in western Karnāṭaka, according to the anonymous author of the

30. Birdwood George, *A Report*, etc., pp. 5, 6, 202.

31. Hamilton, Alexander, Captn. *New Account of the East Indies*, I, p. 280 (London, MCCCXXVII).

32. Birdwood, *ibid.*, p. 233.

Periplus cited above. But it may as well be that that author, who never visited the western coast of Karnāṭaka, did not have access to contemporary or earlier works of travellers who were conversant with the ports of Karnāṭaka. Or it may as well be that in the first century A.D. the trans-oceanic trade of Karnāṭaka was not of such magnitude as to have many ports, and that it increased in volume only in the second century A.D. when we have, as we shall see later on, ample evidence of many towns both on the coast and in the interior of Karnāṭaka which came to the notice of foreign historians and geographers.

Of these foreign historians and geographers, the earliest is Pliny, while the most important is Ptolemy. Pliny lived from A.D. 23 till A.D. 79. He published his work styled *Natural History* in A.D. 77 in which he gives fairly full account of India chiefly drawn from the account of Megasthenes.³³ In this work (Book XXXVII) he writes thus:—"The Indians take a marvellous pleasure in beryls that are distinguished by their great length, and say that these are the only precious stones which they prefer to wear without gold; and hence, after piercing them, they string them upon elephant bristles. It is agreed that these beryls which are of perfect quality should not be perforated, but should merely be elased at their extremities with circlets of gold. They prefer therefore to cut them into the form of a cylinder rather than set them as precious stones, since those that are of greatest length are most in fashion. Some are of opinion that beryls are naturally angular and that piercing them adds to their splendour in consequence of the removal of the white substance within; while the reflection of the gold still further heightens their brilliance, and their thickness no longer mars their transparency The Indians by colouring crystals have found a way of imitating a variety of precious stones, especially beryls".³⁴ In a later context in the same work, Pliny writes about another precious stone, the opal, thus:—"Opals are at once very like and very unlike beryls, and are inferior in value to emeralds alone. India, too, is the sole mother of these precious stones, thus completing her glory as being the great producer of the most costly gems".³⁵ While

33. *Hist. of Guj. (Bom. Gaz.)*, p. 536.

34. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 130.

35. McCrindle, *ibid.*, p. 130.

dealing with the opals, Pliny in a still later context writes thus:—
 “Paedoros of the finest quality is found in India, where it is called sangenen”.³⁶

Historians have not commented upon the Paedoros, although they have certainly alluded to the beryls. In the above passages Pliny describes the use of beryls and opals, but he does not mention where the former was produced. About the latter namely, the opals, he does not explicitly state the name of the locality where the opals were found but merely calls them Paedoros. We shall presently see that Pliny's statement that beryls were produced in India is correct. It is only the Egyptian geographer Ptolemy whom we shall cite in a subsequent paper, who will mention the name of the Karnāṭaka kingdom where the beryl was produced. We are concerned here with the Paedoros of the finest quality mentioned by Pliny. This word Paedoros could have been no other than Padiyūr which was within the boundaries of ancient Karnāṭaka from the earliest times till almost our own days. Its other name is Pattiyāli. It is situated in the Dharāpuram tāluka of the Coimbatore district, Madras State. As Walhouse pointed out so early as A.D. 1876, here at Padiyūr was a mine of beryls. A.D. 1798 this mine was secretly worked out by the people of Padiyūr, and in A.D. 1819-20, a European planter rented the well, and obtained during one year 2196 beryls valued at £ 1201. The mine, however, exhausted and water broke in.³⁷ Since the kingdom of Punnāṭa which is not mentioned by Pliny but mentioned by Ptolēmy, was conterminous with the northern boundary of Coimbatore district, we may not be wrong in assuming that, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Padiyūr formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Punnāṭa. Pliny's explicit statement that Paedoros was of the finest quality found in India, therefore, refers to the opals looking very much like beryls and very much unlike beryls, found at Padiyūr.³⁸

36. McCrindle, *ibid.*, p. 134.

37. *Ep. Car. IV. Intr.* p. 4.

38. Professor E. H. Warmington admits that Padiyūr in the Coimbatore district was one of the beryl centres of South India. (Warmington, E. H., *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 250, Cambridge, 1928). But he does not either identify Paedoros with Padiyūr or justify the identification as I have done.

Pliny could not have had any idea of the importance of beryls and the opals if they had not been famous articles of trade between the western part of Karnāṭaka, Egypt and the Roman Empire. In other words, we are led to conclude that there was a brisk export trade in these precious stones from western Karnāṭaka to Rome. This was during the age of the Roman Emperor Augustus, and later on of Emperor Tiberius. Proof of the close contact between western Karnāṭaka and the Roman Empire which is thus noticeable from the writings of Pliny is found in the discovery of Roman coins in Paidūr itself and of the silver *denarii* of Emperor Augustus at Chitaldroog, Mysore State.³⁹

The reference to beryls and other precious stones in the *Bible*, we may add, clearly proves that the former precious stones were already known in the regions around Egypt and Asia Minor in the early centuries of the Christian era. The following is related in the *Bible*:—"Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering; the sardins, the topaz, the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created".⁴⁰ Since on the strength of the evidence of Pliny confirmed by that of Ptolemy, the beryl was exclusively the product of two ancient regions of Karnāṭaka, viz., the kingdom of Punnāṭa and the locality called Padiyūr, we may conclude that it was only the beryls of Karnāṭaka that had found their way to the palace of the Prince of Tyrus mentioned in the *Bible*.

39. *Ep. Carn.* IV. Intr. p. 4; *My Arch. Report* for 1909, p. 30; *ibid.* for 1910, p. 44; 1922, p. 22; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 15, n (1).

40. First pointed out by Walhouse in the *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 237.

A Few Thoughts on Jainism

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., D.LITT., HON. F.R.A.S.

Jainism has many distinct features of its own. Historically it occupies a place mid-way between Brahmanism on the one hand and Buddhism on the other. The Jaina motto of life is ascetic or stoic. The path to happiness and prosperity lies through self-denial, self-abnegation and self-mortification.

Principle of ahimsā or non-harming

Ahimsā or non-harming is the first principle of higher life, which Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, inculcated upon his disciples and followers. Pārśva laid stress on the doctrine of *ahimsā*. Its visible effect was sought to be shown how the brute creation happily responded to the non-harming and compassionate attitude of men. The attainment of *nirvāṇa* is the highest goal. The practice of *tapas* or austerities marks and characterises all the prescriptions, practices, and disciplines in Jainism. By purity of heart one reaches *nirvāṇa*, which consists in peace.¹

Nirvāṇa the highest goal

Nirvāṇa is freedom from pain and is difficult of approach.² It is the safe, happy, and quiet place which the sages reach. An ascetic will by means of his simplicity enter the path of *nirvāṇa*. He who possess virtuous life and conduct, who has practised the best self-control, who keeps himself aloof from sinful influences, and who has destroyed *karma* will surely obtain *mukti* or salvation or deliverance. In Buddhism *nirvāṇa* is declared by the Buddhas as the highest condition (*paramaṃ*). It is the greatest happiness (*paramaṃ sukhaṃ*). With the vision of *nirvāṇa*, the sinful nature vanishes for ever (*atthaṃ gacchanti āsavā*). With the Jainas *parinirvāṇa* is the last fruit or final consummation of

1. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 8.18.

2. Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 612; *Vinaya*, I, 8; *ibid.*, II, 156; *Dhammapada*, V, 204.

the highest perfection attained by man or attainable in human life.³

Parinirvāṇa and mokṣa

But with them *parinirvāṇa* is the same term as *nirvāṇa*,⁴ or *mokṣa* meaning final liberation which is attained on the complete waning out or exhaustion of the accumulated strength or force of *karma*. The liberation is not anything unreal but the best thing. It can be realised by a man in the highest condition of aloofness and transcendentality of himself.⁵ *Mokṣa* is the essential point in the teachings of Mahāvīra which is generally understood as emancipation. It really means the attainment of the highest state of sanctification by the avoidance of pains and miseries of worldly life. Even at this stage the soul appears to be the same without the least change in its condition. It is the state of perfect beatitude. It may also mean final deliverance or liberation from the fetters of worldly life and total annihilation or extinction of human passion.⁶

In Jainism, however, *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa* is not like the Buddhist *parinirvāṇa* which suggests an idea of the complete annihilation of the individuality of a saint after death by the simile of the total extinction of a burning lamp on the exhaustion of the oil and the wick.⁷ So the point is discussed in the Jaina *Mokṣasiddhi*. "Would you really think (with the Buddhist) that *nirvāṇa* is a process of extinction of human soul which is comparable to the process of extinction of a burning lamp (on the exhaustion of the oil and the wick)?"⁸ The hearer is advised not to think like that. For with the Jainas *nirvāṇa* is nothing but a highly special or transcendental condition of human soul in which it remains eternally and absolutely free from passion, hatred, birth, decay,

3. Kalpasūtra, Jacobi's Ed., 120—*Tassaṇaṃ...anuttareṇaṃ nāṇeṇaṃ...damsaneṇaṃ...carittenaṃ...ālaeṇaṃ...vihāreṇaṃ...virieṇaṃ...ajjaveṇaṃ...maddaveṇaṃ...laghaveṇaṃ...khamtī...muttī...guttī...tutthī...Buddhī...sacca-saṃyama-tavasucariya-sovaciya-phala-parinirvāṇa...*

4. Ibid., j. 187—*tammi samae Mahāvīro nirvuo.*

5. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I, 10, 12.

6. Uttārādhyayana Sūtra, XXVIII, 30.

7. Cf. Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda Kāvya, 16. vv. 28-29.

"Dipoyathānirvritimabhyupetosāntim."

8. Mannasi kiṃ divassa ca nāso nirvāṇaṃ assa jīvassa?—*Abhidhāna-Rajendra, sub voce Nibbāna.*

disease and the like because of the complete waning out of all causes of *dukkha* or suffering.⁹

Soul in Jainism

Jainism cherishes a theory of soul as an active principle in contradistinction to the *Vedānta* or *Sāṃkhya* doctrine of soul as a passive principle. Buddhism repudiates it. The plurality of souls is a point in Jaina philosophy, which is the same as in the *Sāṃkhya* system. The Jainas developed a cosmographical gradation of beings, more or less in agreement with those adopted in other systems. Both the systems necessitate a careful consideration of the cosmical, biological, embryological, physical, mental and moral positions of the living individuals of the world as a whole. These constitute the scientific background of the two systems of thought. These also constitute the scientific background of *Vedānta* and Buddhism.

The unalterable nature of soul

The Jainas do not deny the existence of the soul as an external substance with consciousness as its fundamental attribute.

They admit the unalterable character of the soul.¹⁰ The soul is imperishable and eternal by its very nature. It is one of the six substances. It is susceptible to the influence of *karma*, which consists of acts that produce effects on the nature of soul. The wearing out of the accumulated effects of *karma* on the soul by the practice of austerities lies in *nirjarā* (*tapasā nirjarā ca—Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xxviii, 11).

Jain belief in the transmigration of soul

The Jaina belief is a belief in the transmigration of soul, a point in which it differs from Buddhist conception of rebirth without any transmigration of soul from embodiment to embodiment. In Jainism everybody has an individual soul. These souls exist as long as the bodies exist but after death they are no more. There are no souls which are re-born. Souls and substances do not undergo any change. They are liable to change due to changes in circumstances.

9. *Sato vidyamānasya jīvasya viśiṣṭā kācid avasthā Kathambhūtā? Rāga-dveṣa-janmajarārogādiduhkhakṣayarūpā.*

10. Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12. 21; *Majjhima*, I, Sutta No XIV; Cf. Sutta No. LXXVI; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 6. 27; I, 10. 17.

Soul in Hinduism and Buddhism

It is interesting to note what the Hindus, the Buddhists and the others think of soul. The Hindus believe in rebirth through the transmigration of soul from one body to another. The soul of a man apparently unconscious, is invited to come back to him from the trees, herbs, the sky, the sun, etc. It is described as being separable from his body and subject to suffering and enjoyment in another world according to his good or bad deeds. According to the *Cāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI. 11) the soul does not die. A soul in the pre-Buddhistic Upaniṣads is supposed to exist inside each human body. In the living body in its ordinary state the soul dwells in a cavity in the heart.¹¹ The soul is like a smoke coloured wool, a flash of lightning,¹² flame, white lotus, etc. When it returns to the body, life and motion reappear. It escapes from the body at death and then continues to carry on an everlasting life of its own.¹³ There are passages in the *Upaniṣads* which suppose the soul to have existed before birth in some other body.¹⁴ There is an almost entire unanimity of opinion in the *Upaniṣads* that the soul will not obtain release from rebirth either by the performance of sacrifice in this birth or by the practice of penance.

According to the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* the soul is indestructible (II. v. 19; Cf. II, vs. 17 and 30). It is immeasurable (II. v. 18). It is unborn, eternal, permanent and old; if the body is lost, the soul is not lost (II. v. 20). The soul enters into a new body after leaving the old body (II. v. 22). It is all-pervading, firm, immovable and perpetual (II. vs. 23-24). It is indescribable, unthinkable and unchangeable (II. v. 25).

Exact Nature of Soul

As regards the exact nature of soul there are different views. The *Nyāya* calls it absolutely qualityless and characterless, indeterminate unconscious entity. *Śaṃkhya* describes it as being of the nature of pure consciousness. According to the *Vedānta* it is that fundamental point of unity implied in pure consciousness, pure bliss and pure being. *Mīmāṃsā* has to accept the existence

11. *Bṛihadāranyaka*, IV, 3. 7; V. 6; *Chāndogya*, VIII, 3. 3; *Taittirīya*, I, 6. 1.

12. Cf. Avicenna's poem on soul.

13. Cf. *JRAS.*, 1899.

14. *Bṛihadāranyaka*, III, 2. 13; IV, 4. 6; Cf. *Āitareya-branyaka*, II, 3. 2.

of soul. All of them agree that the soul is pure and unsullied in its nature and that all impurities of action or passion do not form a real part of it. When all impurities are removed and the pure nature of the self is perfectly understood and other extraneous connections with it are absolutely dissociated, the highest good of life is attained.¹⁵

The *Upaniṣadic* idea of the transmigration of soul has been illustrated in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* by the simile of a grass-leech (*trīṇajalauka*) which passes from the end of one blade of grass to that of another. But this analogy has been found to be untenable by the *Bhela Saṃhitā*.

In early Buddhism the soul is feeling happy, painful or neutral.¹⁶ The soul after death is not subject to decay and is conscious. It has form, is formless, finite, infinite, both or neither; it has one mode of consciousness, various modes of consciousness, infinite consciousness; it is altogether happy, altogether miserable, is both and is neither.¹⁷ The Buddha denies the doctrine that the soul is identical with the body or the reverse.¹⁸ The soul and body are not the same. The soul is neither reborn nor dissolved like *Nirvāṇa*. It is permanent, unchangeable and unaffected by sorrow. As pointed out in the *Milindapañha* (pp. 55-57) there is no such thing as soul. Transmigration is defined in the following manner.¹⁹ A being born here dies here. Having died there he is reborn elsewhere. Having been born there, he dies there. This is what is meant by transmigration. In early Buddhism there cannot be any such process as transmigration in the usual sense of the term. In Mahāyāna Buddhism the existence of soul is denied. The non-Śāstrāntika and the non-Vaibhāṣika schools of Buddhism of early times agreed with the Theravāda Buddhists in denying the existence of a permanent soul and a permanent external world. A soul is in reality a bundle of elements or forces (*saṃskārasamūha*) and a stream of thought (*santāna*). It contains nothing permanent or substantial, it is *anātma* or soulless.²⁰ Buddhism does not see the

15. Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 75.

16. *Digha*, II, 66 ff.

17. *Digha*, I, p. 31.

18. *Samyutta*, II, 75 ff; III, 135.

19. *Milindapañha*, p. 77.

20. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 8.

necessity of accepting a permanent soul, because it believes that the *Khandhas* or the constituent elements are always changing and that the mental state is also changing with them.^{20a} In fact the Buddha denies that there exists anything equivalent to that which in other systems is called the soul.

The Jains hold that the soul while on the first step (*mith-yātvagunasthānaka*) is completely under the influence of *karma* and knows nothing of the truth. The soul whirling round and round in the cycle of rebirth, loses some of its crudeness and attains to the state which enables it to distinguish between what is false and what is true. A soul remains in an uncertain condition, one moment knowing the truth and the next doubting it.

Iranian view of soul

According to the greatest Arabian Philosopher, Avicenna, soul is a unity. There cannot be any transmigration of souls. Every living being is conscious of his own soul. He cannot think that he possesses two souls (*Avicenna number of the Indo-Iranica*, January, 1953). The soul is in fact individual and therefore does not exist before the body to which it is joined (Wickens, *Avicenna: Scientist and Philosopher*, p. 118). The soul does not inhere in the body but it has an inherent inclination towards the body. In every act of every faculty the soul operates. The soul is created at the same time as the body is formed and is to a certain extent in harmony with the body. The condition of compatibility with the body makes metempsychosis impossible. (Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 275).²¹

The Jains followed a tradition of Indian thought which took a hylozoistic view of nature that there is nothing formed even in the world of matter, nothing which exists in space and time and which does not represent some kind or form or type of *Jīva*. It is assumed that all of them are in the process of development or evolution in the physical structures, modes of generation, foods and drinks, deportments behaviours, actions, thoughts, ideas, knowledge, intelligence and the like.

20a. Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, p. 133.

21. For a detailed study vide my *Avicenna and his Theory of Soul* published in the *Avicenna Volume* of the Iran Society, Calcutta.

Earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives and wind-lives in Jainism

So we need not be astonished when Jainism speaks of earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives and wind-lives, each with its numerous subdivisions. Rocks, salt, arid, various metals in the shape of iron, lead, gold, diamond, corals, gems etc. are included in earth-lives. Rain water, hot springs, dewes, saline water of the sea, etc. are included in water-lives. Lightings, thunderbolts, luminaries, etc. are included in fire-lives. Storms, intermittent winds, high winds, etc. are included in air-lives. According to the Jains purely material bodies are also held as *Jivas* (vide *Jivājīvābhigama Upāṅga*,—Law, Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras, Chap. XV).

Jīva and ajīva in Jainism

The *Nāyādhammakahāo* (Ed. Vaidya, pp. 73, 75) refers to the principles of *jīva* and *ajīva* (*ahigaya jīvā-jīve*). The characteristic feature of the physical body which forms an aspect of *ajīva*, is that it is full of impurities, perishable and subject to change and decay.

Puggala, *attā*, *satta* and *jīva* are the four terms which occur in Buddhism in connection with all discussions relating to individual, individuality, personality, self and soul.²² As a biological term *puggala* is nowhere used to deny the existence of an individual being or a living person. The particular individual or individuals are beings that exist in fact, grow in time and ultimately die. The individuals are signified by some names arbitrarily fixed. The personal name is only a conventional device to denote an individual and to distinguish him from other individuals. It has no connotation beyond this symbolism.

Buddhist Pudgala

In the *Abhidhamma* literature of the Buddhists *puggala* is equal to character or soul. According to the Buddhists an individual has no real existence. The term *puggala* does not mean anything real. It is only apparent truth (*sammutisacca*) as opposed to real truth (*paramattha sacca*). A *puggalavadin's* view is that the person is known in the sense of real and ultimate fact. But he is not known in the same way as other real and ultimate facts are known. He or she is known in the sense of a

22. *Kathāvatthu*, I, p. 26.

real or ultimate fact and his or her material quality is also known in the sense of a real or ultimate fact. But it cannot truly be said that the material quality is one thing and that the person another, nor can it be truly predicted that the person is related or absolute, conditioned or unconditioned, eternal or temporal, or whether the person has external features or whether he is without any. One who has material quality in the sphere of matter is a person, but it cannot be said that one who experiences desires of sense in the sphere of sense-desire, is a person. The genesis of the person is apparent and his passing away and duration are also distinctively apparent. But it cannot be said that the person is conditioned.²³

Pudgala in Jainism

According to the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* *puggala* is one of the non-soul extensive substances. The other non-soul extensive substances are *dharma*, *adharma*, *ākāśa* and *kāya*.

Organic world characterised by gain and loss, pleasure and pain, life and death. Development of atomic theory:

According to the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (XV. 1), the organic world is characterised by six constant and opposed phenomena, viz., gain and loss, pleasure and pain, life and death. It clearly presupposes the development of atomic theory (*paramāṇuvāda*) in Indian philosophy. Each atom is the smallest unitary whole or matter (*pudgala*). Each of them is characterised by its internal cohesion (*siṇeha*). We cannot speak of a half atom since an atom is an invisible unit of matter. With the division it ceases to be an atom (*paramāṇōḥ ardhikaraṇe paramānutvābhāvaprasaṅgāt*). A molecule (*aṇu*) is a combination of atoms more than one. An aggregate of matter results from an organic combination of five molecules.

Eight kinds of karma

The eight kinds of *karma* according to the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*²⁴ are the following:

23. Cf. *Kathāvatthu* on *Puggala*; Law, *Designation of Human Types*, Introduction, PTS publication; Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. VII.

24. *Aṭṭha Kammāṃ vocchāmi evameyāi kammāṃ aṭṭheva u samāsao* (xxxiii, pp. 1-3).

(1) *Jñānāvaraṇīya Karma* which acts as an obstruction to right knowledge;

(2) *Darśanāvaraṇīya karma* which acts as an obstruction to right faith;

(3) *Vedanīya Karma* which leads to experiencing pleasure or pain;

(4) *Mohanīyakarma* which leads to delusion;

(5) *Āyukarma* which determines the length of life;

(6) The sixth *karma* known as *nāmakarma* which determines the name or individuality of the embodied soul. *Nāma-karma* has many divisions. The seventh kind is *gotra-karma*. It is the *gotra* or the caste which determines a man's life, his occupation, the locality in which he may live, his marriage, his religious observances and even his food. There are two chief divisions of this *karma*. It decides whether a living being shall be born in a high or in a low caste family. The *antarāya-karma* is the last and the eighth kind.²⁵ Here *karma* always stands as an obstacle, e.g., *lābhāntarāya*, *bhogāntarāya*, *upabhogāntarāya* and *vīryāntarāya*. There are four kinds of *ghātiyakarma* (destructive *karma*) which retain the soul in mundane existence. The Jainas believe that, as soon as the man reaches the state of an *ayogīkevalīguṇasthānaka*, all his *karma* is purged away and he proceeds at once to *moksa* (salvation) as a *siddha* or a perfected one

Various types of *Kriyāvāda*

The Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1.6.27; 1.10.17) speaks of various types of *kriyāvāda* then current in India. Buddhism was promulgated as a form of *kriyāvāda* or *karmavāda*. According to Mahāvīra, *kriyāvāda* of Jainism is sharply distinguished from *akriyāvāda* (doctrine of non-action), *ajñānavāda* (scepticism) and *vinayavāda* (formalism) precisely as in the words of the Buddha. The *kriyāvāda* of Buddhism is distinguished from *Sathāyadṛṣṭi* involving various types of *akriyā*, *vicikitsā* (scepticism) and *śīla-vratapanāmarśa* (Pāli *Śīlabbataparāmāsa*, (formalism)).²⁶ To

25. *Antarāya* is fivefold as preventing gifts, profits, momentary enjoyment, continuous enjoyment and power, S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 183.

26. *Suttanipāṭa*, V. 231 (*Śīlabbatam vā pi yad atthi kiñci*); *Muddakapāṭha*, p. 5.

arrive, at a correct understanding of the doctrinal significances of *kriyāvāda* of Jainism, it is necessary not only to know how it has been distinguished from *akriyāvāda*, *ajñānavāda* and *vinayavāda* but also from other types of *kriyāvāda*. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* mentions some types of *akriyāvāda* :

Some types of akriyāvāda

(1) On the dissolution of the five elements (earth, water, fire, wind and air), living beings cease to exist. On the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be. Everybody has an individual soul. The soul exists as long as the body exists.

(2) When a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act.²⁷

(3) The five elements and the soul which is a sixth substance are imperishable.

(4) Pleasure, pain, and final beatitude are not caused by the souls themselves but individual souls experience them.

(5) The world has been created or is governed by gods. It is produced from chaos.²⁸

(6) The world is boundless and eternal. It may be noted here that all these views which are reduced to four main types correspond to those associated in the Buddhist *Nikāyas* with four leading thinkers of the time,^{28a} e.g., atheism like that of Ajita, eternalism like that of Kātyāyana, absolutism like that of Kāśyapa and fatalism like that of Gośāla.

Six heretical teachers and their views.

Makkhali Gośāla was the propounder of the theory of evolution of individual things by natural transformation. Ajita was to point out that the particular object of experience must be somehow viewed as an indivisible whole.²⁹ The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1.1.3) states that his was really a theory of the passivity of soul. The logical postulate of Kavandin Kātyāyana's philosophy was no other than the Perme-

27. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 1. 1. 3. 5-8.

28. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 1. 1. 1. 13. IA. Law, *Historical gleanings*, Chap. III.

28a. A. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, Chap. III.

29. *Ibid.*, II, 1. 15-17.

median doctrine of being. Nothing comes out of nothing.³⁰ From nothing comes nothing, what is does not perish.³¹

Atman a living individual, a biological entity.

Atman is a living individual, a biological entity. The whole self does not outlast the destruction of the body. With the body ends life. No soul exists apart from the body. The five substances with the soul as the sixth are not directly or indirectly created. They are eternal. All things have the *ātman*, self or ego for their cause and object; they are produced by the self; they are manifested by the self; they are infinitely connected with the self, and they are bound up in the self. One man admits action and another does not admit. Both men are alike. Their case is the same because they are actuated by the same force, i.e., by fate. It is their destiny that all beings come to have a body to undergo the vicissitudes of life and to experience pleasure and pain. Each of these types stands as an example of *akriyāvāda* in as much as it fails to inspire moral and pious action or to make an individual responsible for an action and its consequences.³²

Ajñānavāda and Vinayavāda

According to the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, *ajñānavāda* is nothing but the inefficiency of knowledge. Some think that the upholders of *ajñānavāda* pretend to reason incoherently and they do not get beyond the confusion of their ideas.³³ The *vinayavāda* may be taken to have been the same doctrine as the *śīlabbataparāmāsa* in Buddhism. The *śīlabbataparāmāsa* is a view of those who hold that the purity of oneself may be reached through the observance of some moral precepts or by means of keeping some prescribed vows. According to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I.12.4) the upholders of *vinayavāda* assert that the goal of religious life is realised by conformation to the rules of discipline.

It is interesting to know the types of *kriyāvāda* that do not come up to the standard of Jainism. The soul of a man who is pure, will become free from bad *karma* on reaching beatitude but

30. *Noya uppajjae asaṃ.*

31. *asato nacci sambhavo, sato nacci vināso.*

32. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 1. 5. 34.

33. *Ibid.*, I. 12. 2.

in that state it will again become defiled through pleasant excitement or hatred.

If a man with the intention of killing a baby hurts a gourd mistaking it for a baby, he will be guilty of murder. If a man with the intention of roasting a gourd roasts a baby, mistaking him for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder. Mahāvīra holds that the painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action and not by any other cause. Pleasure and pain are brought about by one's own action. Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls and individually he rises. His passions, consciousness, intellect, perceptions and impressions belong to the individual exclusively. All living beings owe their present form of existence to their own *karma*. According to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1.12.15) the sinners cannot annihilate their work by new work, the pious annihilate their work by abstention from work.

Doctrine of Karma

All the Indian systems believe that whatever action is done by an individual, it leaves behind it some sort of potency, which has the power to ordain for him joy or sorrow in the future, according as it is good or bad. According to the *Samhitās* he who commits wicked deeds suffers in another world, whereas he who performs good deeds, enjoys the highest material pleasures.³⁴ According to the popular Hindu belief *karma* is a sum-total of man's action in a previous birth, determining his future destiny which is unalterable. Its effect remains until it is exhausted through suffering or enjoyment. The doctrine of *karma* is accepted in all the main systems of Indian philosophy and religion as an article of faith. The Buddha is generally credited with the propounding of the doctrine, but there is a clear statement in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, (Vol. I, p. 483) to show that the doctrine had not originated with the Buddha. It was propounded before his advent by an Indian teacher who was a householder. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and in the teachings of Yājñavalkya, we meet with a clear formulation of the doctrine of *karma*. The Buddhist doctrine of *karma* is nothing but a further elucidation of it in the *Upaniṣad*. According to the *Majjhima Nikāya* (III,

34. Das. Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 71-72

p. 203), the doctrine is emphatically formulated thus: 'Karma is one's own, a man is an inheritor of his karma, one finds one's birth according to his or her karma, karma is one's own kith, and karma is one's own refuge, karma divides beings into higher or lower'. The Buddhists approached the problem from a purely mental point of view. The *Mahāniddesa* (I, pp. 117-18) points out that a man need not be afraid of the vast accumulation of karma through a long cycle of births and deaths. For consideration from the point of view of mind, the whole of such accumulation may be completely undone by a momentary action of mind. Mind is in its own place and as such can make and unmake all such accumulations of karma. In Buddhism much importance is given to action and mental state. Accordingly karma came to be defined as *cetanā* or volition. A person cannot be held morally or legally responsible for his own action, if it is not intentional. Thus the Buddhist teachers tried to define karma on a rational and practical basis. This viewpoint has been criticised in the Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*. It is quite clear that in Buddhism the world exists through karma and people live through karma (*kammana vattati loko, kammanā vattati pajā*).

Painful condition of the self

In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1.12.11) we find that the painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action; it is not brought about by any other cause, such as, fate, creator, chance or the like (*Sayaṃkaḍaṇṇa dukkhaṃ nāṇṇakaḍaṇṇa*). According to Śīlāṅka the *kriyāvādins* contend that works alone, by themselves, without knowledge lead to *mokshā*.³⁵ The same idea is found in the Buddhist *Nikāyas*—*sukhadukkhaṃ sayaṃkataṃ* in contradistinction to *sukhadukkhaṃ paraṃkataṃ*. In Buddhism pleasure and pain are brought about by one's own action.³⁶ *Sukha* and *dukkha* (pleasure and pain) are conceived as two distinct principles, one of attraction, integration and concord and the other of repulsion, disintegration and discord. In Buddhism *dukkha* is taken in a most comprehensive sense so as to include in it danger, disease, waste, and all that constitutes the basis or the cause of suffering.

35. Jaina Sūtras, II, S.B.E., p. 317 n.

36. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, III, 440 (*Sayaṃkataṇṇa paraṃkataṇṇa sukha-dukkhaṃ*); *Samyutta Nikāya*, II, p. 22.

Sukha-dukkha, roga-aroga

Roga (disease) which is an instance of *dukkha* is defined as that condition of the self, physical self, when the different organs do not function together in harmony and which are attended with a sense of uneasiness. *Ārogya* or health, the opposite of disease, is defined as that condition of self when all the organs function together in harmony and are attended with a sense of ease. Thus we see that the problem of suffering is essentially rooted in the feeling of discord or disparity. Birth, decay or death is not in itself *dukkha* or suffering.

Merit and Demerit

The categories of merit and demerit comprehend all acts, pious and painful. The actions leading to the good *karma* which brings peace of mind are called *punya*. *Punya* is of various kinds: *annapunya* (merit acquired by giving food to the deserving people), *pānapunya* (merit acquired by giving water to the thirsty), *vastrapunya* (merit acquired by giving clothes to the poor, especially to the monks), *layanapunya* (merit acquired by building or lending a house to a monk), *sayanapunya* (merit acquired by providing seats and beds), *manapunya* (merit acquired by thinking good of every one), *kāyapunya* (merit acquired by saving a life or rendering service), *vacanapunya* (merit acquired by speaking without hurting anybody's feelings) and *namaskārapunya* (merit acquired by reverent salutation. There are various kinds of *pāpa* or sin. *Jivahimsā* (life-slaughter) is the most heinous of all crimes according to the Jains. Sins are also acquired by speaking falsehood, dishonesty, unchastity, covetousness, anger, conceit, attachment and avarice.³⁷

Doctrine of nine terms

The doctrine of nine terms (*navatattva*) represents the main system of Jainism. It developed from the necessity for systematic exposition of *kriyāvāda*. Knowledge, faith and virtue are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism as taught by Mahāvīra.

Right belief, right knowledge and right conduct

Right belief (*samyak jñāna*), right knowledge (*samyak darśana*), and right conduct (*samyak cāritra*) constitute the path

37. *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, XXVIII, 14.

to liberation and they are called three gems in Jainism, as the *Buddha* (the Enlightened), *Dharma* (the Doctrine), and *Saṅgha* (the order) are recognised in Buddhism as three gems (*ratana-traya*). Each of them can be considered in its threefold aspect, e.g., the subject, the object and the means. The knowledge which embraces concisely or in details the predicaments, as they are in themselves, is called the right knowledge and without which right conduct is impossible. (Nahar and Ghosh, *An Epitome on Jainism*, p. 35). In right knowledge there is the knower, the known, and the means of knowing. In right belief there is the believer, that which is believed and the means of believing. In right conduct there is the pursuer of conduct, conduct itself, and the means of conducting. The right belief is the basis upon which the other two rest. It is the cause and right knowledge is the effect. Right conduct is caused by right knowledge and implies both right knowledge and right belief. Right knowledge proceeds from right vision by a coherent train of thought and reasoning and which can lead to right conduct without which the attainment of the goal in vision will be impossible. The five kinds of knowledge are the following: (1) knowledge through the instrumentality of sense, (2) knowledge derived from the study of scriptures, (3) direct knowledge of matter within the limits of time and space, (4) direct knowledge of other's thoughts and (5) perfect knowledge. The five kinds of conduct according to the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (1, 1, 4, 10-13) are the following: Equanimity, recovery of equanimity after a downfall, pure and absolute non-injury, all but entire freedom from passion, and ideal and passionless state. Right belief, right knowledge, right conduct, and right austerities are called the *ārādhanās*. Right belief depends on the acquaintance with truth, on the devotion to those who know the truth, and on the avoidance of schismatical and heretical tenets. There is no right conduct without right belief, and it must be cultivated for obtaining right faith; righteousness and conduct originate together or righteousness precedes conduct.³⁸

38. *Uttārādhyayanāsūtra*, XXVIII, 28-29;

*Paramatthasaṃthavo vā suditṭhāparamatthasevaṇam vā vi/
Vāvaṇṇakuḍamsaṇavajjanā ya sammattasaddhaṇā //
Natthi carittam sammattavīhūnam dāsaṇe u bhāyavvaṇam /
Sammattacarittam jugavaṇam puvvaṇam vā sammattam //*

Samyakdarśana is of two kinds: (1) belief with attachment, having the following signs; calmness (*praśama*), fear of mundane existence in five cycles of wanderings (*saṃvega*), substance (*dravya*), place (*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*), thought-activity (*bhāva*) and compassion towards all living beings (*anukampā*); and the second kind of *samyakdarśana* is belief without attachment (the purity of the soul itself).

The right belief is attained by intuition and acquisition of knowledge from external sources, it is the result of subsidence (*upaśama*), destruction-subsidence (*kṣayopaśama*) and destruction of right belief deluding *karma* (*darśanamohanīya karma*). Right belief is not identical with faith. It is reasoned knowledge. *Adhigama* is knowledge which is derived from intuition, external sources, e.g., precepts and scriptures. It is attained by means *pramāṇa* and *naya*. *Pramāṇa* is nothing but direct or indirect evidence for testing the knowledge of the self and the non-self. *Naya* is nothing but a standpoint which gives partial knowledge of a thing in some of its aspects.

Five kinds of right knowledge

Right knowledge is of five kinds: (1) knowledge through senses—knowledge of the self and the non-self through the agency of the senses of mind; (2) knowledge derived from the study of the scriptures; (3) direct knowledge of matter in various degrees with reference to subject-matter, space, time, and quality of the object known; (4) direct knowledge of thoughts of others, simple or complex; and (5) perfect knowledge. Knowledge (*antarāya*),³⁹ beliefs, charity, gain enjoyment re-enjoyment, power, faith and conduct are the nine kinds of energies (*vīryas*).

The road to final deliverance

The road to final deliverance depends on four causes and is characterised by right knowledge and faith. The road as taught by the Jinas consists of (1) right knowledge, (2) faith, (3) conduct and (4) austerities. Human beings will obtain beatitude by following this road. According to the *Sūtrakritāṅga* knowledge is also derived from perception (*ābhiniḥbodhika*). It is derived from one's own experience, thought or understanding. It is also

39. *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, Jacobi's Ed., p. 536.

derived from supernatural knowledge (*avadhi-Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, 15-*Ohinā ābhoemāne*).

Avadhijñāna and *Kevala* or the highest knowledge and intuition

Manahparyāya or the knowledge of the thoughts of others and *kevala* or the highest and unlimited knowledge, are included in the category of fivefold knowledge. Knowledge of the distant non-sensible in time or space possessed by divine and internal souls is one of the five kinds of knowledge. The Buddhist *antantajñāna* is evidently the same term as Jaina *avadhijñāna*. The Buddhist *aparisesa* occurring as a predicate of unlimited knowledge and vision is just the synonym of the Jain term *kevala* which is nothing but the highest knowledge and intuition.

Right faith, a stepping stone to knowledge

Samyadarśana or right faith consists in an insight into the meaning of truths as proclaimed and taught, a mental perception of the excellence of the system as propounded, a personal conviction as to the greatness and goodness of the teacher, and a ready acceptance of certain articles of faith for one's own guidance. It is intended to remove all doubts and scepticism from one's mind and to establish or re-establish faith. It is such a form of faith as is likely to inspire action by opening a new vista of life and its perfection. Right faith on the one hand and inaction and vacillation, on the other, are mutually incompatible. The Buddhist idea of right view (*sammāditṭhi*) conveys the sense of faith or belief rather than that of any metaphysical view or theory. It is in some such sense that the Jains use the term *sammadaṃsana*. The Buddhist *sammāditṭhi* suggests an article of faith which consists in the acceptance of the belief that there is such a thing as gift, that there is such a thing as sacrifice, etc.⁴⁰ There cannot be right faith unless there is a clear pre-perception of the moral, intellectual or spiritual situation which is to arise. Right faith is that form of faith which is only a stepping stone to knowledge (*paññā* or *prajñā*).

Knowledge, faith and virtue

Jñāna, *darśana* and *cāritra* (knowledge, faith and virtue) are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism as taught by Mahāvīra. One should learn the real path leading

40. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 285 ff.

to final deliverance which the Jinas have taught. It depends on four causes and is characterised by right knowledge and faith. Beings who follow this road will obtain beatitude.⁴¹ The *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* (XXVIII, 2-3)⁴² adds austerities as the fourth to the usual earlier list of three terms, namely, right knowledge, faith and conduct. The first kind of knowledge in Jainism corresponds to what the Buddhists call *sutamayāpaññā*; the second kind, to what they call *cintāmayāpaññā*; the third kind, to what they call *vilokana*; the fourth kind, to what they call *cetopariyāyaññā*; and the fifth kind, to what they call *sabbaññutā* or omniscience consisting in three faculties; of reviewing and recalling to mind all past existences with details, of perceiving the destiny of other beings according to their deeds, and of being conscious of the final destruction of sins. (cf. *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 1.9.).

Avadhijñāna is rather knowledge which is co-extensive with the object other than knowledge which is supernatural. *Avadhi* here means that which is just sufficient to survey the field of observation.⁴³ The *manahpariyāyajñāna* is defined in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (II. 15.23) as a knowledge of the thoughts of all sentient beings. *Kevalajñāna* is defined as omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects and to know all conditions of the world of gods men and demons.⁴⁴ Knowledge as represented in the Jaina *Aṅgas* is rather religious vision, intention, or wisdom than knowledge in a metaphysical sense.

Cardinal principles of conduct

A man of knowledge is a man of faith and a man of faith is a man of action. Virtue consists in right conduct. There is no right conduct without right belief and no right belief without the right perception of truth.⁴⁵ The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I, 1.2.27) points

41. *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra*, XVIII, 1-3:

*Mokhamaggagaim taccam suneha Jinabhāsiyam /
Caukāraṇasaṃjuttam nāṇadaṃsaṇalakṣhaṇam //
Nāṇam ca daṃsaṇam ceva carittam ca tavotahā /
Esa maggu tti pannatto Jinehim Varadaṃsihim //
Nāṇam ca daṃsaṇam ceva carittam ca tavo tahā /
Eyamaggamanuppattā Jivāgacchanti soggaṃ //*

42. *Jainasūtras*, SBE., II, 152.

43. Cf. *Kalpasūtra*, 15.

44. *Ācārāṅga*, II, 15. 25.

45. *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra*, XXVIII, 28. 29.

out that the threefold restraint namely, the restraint as regards body, speech, and mind, can enable a person to achieve the purity of morals, which is the quite the essence of right conduct. The first step to virtue lies in the avoidance of sins. There are three ways of committing sins: (1) by one's own activity; (2) by commission; and (3) by approval of the deed.⁴⁶ The cardinal principles of *cāritra* taught by Mahāvīra may be thus summed up: not to kill anything, to live according to the rules of conduct and without greed, to take care of the highest good, to control oneself always in walking, sitting and lying down, and in the matter of food and drink, to get rid of pride, wrath, deceit and greed, to possess the *samitis*, to be protected by the five *samvaras* (restraints) and to reach perfection by remaining unfettered among the fettered.⁴⁷

Right knowledge, faith and conduct, which are the three essential points in the teachings of Mahāvīra, constitute the path of Jainism, leading to the destruction of *Karma* and to perfection (*siddhi*).⁴⁸ Here destruction means the exhaustion of accumulated effects of action in the past and the stoppage of the future rise of such effects.

By the teaching of right knowledge, by the avoidance of ignorance and delusion and by the destruction of love and hatred, one arrives at deliverance which is nothing but bliss. Obstruction to knowledge is fivefold: (a) obstruction to knowledge derived from sacred books (*sūtra*); (b) obstruction to perception (*ābhinibodhika*); (c) obstruction to supernatural knowledge (*avadhijñāna*); (d) obstruction to knowledge of the thoughts of others (*manahparyāya*) and (e) obstruction to the highest, unlimited knowledge (*kevala*). The following are the different kinds of obstruction to right faith: sleep, very deep sleep a high degree of sleep in activity, and a state of deep-rooted greed. *Mohanīya* is twofold as referring to faith and conduct. The three kinds of *mohanīya* referring to faith are right faith, wrong faith, and faith partly right and partly wrong. The two kinds of *mohanīya* referring to conduct are: (1) what is experienced in

46. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1. 26.

47. *Ibid.*, I, 1. 4. 10-13.

48. *Ibid.*, I, 2. 1. 21. 22.

the form of the four cardinal passions and (2) what is experienced in the form of feelings different from them.⁴⁹

Darts in Jainism

Right knowledge is, in fact, knowledge of the Jain creed. When right knowledge is possessed, one can know what virtue is and what vows he ought to keep. To hold the truth as truth and the untruth as untruth, this is true faith. To a monk, right conduct means the absolute keeping of the five great vows.⁵⁰ His conduct should be perfect for he must follow the conduct laid down for him in every particular. A layman is only expected to possess partial conduct, for, so long as he is not a professed monk, he cannot be absolutely perfect in conduct. Right conduct can be ruined by three evil darts (*śalya*), the first of these is intrigue or fraud for no one can gain a good character whose life is governed by deceit. The next poisonous dart is false belief (*mithyātvaśalya*) which consists in holding a false god to be a true one, a false *guru* to be a true *guru*, and a false religion to be a true religion; by so doing one absolutely injures right knowledge and right faith which lead to right conduct. Covetousness (*nidānaśalya*) is the third poisonous dart which destroys right conduct. When a man is performing austerities, if he admits some such worldly thought into his mind as 'after this austerity I may have gained sufficient merit to become a king or a rich merchant', that very reflection being stained with covetousness, has destroyed, like a poisonous dart, all the merit that he might have gained through the act; in the same way if a man indulges vindictive thoughts when he is performing austerities, the fruit of his action is lost, no merit is acquired and no *karma* destroyed.⁵¹ The Jains believe in right knowledge, right faith and right conduct referring to an impersonal system. Each of the Christian jewels, Faith, Hope and Love, refers to a personal Redeemer. It is interesting to note that the Jain religion enshrines no faith in a supreme deity; but for the Christian the dark problems of sin and suffering are lit up by his faith in the character and power of God which ensure the ultimate triumph of righteousness.

49. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXXIII, 5-10.

50. Cf. Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. III, 248 ff.

51. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 246-247.

Faith and Hope in Jainism and Christianity

In Jainism, Hope is almost a meaningless word, but in Christianity the present circumstances of a human being and his future are alike bathed in the golden sunshine of Hope, so that hopefulness may be said to be the very centre of the Christian creed and the foundation of its joy. In Jainism love to a personal god would be an attachment that could only bind him to the cycle of re-birth, but in Christianity Love is the fulfilling of the law and it is in its light that the Christians tread the upward path.⁵²

In Jainism faith is produced by nature, instruction, command, study of the *sūtras*, suggestion, comprehension of the meaning of the sacred lore, complete course of study, religious exercise, brief exposition and reality.⁵³

According to the Buddhists faith is the basic principle of all virtuous deeds. It is the germinating principle of human culture.⁵⁴ It is characterised by two marks: (1) transquillising in the sense of making all obstacles to disappear and rendering consciousness clear and (2) leaping high to achieve that what has not been achieved, to master that what has not been mastered, and to realise that what has not been realised. Faith is nothing but trust in the *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Saṅgha* (Buddha, Doctrine and Order). According to the celebrated Pāli Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa, it is an act of believing in the sense of plunging, breaking, entering into qualities of Buddha and the rest and rejoicing over them.⁵⁵ It is the guiding factor of charity, morality and religion in the sense that it precedes all charitable, moral and spiritual instinct and dispositions.⁵⁶ It is transforming itself into *bhakti* or devotion. It is associated with love or *prema*. The noble eightfold path is the development of the five controlling faculties and powers, one of which is *śraddhā* or faith. The other element that accompanies faith is *prasāda*, a sense of assurance, attended by a serene delight out of satisfaction of a man's spiritual need.⁵⁷

52. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, 247-248.

53. *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra*, XXVIII, 16.

54. *Suttanipāta*, V. 77.

55. *Atthasālinī*, p. 145.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

57. *Puggalapaññatti Comy.*, 248.

Doubt, and Faith

The Buddha, in agreement with Mahāvīra, holds that doubt and faith are two opposite states of mind so that the affirmation of one implies the negation of the other.⁵⁸ According to the Buddhists there are three species of doubt and three species of faith. The Buddha himself said that he had not found out any other element than earnestness which was conducive to the greatest good and to the stability of the faith. He further pointed out that earnestness was the only thing which preserved faith from getting perverted and from disappearing.⁵⁹ The representation of *śraddhā* or faith as the seed of higher life is thoroughly Buddhistic.⁶⁰

Austerities

Austerities are two-fold; external and internal. By knowledge one knows things, by faith one believes in them, by conduct one gets freedom from *karma* and by austerities one reaches purity (*Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, XXVIII, 34).

Samitis and Guptis

There are five *samitis* and three *guptis* which constitute eight means of self-control. The five *samitis* are the following:— (1) going by paths trodden by men and beasts and looking carefully to avoid the death of living beings; (2) using gentle, sweet and righteous speech; (3) receiving alms in a manner to avoid 42 faults; (4) receiving and keeping things necessary for religious exercises and (5) performing the operation of nature in a solitary place. The three *guptis* are the following: (1) diverting mind from sensual pleasures by contemplation, study etc.; (2) observing silence to avoid telling bad things and (3) putting the body in an immovable posture (Cf. the Buddhist ideas in *Dīgha*, I, 172; *Dīgha*, II, 292; *Dīgha*, III, 148; *Aṅguttara*, IV, 106 ff.).

Passions (Kaṣāyas)

Passions (*kaṣāyas*) are the things which tie one down to this world. They are four in number: anger, pride, deceit and greed. Sense-faculties are of two kinds: *labdhi* and *upayoga*. The former

58. *Majjhima*, I, p. 101; Cf. *Sthānāṅga*, p. 289.

59. *Āṅg.*, I, pp. 16-17; Vide also *Buddhistic Studies*, Ed. B. C. Law, Ch. XII.

60. *Saundarananda-Kāvya*, XII, 39.

is the attainment of the manifestation of the sense faculty by the partial destruction, and the latter is the conscious attention of the soul directed to that sense. The causes of bondage are the following: (1) wrong belief; (2) perverse belief; (3) doubt; (4) veneration; (5) wrong belief caused by ignorance and (6) inborn error. Twelve meditations are the meditations on transitoriness, helplessness, mundaneness, loneliness, separateness, impurity, inflow, stoppage, relinquishment, universe, rarity of right path and nature of right path. The ten virtues are the following: forgiveness, humility, honesty, purity, truthfulness, restraint, austerities, renunciation, selflessness and chaste life.

Vows of the Jains

The first vow of the Jains is abstinence from life-slaughter. The second vow is avoidance of falsehood. The next vow is the avoidance of sensual pleasures. A Jain should not always discuss topics relating to women. He should not drink liquor or eat highly seasoned food. He should not occupy a bed or a couch belonging to women. The last great vow is freedom from possessions. In Buddhism we have all such prohibitions.

The five sinful deeds that one commits due to innate proneness to sin, stand as opposed to five great vows (*mahāvratas*) that follow from the principles of *saṃvara* or self-restraint (Vide *Pañhāvāgaranāim*; Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Chap. XI).

Correct behaviour of the Jain monks—Their duties

The correct behaviour of Jain monks consists of ten parts (*vide Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXVI). A Jain monk should not keep company with the wicked. He should guard his soul, bring his senses under control. He should be free from sins. He is to expound pure and complete law. He should avoid vanity. He should combat pride of genius, pride of sanctity, pride of birth and pride of good living. He should be good and honest. He should expound *syādvāda* which consists of seven viewpoints from which assertions are made as to truth. The pious are not given blamable and sinful practices.

The doctrine of Syādvāda

According to the doctrine of *syādvāda* there are seven forms of metaphysical propositions and all contain the word '*syāt*' (*Syādaasti sarvam syāda nāsti sarvam*) meaning 'may be'. A monk should

speak with precision. He should not entertain the wish that after his departure from the world he will become a god or a perfected saint (cf. *Saṃyutta Nikayā*, IV, p. 180; *Aṅguttara Nikaya* IV, p. 461) *devo vā bhavissāmi devaṇṇataro vā ti*).

From the above it is quite clear that Jainism is one of the best Indian religions that existed and flourished under the guidance of Mahāvīra, who was a great teacher, a great guide, a great pilot, a great preacher, and a great recluse. His remarkable career as a teacher lasted for 30 years. Those who came under the influence of his personality and teaching gave up the eating of meat and fish for good and strictly adhered to vegetarian diet. In Jainism much importance is given to soul, individuality and personality. The Jain ethics has for its end the liberation or *mokṣa*. Fasting is the most conspicuous form of austerity. The three excellences are right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. Mahāvīra laid great stress on *karma*, which, according to him, is everything. Jainism, which is to be reckoned as the one of the most ancient Indian monastic organisations, is definitely atheistic, but it must be admitted that it is a practical religion like Buddhism. Both have many points in common as pointed out above.

History of Nāgḍā

BY

DR. KATLASH CHAND JAIN, M.A. Ph.D.

Nāgḍā, situated at the foot of the hill of Ekalingājī in Rajasthan, is a place of great antiquity. Its old names found in the Sanskrit inscriptions are Nāgaḥṛida and Nāgadraha. There are local legendary traditions about the association and foundation of this place by the Nāgas.¹ Actually, this town seems to have been founded by Nāgāditya,² the father of Śilāditya, who was ruling in 646 A.D.³ Śilāditya is the fifth in the line of succession of Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila family. Roughly, if we allot an average of 20 years to each reign, Guhadatta seems to have flourished in the second half of the sixth century A.D. The Atpur inscription⁴ of Śaktikumāra dated V.S. 1034 speaks of Guhadatta as a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Brāhmaṇa family which migrated from Ānandapura. He and his early successors seem to have ruled in the Western part of Udaipur State. In the Sāmoli inscription⁵ dated V.S. 703, Śilāditya is described as the conqueror of his foes. During his reign, a *Mahājana* community headed by Jentāka who had migrated from Vasantagadh near Sirohi, started an *āgara* (a mine) in Āranyakūpagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people. It is said that the Mahātara Jentāka, at the command of his community, founded here a temple of Āranyavāsina (Durgā) which was noted for its eighteen Vaitālikas (bards) hailing from the different parts of the country and was crowded with rich and wealthy people.

1. The king Janmejaya is said to have performed the snake sacrifice at this place to avenge the death of his father Parikshita.

2. *URI*, p. 98.

3. *EI*, XX, p. 97.

4. *IA*, 39, p. 186.

5. *EI*, XX, p. 97.

After Śilāditya, his son Aparājita became the ruler of Nāgdā. His commander-in-chief Varahasimha, son of Śiva, was very powerful and is said to have crushed the power of his adversaries. His wife Yaśomati in order to cross the troubled sea of the worldly existence built the temple of Viṣṇu at Nāgdā⁶ in 661 A.D. The next famous name among the Guhilota rulers is that of Bappā Rāvala. He is said to have come from Ānandapura, worshipped at the feet of a sage named Hāritarāsi and through his grace obtained royal fortune and became the king of Chitrakūṭa.⁷ Actually, this was not the case. Guhadatta, the founder of the family, had emigrated from Ānandapura.⁸ The earliest mention of Bappā is found in the Ekalingajī inscription dated 971 A.D. of the reign of Naravarmana. There, he is clearly mentioned that Śrī Bappā, the moon among the princes of the Guhila family, is said to have flourished at Nāgaḥṛida.⁹ Bappā Rāvala is a designation and not a proper name of the ruler. He has been identified with the eighth king Kālabhoja¹⁰ by Paṇḍita Ojhā and the ninth king Khomāṇa by Dr. Bhandarkar. He ruled in the eighth century and is said to have conquered Chitor. It is likely that the Mauris or Moris were ruling at Chitor when the Arabs overran this part of the country between 725 A.D. and 738 A.D. The Mauryas probably succumbed to these raids and Bappā, a neighbouring chief, who was more successful in his resistance to the Arab raiders, seized the fortress of Chitor.

The next great ruler of Nāgdā was Bhartṛipaṭṭa II. He assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* which signifies that he enjoyed independent position. As he granted a field in the village Palāsakūpika to the temple of the Sun God Indrādityādeva founded by Chauhāna Indrarāja in Ghonṭavarshikā, modern Ghoṭārsī, (seven miles east of Partabgarh), his kingdom seems to have extended on the south east up to the border of Partabgarh.¹¹ His son and successor was Allāṭa, who probably transferred his capital from Nāgdā to Āhar. His son was Naravarmana during whose reign, the

6. *EI*, IX, p. 30.

7. *The Classical Age*, p. 158.

8. *IA*, 39, p. 186, Atpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra, Verse 5.

9. *URI*, p. 102.

10. *IA*, 39, p. 190.

11. *ARRMA*, 1916, p. 2.

famous temple of Ekalingajī was constructed by the saints of Lakulīśa sect of Śaivism in 971 A.D.¹²

Vijayasimha, who ruled in 1116 A.D., seems to have transferred his capital back from Āhar to the former town of Nāgdā. From the Pāladi inscription,¹³ it is known that *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayasimha donated the fifth part of the produce of the village of Pālli, embracing all its receipts to Unlāchārya, son of the most respectable *Āhārya* Sāhiya, who was a resident of Nāgahṛida on the occasion of a solar eclipse for the advancement of spiritual welfare of himself and his parents in 1116 A.D. The gift was made at and the grant issued from Nāgdā, the capital city. The religious rites connected with this donation appear to have been performed somewhere near the temple of the God Ekalinga as the donor is here stated to have accomplished it after he had worshipped his tutelary deity in continuation of a bath in the *Bhojataḍāga*, situated near the temple.

Nāgdā continued to remain the capital even of *Mahārājādhirāja* Mathanasimha. A mutilated inscription¹⁴ dated 1182 A.D. records that when *Mahārājādhirāja* Mathanasimha was ruling at Nagadraha, 190 *drammas* were granted to Śiva temple by one Deddaka in the village Ata, near Kerābar in Udaipur district. Udharana in the family of Tāntarāḍa was made *talāraksha* (kotwal) of Nāgdā by the king Mathanasimha. He was able to protect the good and punish the wicked. Mathanasimha was succeeded by Padmasimha who made Yogarāja, the eldest son of Uddharana, his *Talāra* in the same city. A village Chitrakūpa (Chirvā situated near Nāgdā) was given as a gift by the king Padmasimha to Yogarāja serving in his army. *Yogarāja* built the temples of Yogeśvara and Yogeśvarī at Chirvā which were restored later on by his successor Madana who granted some land for the maintenance of these temples.¹⁵

The Guhilas of Mewar gained a high political status during the reign of Jaitrasimha whose reign ranges between 1213 A.D. and

12. JBBRAS, XXII, p. 151 (At that time, the north eastern boundary of the city of Nāgdā extended up to the present town of Ekalingajī and the temple formed its integral part.

13. EI, XXXI, Pt. IV.

14. ARMA, 1928, No. 4.

15. EI, XXII, p. 285.

1252 A.D. In the early part of his reign, the Muslims under Sultan Iltutmish, overran Mewar and destroyed the Guhila capital Nāgahṛida. Jayatāla, who was obviously Jaitrasimha of Mewar, suffered a heavy loss of men and money on that occasion. Men, women and children were ruthlessly butchered. People threw themselves into wells rather than fall into the invaders hands.¹⁶ Even from the Chirvā inscription dated V.S. 1330, it is known that Yogarāja's son Padmarāja was killed fighting with the army of Sultan near Bhūtala while Nāgdrapura was destroyed.¹⁷ But soon on the receipt of the news that Vāghela Viradhavāla was advancing with the forces to render assistance to Jaitrasimha, the Muslim army withdrew. After the destruction of Nāgdā, Jaitrasimha seems to have made Chitor his capital for the first time.

Besides the capital of the Guhilas, Nāgdā was well known as a holy place of the Jainas in early times. Madanakīrti, the disciple of Viśālakīrti, who lived in the 13th century A.D., prays to Pārśvanātha Nāgadraha along with other Tīrthaṅkaras associated with their holy places in the *Śāsanachaturmśatikā*.¹⁸ Jināprabhā Sūri also refers to it in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa* written in 1332 A.D.¹⁹ This *tīrtha* has also been described by later authors of the *Tīrthamālās*.²⁰ Muni Sundara Sūri has composed an independent *Stotra* in devotion to Nāgahṛida Pārśvanātha.²¹ Being the holy place, Nāgdā was visited by Jaina saints from time to time. From the *Vijñaptimahālekha* written in 1380 A.D., it is known that Jinodaya Sūri of the Kharataragachchha paid a visit to Nāgdā and other holy places.²²

The temple now known as the temple of Padmāvatī was originally the famous temple of Pārśvanātha. This temple seems to have been destroyed by the invasion of Iltutmish. New images were, therefore, installed and the necessity of repairing it arose. Pāsadata and Saṅgharāma placed an image of Pārśvanātha in

16. HMM, III, pp. 25-33.

17. EI, XXII, p. 85.

18. JSAI, p. 248.

19. VTK, pp. 86 and 106.

20. *Tīrthamālā* written in V.S. 1529. Manuscript No. 72 Khandelavāla Digambara Jaina temple, Udaipur. See Appendix No. 1 for the text.

21. JSP, IV, p. 25.

22. It is in the possession of Shri Agarchand Nāhaṭā.

1299 A.D.²³ In 1334 A.D., Kelhā repaired the shrine of Pārśvanātha.²⁴ A Poravāla trader built a *devakulikā* in the temple of Pārśvanātha in 1429 A.D.²⁵ This temple originally belonged to Digambara Jainas but was appropriated by the devotees of the Kharatara Gachcha during the reign of Kumbhakarna. There is one sculpture in the sanctum which is somewhat interesting. In the centre of the slab is the figure of a Jina in an attitude of meditation having a halo behind and two conical capped Chauri bearers, one on each side, with gandharvas and devas represented as flying in the air.²⁶ There are also remains of other Jaina temples. One temple is in a dilapidated condition. It consists of a shrine, an enclosed hill and an open porch with two domes. The *śikhara* and the domes are modern work but the sculptured walls of the shrine and the hall, would seem to date as early as the time of the Solankī prince Kumārapāla. The Jaina temple known as Adbhujajī is so called because it contains a wonderful image of Śantinātha. It was constructed by a merchant named Sāraṅga of the Poravāla caste during Kumbhakaraṇa's reign.²⁷

Along with Jainism, Vaishnavism and Śaivism received special royal patronage under Guhila rulers who were themselves followers of Brāhmaṇical religion. There was the temple of Viṣṇu built in 661 A.D. by Yaśomati, wife of Śiva Commander-in-chief of Aparājita.²⁸ That temple was destroyed; but still there are the remains of the most beautiful and interesting two temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, standing side by side called the *Sāsabahu* temples. That on the north side is the smaller and of the two, comparatively plain, and is known as the daughter-in-law's (*bahu*) temple, while the other, the larger, is elaborately carved, especially inside and is called the mother-in-law's temple. The *Sāsabahu* group of shrines in Nāgdā is carved out of granite. Some of the carvings are remarkable. There is a war scene with the dynamic grouping of elephants and horses proceeding to the assault. One panel shows the gradations of the worlds below the heaven. Two panels from the ceiling show respectively warriors before chieftain

23. PRAS, wc., 1906, No. 2243.

24. *Ibid.*, 2243.

25. *Ibid.*, No. 2242.

26. *Ibid.*,

27. *Ibid.*,

28. *El*, IV, p. 30.

and men bearing gifts for the household. The panel from the ceiling also shows worshippers listening to a holyman.

During the reign of Naravarmana, the Śaiva ascetics as Supujitarasi, Vinischitarasi and so forth erected the temple of Eka-lingajī in 971 A.D. and dedicated it to Lakuliśa.²⁹ At this time, the celebrated dilectician, called Śrī Vedāṅga Muni seems to have resided at this place and defeated the disputants of the *Syādavāda*, *Saugata* and other sects. After the construction of the Eka-lingajī, it became the great centre of Śaivism and was the place of residence of the Śaiva saints. The most respectable Āchārya Sāhiyā was residing at this place in 1116 A.D.³⁰ The Chirvā inscription³¹ dated V.S. 1330 says that the head of the *Paśupata* sect, there was Swarasi who possessed many qualities and worshipped the God Ekalingajī.

Nāgdā is a very important town from the social point of view. The *gotrās* of this name found among the Kshatriyas, Brāhmaṇas and Jainas originated from this place. This definitely proves that once, it was highly populated by the people of these castes. People of Nāgdā caste among the Jainas were religious minded during the medieval times because several copies of the manuscripts are caused to be written by them and presented to the Jaina saints. Bhaṭṭāraka Jñānabhūṣaṇa, who lived in the 15th century, wrote the *Nāgadārāsā*³² describing the history of the Nāgadā caste among the Jainas.

29. JBBRAS, XXII, p. 152.

30. EI, XXXI, Pt. VI.

31. EI, XXII, p. 285.

32. Manuscript in Śāstrabhaṇḍāra Śrī Digambara Jaina Mandira, Sambhavanātha, Baḍabagāra, Udaipur. See Appendix No. 2 for the text.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. URI = Udaipur Rājya kā Itihāsa.
2. E.I. = Epigraphia Indica.
3. I.A. = Indian Antiquary.
4. ARMA = Annual Report of Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
5. JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
6. HMM = Hammīra Mada Mardana.
7. JSAI = Jaina Sāhityā Aura Itihāsa.
8. VTK = Vividhatīr, thakalpa.
9. JSP = Jaina Satya Prakāśa.
10. PRASWC = Progress Report Archaeological Survey western circle.

APPENDIX NO. 1

Portion of *Tīrthamālā* written in V.S. 1529.

Delavāḍau Nāgadrahā Chītrauḍa

Āhaḍakara Hedaum Vaddhaṇautra ||76||

APPENDIX NO. 2

Prasasti of Manuscript in Śāstrabhaṇḍāra Śrī Digambara Jaina Mandira Sambhavanātha Udaipur.

Śrī Jñānabhūṣhaṇa munivīra prabhuṇiyā kī dhurāsamai Sāral,

Havutha jīṇavari kaḥiya vasugitragreya māhirāsa rachumati—
savad hathimāṇe jo naranāre,

Bhāṇesī bhaṇaveje sām̐bhaḷete lahisai kalavichāra iti Nāga-
drārāsa saṁpūrṇa.

Two Saiva Shrines in Tirupati

BY

DR. V. N. HARI RAO, M.A., PH.D.

Tirupati is well known for its Vaishnava shrines, viz., that of Sri Venkatesvara on the hills and Govindaraja, established by Ramanuja, in the town below and that of Padmavathi, the consort of Sri Venkatesvara, in Tiruchanur, very near Tirupati. Besides these, there are several minor shrines, viz., of Ādivarāha, Kōḍaṇḍarāma, Lakshminārāyaṇa, Krishna, Sundararāja, Narasimha, etc and also the shrines of a few Ālvārs. But there are two Saiva temples also here, not usually noticed by visitors. It is intended here to give a brief idea of the architecture, iconography and history of these two shrines, viz, those of Kapilēsvara, at the foot of the Tirumala hills, and of Parāsarēsvara at Jōgimallavaram, a hamlet adjoining Tiruchānūr. Architecturally both are to be classified as Chola temples and inscriptions clearly indicate that after the Cholas both of them lost royal patronage.

1. The Kapilesvara Shrine

(a) *Architecture*: The Kapilēsvara shrine is built in a natural cavern a little above the foot of the Tirumala hills, a mile and a half to the north of the Tirupati town. In the rainy season there occur several water falls from the hills (cf. *veengu veer-aruvi Vēngadam* in the *Silappadikāram*) and the most picturesque and best known is the one near this shrine. The water collects into a tank below and the excess is drained out. This tank is variously known as Kapilateertham, Sudarśanateertham, Chakra-teertham and Ālvāртеertham. The shrine is a *samachaturasra* (8' square) *prāsāda* without a fully developed *vimana* above, of which there is only the base, as the overhanging rock does not provide room for any further structure. This simple stone shrine has an *adhishṭāna*, 3' in height, having as its members from below an *upana*, a *paṭṭa* (projecting piece), a *tripaṭṭa*, a *gala* or *griva* (recess), another *paṭṭa* and *gala* and finally an *ālingapaṭṭika*. The *Kudya* or wall above this *adhishṭāna* encloses the *garbagrihas*

and *aṅtarālas* of the Siva and Kāmākshi shrines. It contains *Kuḍyasthambas* or *pilasters*, 5' in height with the typical Chola capital with *Kalaśa*, *taḍi*, *idaḷ*, *palakka* and the corbel bevelled at an angle of 45° leaving a central segment of the vertical section. The *Kapōta* or cornice below the roof contains a series of gables adorned with scroll work.

There is only one enclosure for this shrine. The *mukha-maṇṭapa* contains two rows of three pillars each. Each of the pillars is 8' in height and is made of three rectangular blocks with octagonal shafts in between. The four sides of each rectangular block contain carvings of deity figures. The corbel is in early Vijayanagara style, i.e., shaped like a curved lotus stalk with a hanging bud or *potika*. The two pillars in the extremes, however, have Chola corbels. A *nandi* faces the linga. To the proper left of the Siva shrine lies the shrine of the goddess, Kāmākshi. A small crouching figure of a lion faces the goddess.

(b) *Iconography and sculpture*: Two stone slabs, each about 4' high, containing *dvārapālaka* reliefs are built into the wall on either side of the entrance. Each stands in the *dvibhanga* pose and has four hands. The lower right holds a *gada* poised in a vertical position, the tip touching the ground, while the lower left is in the *Kaṭihasta* pose. The upper right holds a *ḍamaru* while the upper left holds a *trisula*. They are decorated with *patrakuṇḍalas*, a high *jaṭāmakuṭa*, a garland of beads, *channavira*, etc. Three icons, viz, Subhramanya, seated on his vehicle, the peacock, and his consorts, Valli and Dēvasēna, are placed in a niche to the proper left of the *dvārapālaka* images. A slab near this niche contains the figure of a *sāsta* in *Kukkuṭāsana*, with hair flowing on two sides, the two hands holding *pasās*. This is said to represent Virabhāgu. To its proper left is an image of Ganesa seated.

The *antarāla* of the Kapilēsvara shrine contains an icon of Ganesa on a pial on the one side and on the other an icon of Subhramanya leaning on the peacock and holding a *trisula*. Similarly the *antarāla* of the Kāmākshi shrine contains on its two sides an image of Ganesa and one of Bhairava with his favourite vehicle, a dog. The latter is a four-handed deity, the two lower hands in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses and the two upper ones holding

the *damaru* and the *triśula*. The goddess is a four handed deity, the upper two holding *ankusa* and *pāśa* while the lower two are in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses.

A big mantapa adjoining the Siva and Kāmākshi shrines contains a few interesting images. One is that of Siva in the form of Dakshinamūṛthy. The image faces south and is represented in the attitude of teaching. The left leg is crossed over the right, which rests on a prostrate dwarfish figure (*apasmāra puruṣa*, personifying ignorance), on either side of which kneels a *rishi* with the hands in *anjali*. The palm of the lower right hand is held up with the thumb and forefinger joined together (*upadēsamudra*). The upper right hand holds a snake. The upper left holds a *triśula* while the lower left, rests on the thigh and holds a *pustaka*. The posture is straight (*samabhanga*). The look is serene with eyes half closed. The hair is plaited and arranged to resemble a high crown (*jaṭāmakūṭa*) with Ganga, the sun and the crescent moon, some plaits also flowing down on either side of the head. The ornaments worn are *makarakuṇḍala* in the right ear and *chakrakundala* in the left, *grāivēyakas* or garlands, *channavira*, *udarabhanda*, *yagnōpavita*, *kēyūra*, anklets etc.

Another image is that of Sūrya. This is a standing two-handed figure facing west with a plain disc around and behind the head worn as a *siraschakra*. The two hands are half raised, each holding a lotus bud. Rolled *tālapatra* and strings of beads are worn as ear ornaments. Besides, he wears necklaces, *yagnōpavita*, anklets etc.

Two figures of Siva and Parvati, together with the pedestal on which they are seated, and the enclosing *prabha* surmounted by a *simhalalata* form one fine piece. Siva's left leg is folded and rests on the seat and on his lap sits Parvati while the right leg hangs down and rests on a bull. His lower right hand is in the *abhaya* pose while the upper right holds an axe. The upper left hand holds a Mriga or antelope while the lower passes round the waist of the goddess. His *jaṭāmakūṭa* is adorned with the crescent moon. Siva in this pose is known as *Ālinganachandrasēkhara mūrti*.

Besides the stone images referred to above, there are fourteen bronzes kept in the same mandapa,—of Naṭarāja, Sivakāmi, Ganesa, Saiva saints etc.

(C) *History*: According to tradition Brahma, Vishnu and Siva appeared at this site before the sage Kapila in response to his penance in the form of a cow, a hunter and a linga and the last became enshrined in this temple. The style of the pilasters on the walls of the sanctum and the pillars in the *mukhamantapa* shows that the temple belongs to the Chola period. This is confirmed by an inscription in this temple which says that the *mukhamantapa* and the sanctum (*Tirumāligai*) were constructed by one Brahmarāyan Munaiyādarāyan, alias Rāyan Rājendra Cholan, the head of Koṭṭūr (*Koṭṭūruḍaiyān*). The title indicates that he was an officer of Rajendra Chola I.¹ The tank, fed by water falls in the rainy season, attracted in course of time, new temples and it assumed a new character. The *utsava beram* of Govindarāja (installed by Rāmānuja in Tirupati), accompanied by Sudarśana or Tiruvāli - Ālvān (*Chakrattālvār*) was taken to it for *tīrthavāri* (bath) during brahmōtsavam and the tank itself came to be called Ālvārtirtham. Govindaraja was taken there on the day of the *makara sankramaṇam* also. A shrine for Nammālvār was built near the tank in the last quarter of the 13th century and the *adhyayanōtsavam* and the car festival of the Ālvār were also celebrated in due course.² It is quite possible that the authorities of the Siva temple and those of the Vaishnava temples quarrelled over the rights over the tank. Inscriptions in three languages, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, dated Śaka 1453 (1531 A.D.) declare that stone steps of the tank and the sandhyavandana mantapas on three sides were constructed and stone slabs showing the sudarśana chakra were planted at the four corners of the tank by Achuta Raya.³ The planting of the Sudarśana slabs was probably meant to indicate that the tank was dedicated to Vishnu. Inscriptions of this period referring to festivals invariably refer to this tank as Chakratirtham or Ālvārtirtham.

An image of Lakshminārāyaṇaperumal was installed on the bank of the tank to its south west, and a small shrine for the god built in Śaka 1468 (1546 A.D.) in the reign of Sadasiva Raya by Tāllapākkam Periya Tirumalayyangaṅgar, son of Annamayyangaṅgar.⁴

1. T. T. Devasthanams Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 20. Contra T. K. T. Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, Vol. I. pp. 406-15.

2. T. T. D. Inscr. Vol. I No. 57, also pp. 67-68; Vol. 5 No. 34.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4 No. 8.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, No. 68.

An image of Lakshminarasimha, now found in a narrow cave opposite the Kapilesvara shrine, was also probably installed at about this time. In another cave, referred to as the fourth cave in the inscriptions, an image of Venkatesa was installed by one Potlapadi Timmarāja sometime during the reign of Sadasivaraya.⁵

An inscription dated Saka 1484 (1562 A.D.), belonging to the time of Sadasiva Raya for the first time mentions the temple of Kapilesvara. It also says that the prakara walls and the kitchen of this temple, which were damaged by thunder and rain were reconstructed by a chieftain, Rāchavittu Nayakar, at his own cost. After this renovation the authorities arranged to carry out the daily worship of Vignesvara, set up by Sevvu sāni, a dancing girl (*emberumanadiyal*), for which she had made an endowment of 200 paṇam earlier.⁶ This renovation probably explains the absence of inscriptions in this temple before this date. In contrast with the Parāsarēsvara shrine at Jogimallavaram the Kapilesvara shrine today has every evidence of having been renovated several times over. An inscription dated Saka 1787 (1865 A.D.) says that the pavement of the tank and the sandhyavandana maṇṭapas surrounding it were renovated by the Mahant, Dharmadaśji. Now the temple is part of the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams.

2. The Parāsarēsvara shrine

(a) *Architecture*: — The Parāsarēsvara shrine is almost in a ruined condition. It is however a living temple. It lies in a village called Yōgimallavaram or Jogi or Jogula-mallavaram, very near Tiruchanur, on the Tirupati-Tiruchanur Road, at a distance of about three and a half miles south east of the Tirupati town. This shrine is *samachaturasra* (12' square) with a vimana of the *ekatala* variety with a *sikhara* of the *vesara* order (circular type) with a single *kalasa* adorning its top. The walls are of stone while the *sikhara* is of brick and plaster. The *adhisṭṭāṇa*, 4' in height, has the following members from below: an *upana* an inward sloping *gaḷa* or recess, a *tripaṭṭa*, three patta or bands (two receding and one projecting in the middle) and an *ālingapaṭṭika*. The walls of the *garbagriha* and *antarāḷa* contain on their outer side Chola type pilasters and between the pilasters on the three sides of the *garbagriha* are Chola type *kosṭas* or niches with deity figures and

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 No. 92. This is not traceable now.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 No. 172.

surmounted by the simple semi-circular *torana*, i.e., without any scroll work.

The shrine is surrounded on three sides by a verandah, 5' broad, which is the only enclosure, and the same broadens into a *mukhamantapa* in the front. The enclosure contains nine pillars, three in a row on each side, while the *mukhamantapa* contains sixteen pillars, four rows of four each. Each pillar in the verandah is 8' 6" in height, the capital alone measuring 1' 6". Surmounted by the bevelled Chola capital and standing upon a simple *adhish-tāna* of two horizontal *paṭṭas* with a recess in the middle, the pillar consists of three plain rectangular blocks with octagonal shafts in between. The pillars in the *mukhamantapa* are round and contain the same type of capital as above.

On one side of the *mukhamantapa* i.e., to the proper left of the sanctum containing the *linga*, is the entrance to the shrine of the goddess, Kāmākshi. The temple as a whole is unique on account of the fact that it is entirely Chola in style and does not contain any later accretions, like mantapas and pillars in the Vijayanagar style as found in the temples in the neighbourhood. But a few yards outside the temple lies a mantapa, closed on three sides, which from its style may be assigned to the early Vijayanagar period. It has an *adhish-tāna*, 4' high and its *Kumuda* is surmounted by *simhalalāṭas*. This mantapa contains four rows of four pillars each, those on the sides being covered up by the stone wall which encloses the mantapa on all sides but for a central opening in the front. The four central pillars form a square and the roof covering this portion is built by arranging stone slabs one above the other to form a *shatkōṇa* with a hanging lotus in the middle. This structure was perhaps used as a *Kolumantapa* on festival occasions.

(b) *Iconography and sculpture* : — The three niches on the three sides of the *garbagriha* of the Parāsarēśvara shrine contain the images of Dakshināmūrthy, Vishnu and Brahma. The Dakshināmūrthy image is similar to the one in the Kapilēśvara shrine but for two differences. Here the *jaṭamakūṭa* is circular forming a sort of *prabha* or halo round the head (*siraschakra*) and does not taper upward. Secondly, the right hand holds an *akṣha-mālā* and not a snake. The image of Vishnu is in *samabhanga*. It has four hands, the upper two holding *sankha* and *chakra* while the lower ones are kept in the *abhaya* and *kaṭihasta* poses. The

image of Brahma is also in *samabhanga*. Three heads are visible and over the central one there is a *kirīṭamakūṭa*. The two upper hands hold an *akshamālā* and a bud while the lower hands are in the *abhaya* and *Kaṭihasta* poses.

The verandah surrounding the shrine contains a few images. An image of Ganesa kept to the proper right of the entrance of the *antarāḷa* is about 3' in height including the pedestal. The deity has four hands. The two upper hands hold *pāsa* and *ankusa*; the lower right hand holds the broken piece of a *danta* or tusk while the lower left holds a *mōdaka*. He wears a *karaṇḍamakūṭa*, *yajnōpavīta* and *channavīra*. The belly as usual is bound by an *udarabandha*. On the opposite side, i.e., to the left of the entrance of the *antarāḷa* is a slab with the sculptured figure of a bearded yogi. This may be the *yogi* of *Yogi-mallavaram*. The grandfather would then be represented by the *linga* and the grandson by this figure. (Suka, according to the Puranas, was a grandson of Parāśara). A slab kept in the south western corner of the verandah contains the figures of the *Saptamātrikas*, viz., Brāhmaṇi, Māheśvari, Kaumāri, Vaishnavi, Vārāhi, Indrāni and Chāmūṇḍi. Each figure is about a foot high and has the appropriate vehicle and weapons but the carvings are somewhat crude.

In the north western corner of the verandah are kept three finely executed images, viz., Subhramanya flanked on either side by Valli and Dēvasēna. The god is standing in *samabhanga* with his peacock vehicle behind and his two hands in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Valli in her right hand and Dēvasēna in her left hold lotus buds, while the other hands are kept hanging. The goddesses are in the *dvibhanga* pose.

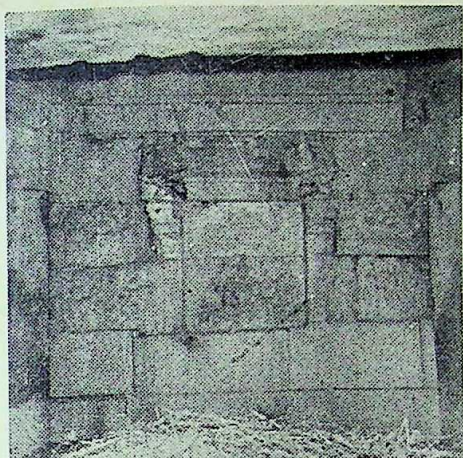
Near the entrance of the shrine of Kāmākshi is another finely executed image viz. that of Shanmukha, seated on his peacock vehicle. Three heads with tall tapering crowns are seen in the front. *Chakrakunḍalas* adorn his ears. He wears, besides, necklaces and garlands. Two of his hands are in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Ten others, five on each side, are outstretched and hold different kinds of weapons like *vajra pāsa*, *khaḍga*, *dhanus*, *bāṇa*, etc. The peacock carries a snake in its beak. The whole is encircled by a *prabha* surmounted by a *simhalalāṭa*.

The backwall of the mantapa outside the temple contains three panels of sculptures separated by two pillars. In the middle of

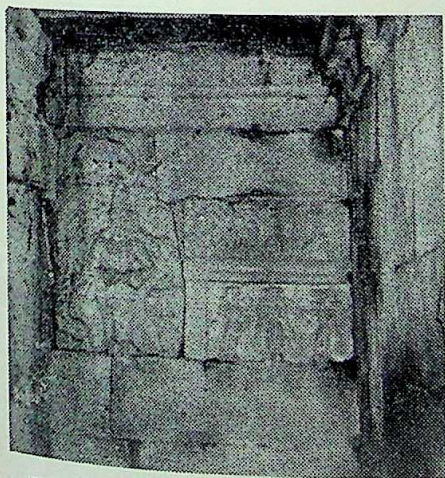
the central panel is a sculptured group familiarly known as Soma-skanda. This is made up of Siva and Parvati in the *sukhāsana* pose with a small figure of Ganapati to their right and a small figure of Skanda in the middle. Siva is seated in an erect posture, his left leg folded and resting horizontally on the seat while the right hangs down. The two upper hands hold *parasu* and *mriga* while the lower ones are in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Uma is seated with her right leg slightly raised and folded upward while the left hangs down. She sits in an easy posture, slightly bent at the hip (*dvibhanga* pose), with a lotus in her right hand. The left hand is pressed against the seat and bears the weight of her body. Both the figures are adorned with *kiriṭamakuta*s. The entire group is in a niche, which is flanked by two pilasters with a number of small slabs above extending progressively on the outer side and surmounted by a horizontal slab forming the ceiling of the niche. At either end of the ceiling slab is a human figure bent in the posture of bearing on his back the weight of the ceiling. On either side of the niche are figures, carved in two rows, of happy devotees, men and women, some dancing and some in attitudes of worship.

The panel to the left of the above illustrates *Pārvati-parinaya*. In the centre Parvati stands with her left hand in the *kaṭakahasta* pose holding a *nīlōtpala* while her right hand catches the outstretched right hand of Siva, standing to her left. Siva holds *ankusa* and deer in his upper hands and places his lower left hand on the head of Brahma seated below in *padmāsana*. Next to him stands Vishnu with his lower hands outstretched in the attitude of welcoming the bridal couple. His two upper hands carry *sanka* and *chakra*. To the right of Parvati stands a female attendant and still further a couple of devotees in *anjali*.

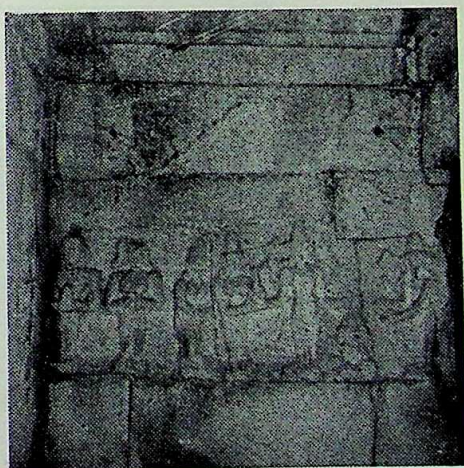
The panel to the right contains the figure of Siva as *Kankālāmūrti*, i.e., as a mendicant wandering about after he had cut off the head of Brahma. With his two lower hands he beats a kettle-drum with a stick. His upper left hand holds one end of the *Kankāladanḍa*, which rests on his shoulder, and with his right he touches an agile antelope. Serpents adorn his body and raise their hoods from his right loin and his left shoulder. A short woman holding a basket on her head stands at the bottom to his left. The head is adorned with a *kiriṭamakuta*, from which *jaṭas* flow on either side.



Somaskanda in the back wall of the
mantapa outside the shrine.



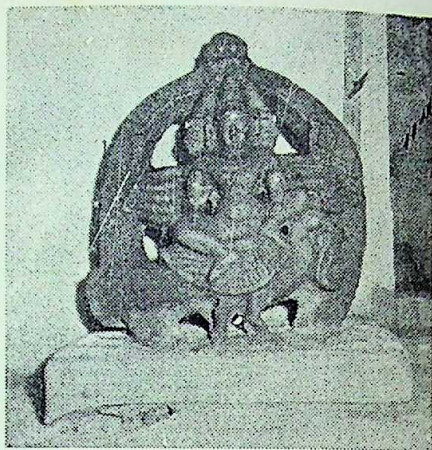
Kankālamurti in the same wall.



Pārvatī-parīṇaya.



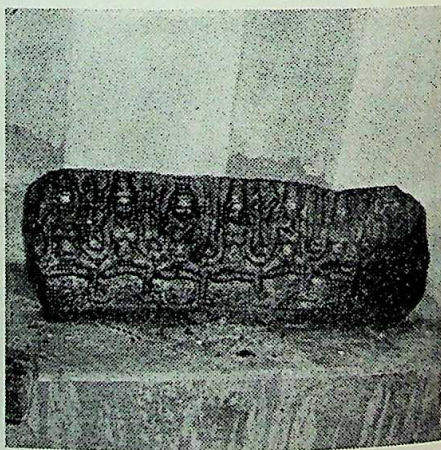
Dakshinamurthy in a niche in the wall of the garbagriha, Parāsarēśvara shrine.



Shanmukha, Jogimallapuram.



Nritta Ganapati, Jogimallapuram.



Saptamātrika slab in the Parāsarēśvara shrine, Jogimallapuram.

The left part of the front wall of the outer mantapa contains a niche surmounted by *chitratōraṇa* with the *simhalalāṭa* at the top. This is divided into three parts. The central part contains a four handed-figure of *Nritta-Gaṇapati*. The recesses on either side contain a male and a female figure apparently engaged in circumambulation.

(c) *History*: — Most of the inscriptions in this temple belong to the Chola period. They refer to the God enshrined in it as *Tippalādīsvaraṃudaiya Mahādēvar* (skt. *Parāsarēsvara*) and to the village as *Tiruchchōgunūr* and *Tiruchchukānūr*. The former is probably derived from *yogi* or *jogi* as can be inferred from the modern name *Jogimallavaram*, which has survived to this day. 'Yogi' seems to refer to *Suka* as indicated by the other name, *Tiruchchukānūr*, obviously a Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit '*Sri Suka Grama*', mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription in the temple of *Govindaraja*, which refers to the penance of *Suka* and others in that village.⁷ After the Cholas the Saiva temple lost royal patronage while the *Vaishnava* temples gained in importance. This resulted in the bifurcation of the village. The western part containing the *Siva* temple came to be called *Yōgimallavaram*, while the eastern part containing the *Vaishnava* shrines continued to be known as *Tiruchchukānūr* or *Tiruchchānūr* (popularly corrupted into *Chirtānūr*).

A number of inscriptions in this temple of the reigns of *Rajaraja I*, *Kulottunga I*, *Vikrama Chola* and *Rajaraja III* give details of grants made to it for various purposes. The earliest inscription of the 23rd year of *Rajaraja I* (1008 A.D.) says that one *Kōdinambiyangāḍi* alias *Jayankōṇḍasōla Brahmārāyan* of *Aruvekkōvai* (in *Sōlamanḍalam*) deposited with the *Sabhaiyār* of *Tiruchchukānūr* 26 *kaḷanju* of gold, accurately weighed with the *Dharmakattalai* stone, for the conduct of the *ubhaiyam* on the *Uttarayana Sankaranthi* day.⁸ Four inscriptions of *Kulottunga I* (1070-1120 A.D.) give the following details.⁹ One *Tiruccirrambala Nambi* made a gift of 120 cows to four temple servants for burning four lamps. The king was pleased to remit certain taxes on a

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 No. 144.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 No. 18.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 Nos. 23. 24. 25. 38.

dēvadāna village. The Mēhēswaras of the temple at Kālahasti built a tank for Tīppalādīsvara. One Nāraṇadēva waived his tax from the village Munnaippūṇḍi *alias* Sivapādasēkhara Nallūr for lighting two lamps in the temple. This was approved by the *gaṇa* or village assembly. A record of the reign of Vikrama Chola, dated in his 16th year (1134 A.D.), refers to a gift of land for oil for the lamps during the procession in the Vaikasi festival.¹⁰ Two inscriptions of the reign of Rajaraja III dated in his 5th and 7th years (1223 and 1227 A.D.) are interesting. From these we know that Vira Narasimha Yādavarāya was his feudatōry, who not only administered a portion of the Chola kingdom, but upheld his authority against the Kāḍavarāya Aḷagiyasiyan, father of Kōperunjingā. This Yādavarāya was the son-in-law of Pāṇḍiadaraiyan, who was the *pokkan* or *pokkāran* or treasurer of the Parāsarēsvara temple. He was a staunch Saivite (*parasamayakkōlāri*). His son Nārayaṇa Piḷḷai lost his life in the battle of Urattī waged between the Yādavarāya and the Kāḍavarāya, who rebelled against the Chola. In memory of the deceased and also for his spiritual benefit the Yādavarāya made a grant of six *puṭṭi* of land and a few taxes for instituting two offerings to Tīppalādīsvaramuḍaiya Mahādevar, viz., *Tiruardhayāmappaḍi* and *Tiruvelucchippaḍi*.¹¹ Another inscription of the same king, dated in his ninth year (1229 A.D.) says that he settled a dispute regarding the gift of 26 *kaḷanju* of gold made by Kōdinambiyangaḍi earlier.¹² The last Chola inscription in this temple is dated in the 14th year of the same king. It refers to a grant of 6 *puṭṭi* of land in Munnaippūṇḍi for the conduct of the Masi festival.¹³

Inscriptions practically cease after the Chola period. The Rayas of Vijayanagar concentrated their attention on the Vaishnava temples of the Tirupati-Tirumala region. A solitary record dated 1547 A.D. belonging to the period of Sadāsivarāya, refers to a grant of three *panas* made by the trustees of the Tirumala temple in favour of one Paramasivan Āṇḍān for the supply of flowers for daily worship in the Siva temple of Parāsarēsvara.¹⁴

The temple is now managed locally.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 No. 33.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 Nos. 34 and 35.

12. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 Nos. 36 and 37.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 No. 38.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 No. 106.

Dutch Pioneers in Malabar

(A NARRATIVE BASED ON DUTCH SOURCES)

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A., Ph.D.

The small maritime state of Kerala which came into being a few years ago is practically the same region which Dutch writers understood by the term "Malabar". Besides its linguistic and cultural homogeneity this part of India has a unique importance in history as being the cradle of that Indo-European maritime trade which has contributed so mightily to the prosperity of our country. That trade was initiated by the Portuguese at the close of the fifteenth century. But the mastery of eastern seas was wrested from them by the Dutch after a bitter conflict which lasted for a century and a half. Whatever be the economic and political consequences of Dutch contact with India, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the story of early Dutch visits to Malabar has a quaint attractiveness to the lay reader because of the picturesque setting of the incidents and the light these visits throw on contemporary social conditions.

Jacob Willemsz

It is presumed that an inhabitant of Zeeland was the first Dutchman who undertook a journey to the Malabar Coast. The destination of this Zeelander, Jacob Willemsz, the Customs Collector of Iersekerood, is mentioned in Dutch chronicles as "Cal-koeten". Obviously the place indicated is Calicut, the capital of the Zamorin, where Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator, landed in 1498. From this journey undertaken in 1525, the toll-gatherer does not seem to have returned. We do not know whether he reached his destination or what the motives were which prompted him to undertake such a distant journey, however natural it was to be in close contact with foreign ships which sailed to distant places from Antwerp.

Linschoten and Houtman

Among Dutchmen whose visits to Malabar are absolutely certain, the earliest are Linschoten and Houtman. The former was in a sense the originator of Dutch Commerce with India. He stayed in Goa for five years as the Archbishop's Secretary and sailed home from Cochin on the 25th January 1589. He was the author of the *Itinerario*, a travel diary which revealed the rottenness of the Portuguese colonial empire and the possibility of its being overthrown by an energetic rival. Houtman, a very intelligent Dutchman engaged for some years in the Portuguese service, revealed to some merchants in Amsterdam the nature of Portuguese commerce and the incalculable advantage which that trade offered.

Hans de Wolff and Lafer

Hans de Wolff and Lafer were two merchants who belonged to the Middleburg Company, one of the many companies which came into being in the wake of Houtman's visit. On hearing at Surat from certain Malabar merchants that there were places in Malabar where there were no Portuguese and where pepper was available at a cheap price (25 rupees per parah) and where even a fort would be available to the Dutch in Malabar if they dared to trade, these men proceeded to Malabar which they reached about April 1603. At Calicut, however, the Dutch merchants were seized by the Portuguese, taken to Goa and there hanged. Utterly unable to crush their rivals by force, the Spanish Portuguese power used underhand methods. Thus the first attempt made by the Dutch to settle on the Malabar Coast ended in tragedy.

Steven van der Haghen

The first fleet owned by the United East India Company of the Dutch consisted of thirteen ships. It sailed to the east in 1603 under the command of Admiral Steven van der Haghen. Cannanore was the first Malabar port where this fleet anchored. The inhabitants showed themselves very much inclined to trade with the Dutch. A large number of small boats came around with all available foodstuffs. Meanwhile the Admiral received a visit from three messengers of the Zamorin who proceeded to the Dutch fleet in small boats and intimated the desire of their master for an interview.

The Mohammedan merchants of Cannanore also showed the utmost goodwill to the Dutch. They took the Dutch to their houses and gardens, and let them have a look at their mosques; in short they did all they could to accord to the future buyers of their commodities as favourable terms as possible. The Portuguese in their fort close to the town observed these relations between their enemies who now came into these regions to harass them and the local people; when the fleet appeared in front of the Portuguese citadel, they proceeded to defend themselves. A skirmish took place to the north of the fortress. The King of the place who was unwilling to see his land a battlefield between the two European rivals sent a deputation to the Dutch with a request to suspend fire. He also forwarded the same request to the Portuguese. As the latter had already been established in his land for more than one hundred years, he could not drive them out unless he could be sure of the friendship and help of the Dutch. To prevent further complications, the Dutch therefore set sail in the evening in perfect friendliness. The King, however, showed his good disposition to the Dutch by causing to be brought to them two of their sailors who had wanted to desert to the Portuguese.

The arrival of the embassy of the Zamorin on board the ships aroused the expectation that they could perhaps rely on a better reception in Calicut. They anchored here on the 29th October, 1604. As the Portuguese wished to prevent an agreement between their worst enemies, the Zamorin and the Dutch, they attempted an attack on the Dutch ships with a number of frigates which had just come from Goa with soldiers and ammunition to strengthen some forts. The Dutch received the enemy so hotly that they had to withdraw although the Dutch succeeded in taking as prize only one of the Portuguese ships. The other ships escaped by rowing close to the shore. The entire Portuguese squadron consisted of 20 ships under the command of a Dom Pedro. At night some sloops went towards the land with the Vice-Admiral Cornelis Bastiaenz and two merchants visited the Zamorin who caused them to be met by some nobles. The Council of the prince received the Dutch and offered apologies that the Zamorin himself was not present as he was fighting against the King of Cochin, the protege of the Portuguese.

After the Vice-Admiral had gone to the ship, a message was received from the Zamorin wherein the Dutch were invited to his

camp as he himself could not leave the camp. He was at a place about 2 Dutch miles (8 English miles) to the south of Calicut and sent some people to show the way to the Admiral. The ambassador of the Zamorin did not fail to inform the Dutch of the bad things which the Portuguese had narrated about them. Nevertheless, the Malabarees desired very much that they should see the Dutch and converse with them. The Zamorin who had already heard so much about the Dutch through the merchants from Achin and Bantam, domiciled in his land, attached little value to the Portuguese insinuation.

The arrival of the Dutch was a great curiosity for the inhabitants of the land and they streamed from great distances to see the strangers. Even the little children manifested great friendship and reverence to the new-comers. On the way to the Zamorin, the Dutch met the Portuguese squadron for the second time. It now came to a serious fight with the Portuguese, and on this occasion the Portuguese particularly aimed at a frigate captured by the Dutch which the latter had with them. The Portuguese Commander-in-Chief managed to make himself master of one of the Dutch ships. But the vehement resistance of the Dutch compelled the Portuguese to stop the combat. With many wounded, they had to retreat after three or four of their ships were made prizes in war. The Portuguese had a taste of a fight with the Dutch and did not wish to have more of it.

The Dutch fleet came to anchor in front of the island of Chetwaye in which were situated the harbour and the fort of Cranganore. A prow rowed from the island to the Dutch with an envoy from the Zamorin accompanied by still many others with the Nair retinue. The Zamorin cautioned the Admiral to keep the sloops and boats with the ships as the Portuguese wished to hazard an attack on the Dutch with many frigates and galleys. Twelve Portuguese frigates approached Van der Haghen's fleet but the Dutch did not walk into the trap. They kept their boats on board and the Portuguese sailed away without accomplishing their object.

In the fleet a decision was taken that the Admiral should go on land accompanied by some customs officers. The visit took place on the 11th November. Accompanied by two or three of his Council and all Junior Merchants including therefore also Hendrick

Jansz Crean, the chronicler of the first meeting between the Dutch Admiral and a Malabar prince, Van der Haghen set foot on the Zamorin's soil. This band of Dutch men consisted of 25 persons, everyone of whom was armed with his side gun and poniard. On the ships six Malabarees remained behind as hostages. Under the booming of the cannon of the Dutch ships, the Admiral was ceremoniously received on the shore by the Governor of the Zamorin surrounded by many Nairs. In the name of the Zamorin he greeted the Dutch with an address in Malayalam. The company then rowed inland in small prows to the abode of the Zamorin. During this journey, a portion of Van der Haghen's retinue got cut off from the rest because the vessels remained stuck up while sailing through the shallow muddy waters. It was not a pretty adventure that these Dutchmen including Craen faced. In the middle of the river, they were left behind alone in a prow while the Malabaree rowers took to their heels. With deep distrust, afraid every moment of falling into the hands of the Portuguese, they allowed themselves to be carried in the thick darkness of the night through woods and rice-fields by three Malabaree fishermen to an inhabited region where eventually they were received hospitably in the house of a Malabaree nobleman and entertained under the inquisitive glances of the nobleman's women who stood round some corners at all places to view the strangers. In this house Van der Haghen also arrived very soon after with the rest of his retinue who were delighted to see again their companions who, they had imagined, had come to grief. The next day, the nobleman, a member of the Council of the Zamorin, conducted the Dutch Admiral to that prince by whom they were received very deferentially and benevolently. After Van der Haghen had prostrated himself before the "emperor", the latter made him rise and regaled his guests with an abundance of fruit "so much no one desired more". He introduced himself with laughter to this eating party.

The Admiral then presented some goods to the prince on which occasion guns were fired. The Zamorin in his turn conferred on Van der Haghen an ornament of precious stone affixed to a golden chain. The costume of the Zamorin naturally evoked the attention of the Dutch. They were especially full of admiration for the three heavy belts round his body and the many golden rings with numerous precious stones on his ears. The reception at the arrival was only a fore-taste. The next day they

were officially invited by the Zamorin for dinner. For eating they sat with banana leaves taking the place of plates on which servants laid the dishes—many preserves and rice, but no animal food. From a room the Zamorin's womenfolk looked curiously at this spectacle. The Dutch on their part were astonished at the exuberant ear trimmings of these ladies. But besides sitting at a banquet the Dutch also transacted business. On the 11th November, 1604, Van der Haghen concluded with the Zamorin, in the name of the States-General and His princely Excellency Maurice of Nassau, a firm offensive and defensive covenant of "eternal and unbreakable alliance towards the oppression of the Portuguese and all their partners for driving them out of all the lands of His Majesty and out of the entire Indies". Each party bound itself not to conclude peace with the Portuguese without the approval and consent of the other. As regards the trade, the Dutch were invited to send ships and people as speedily as possible to Calicut where they would be allowed to build a fort for the security of their men and goods. The supremacy over the seas which was claimed by the Zamorin was acknowledged by the Dutch as the agreement contained a stipulation that whoever wished to sail along the Malabar Coast from Goa to Cape Comorin and carry on trade in Malabar ports must be provided with passes issued by the Zamorin. But, if they did not possess such passes, then the ships and cargo could be declared prize.

On the desired contract being concluded, leave was taken from the Zamorin who caused the whole company to be led out to the shore. On the 14th November, the Admiral divided his fleet according to the written instructions which he had been previously given, he himself sailing with his ships southwards along the Coast of Cochin to the Archipelago, while the ships *Zeeland* and *Enkhuizen* were sent northwards to establish a factory of the Dutch East India Company at Surat.

Hendrik Jansz Craen

It was only in 1607 that Dutch ships again appeared on the coast of Malabar. Paulus Van Caerden, Admiral of a fleet, left Holland for Malabar in the spring of 1606. But before his arrival in Malabar after a rough voyage on the 13th November, another ship, the *Gelderland*, which had been sent with secret instructions to Caerden almost a year after his leaving Holland had already

arrived at Calicut. The Senior Merchant Hendrik Jansz Craen who travelled in this ship has left behind a diary of this voyage as of the previous voyage under Steven van der Haghen. On reaching the Malabar Coast the *Gelderland* wished to capture a vessel which they at first considered as owned by the Portuguese. But when it appeared to belong to the Zamorin, it was set free. Past Mount Delli the Dutch seized an Indian vessel with eight Portuguese on board. They contented themselves with seizing the cargo of the Portuguese, while the Indian bargeman was allowed to proceed on his voyage with his goods. In front of Cannanore, the Dutch received a request from the Mohammedan King of that place ("Adriaen" = Ali Raja) for help and succour against the Portuguese "who were false and did not deserve to be believed while it was known in all lands that Prince Maurice always kept his word". If the Dutch promised to lend him their support, he would drive out the Portuguese and be obedient to the Prince. He also handed over to the Dutch a letter for the Prince. It may be noted that it was not the Hindu Kolathiri of Cannanore, but the Mohammedan Head of the Moplahs that thus entered into relations with the Dutch.

When Craen anchored at Calicut on the 1st November, he learned that the Zamorin was away in the neighbourhood of Cranganore; Craen proceeded thither and, prostrating himself before the Zamorin, handed over to that prince a letter of Prince Maurice with some presents, (among other things two firelocks and a morion). Craen was very obligingly received by the Zamorin. "He regarded me" writes Craen "as his own son because I was the first to gladden him with news of the first treaty" (that of 1604). In return for the Dutch presents, the Zamorin gave him a jewel of gold and precious stones as big as a rixdollar and a golden chain which he himself hung on Craen's neck. He showed himself exceedingly delighted that a Dutch ship had again arrived in his harbour. The treaty concluded by Van der Haghen was renewed and on the following day he proceeded on his voyage to Cochin and the regions further southward.

Paulus Van Caerden

At the time of Van Caerden's arrival on the Malabar Coast, the Zamorin was camping at his frontier fortress of Ponnani. The latter immediately sent messengers to the Admiral with the

request that he should forthwith proceed inland for an interview. But Paulus Van Caerden who frequently displayed great courage and had often been blamed for courting disaster by failure to take proper precautions did not on this occasion dare to alight ashore for fear that there might be some secret understanding between the Zamorin and the omnipresent Portuguese. The ambassador of the Malabar Prince was received on board and the treaty concluded by Steven van der Haghen was further confirmed. This was in the middle of November 1607.

Admiral Verhoef

The next incident in the story of Dutch contact with Malabar is the arrival of Admiral Verhoef at Calicut. To give previous intimation to the Zamorin of his impending arrival and to prepare the ground for the conclusion of a treaty, Verhoef had, prior to his landing at Calicut, sent Adam Classen Van Driel to Malabar in advance. Two other ships were sent to Coromandel under the command of the Senior Merchant Jacob de Bitter. While passing along the sea adjoining Cannanore, De Bitter alighted at that port in response to the invitation of the Governor of that place. The Governor was willing to trade with the Dutch but his request that some Dutchmen might be left there was not heeded to by De Bitter. He merely promised that the Dutch would be returning next year. With the remaining ships Verhoef landed at Calicut on the 9th October 1608 after collecting victuals at Mont Delli. On his arrival at Calicut Verhoef learned that Adam Van Drill had been very favourably received by the Zamorin. Negotiations followed and a draft treaty was drawn up. An envoy of the Zamorin appeared on board. The Admiral who was invited to the shore with such retinue as he chose to have had received precise directions from the interpreter as to how he should conduct himself in the presence of the Zamorin and with what presents that prince should be honoured. The following presents were sent inland in two boxes covered with yellow lac: scarlet cloth, some bunches of fine coral, six large crystal mirrors, two small metal guns, six beautiful fire-locks, two beautiful muskets with tessellated stocks, a battle sword with a silver hilt and 200 Spanish mats.

The ambassador of the Zamorin had urged that a salute should be fired by all the guns of the ships in honour of the Zamorin as

soon as the Admiral alighted from the ship. This request, was complied with and the cannon roared as soon as the Admiral set out with a retinue consisting of 150 musketeers and 50 lancers, all most elegantly dressed. Nearly one thousand soldiers stood lined up on shore to receive the Admiral. Some ambassadors of the Zamorin came forward to meet the Admiral and escort him under their umbrellas to the palace. The trumpeters who were standing in the corners of streets blew their trumpets aloud while the musketeers did not spare themselves in firing. In the palace the Dutch were brought to the presence of the Zamorin who, dressed in most costly garments from which hung a chain adorned with gold and precious stones, received the foreigners present courteously and with a very cheerful countenance. He extended his right hand to be kissed by the Admiral who did not prostrate himself as orientals do but greeted him in the usual Dutch manner. Close to him stood the heir apparent and some nobles. After the Dutchmen had shown the signs of their respect to these, the Zamorin, as a token of their alliance, grasped the Admiral's hand and thrust his fingers through those of Verhoef. After this the Dutchmen inspected the palace. On this occasion they were also shown the residence of his wives. The Zamorin gave them sweets with his own hand. Meanwhile the guards brought the Dutchmen's presents to the palace. An elephant bore two metal cannon. The Zamorin thankfully received these gifts. Their conversation was carried on with the utmost good will. When the Zamorin saw on Verhoef's neck a golden chain from which hung a penny on which was engraved a likeness of Prince Maurice, he took it with the utmost familiarity and gazed at it. Evincing ordinary courtesy Verhoef presented it to the Zamorin. In return, the Admiral was given a golden ring. His companions were also presented with gold chains and rings. The guests spent the night on board ship. After sending further gifts to the Zamorin, the Admiral appeared before the Zamorin's Council. He took with him only his most trusted servants. The others were made to stand outside. A good guard was posted round the Council Chamber.

On getting inside the Council Chamber, the Admiral saw six men sitting on the ground in a circle with legs crossed. The Dutchmen also sat likewise on the ground in a circle. The Zamorin made them understand that he was very much surprised at the delay in extending the help and support promised in the treaty of 1604. The Zamorin complained that neither ship nor men had

been sent to molest the Portuguese, their common enemy, and to expel them from the West Coast of India. The Zamorin hoped that from this fleet he would receive the much deserved help which had not been offered to him in time. The Zamorin entreated that he should be helped with six ships. It was the Zamorin's desire that two ships should be moving about in front of Goa bar, two in front of Calicut and two in front of Cochin. The Zamorin declared that he on his part would reinforce these ships with sufficient ships and men necessary for preventing the Portuguese from coming out and imperilling them.

As soon as the Dutch could blockade Cochin from the sea, the Zamorin promised not only to furnish ships but also to besiege the place from the land side so that this fulcrum of the Portuguese power could be captured in a short time. The same could be done with regard to Goa, and for this latter enterprise, help could be obtained from the Sultan of Bijapur also. The Zamorin undertook not only to grant the Dutch freedom of trade in his land, but also to offer them a good house built of stone to serve as residence of their servants and warehouse for their goods. The Dutch considered that the Zamorin's military proposals went too far. In a diplomatic and complimentary manner these proposals were for the time being turned down. First the Company had to re-establish their position in the Moluccas. As the Company had not secured complete victory there, it was not possible to promise further help in future. But in order to make the king satisfy to some small extent at least the commercial aims of the Company, it was promised to send two ships from Bantam to Calicut with some merchants and a consignment of goods. The Zamorin was to afford protection to these merchants and to provide them with a proper dwelling place and a warehouse for stocking the goods they collected. The ships from Bantam were to be loaded with pepper and indigo purchased at Calicut. Meanwhile the Zamorin was free to use these ships against his enemies. As the Dutch did not comply with the Zamorin's most important demand that they should resort to armed fight against the Portuguese, they did not press their claim for exemption from customs duties and taxes. The Zamorin's Council pointed out the great importance of a fight against the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast, not the least also for the Company's trade in those region. So long as the Portuguese were in power, they would compel merchants from the Red Sea, Persia and Cambay to proceed to the Portuguese ports

of Cochin and Goa and in consequence the Dutch would be able to realise little profit at Calicut.

In the name of the Zamorin, the Council asked for the confirmation of the treaty of 1604. The Dutch agreed. The Portuguese and their ally, the ruler of Cochin, were specifically declared enemies and every help was promised to the Zamorin. The Zamorin on his part promised to take the Dutch under his protection and to prepare a good dwelling place and goods for the servants. The Zamorin also gave the Dutch an assurance that in the matter of customs duties and taxes they would not be subjected to a heavier burden than his subjects. In a written instruction which Verhoef left behind for Commanders and Merchants who would succeed him, it was enjoined that in return for the protection which the Dutch ships give to the Zamorin, they should ask for exemption from tolls. Further the Captain of the Dutch factory should also have the privilege of signing passports along with the Zamorin. For obvious reasons Verhoef himself did not raise these two points.

In accordance with the custom of the land, the treaty was ratified by laying on of hands. After the Council had acquainted the King with the talks, the Dutch took leave on the 15th October. Although the limited promises given to him did not satisfy the Zamorin as the Dutch could, for various reasons, hardly oblige him in the matter of sending ships, he did not manifest his disappointment and kept up his friendly attitude. He declared that he was contented with the two ships promised from Bantam and wished the Dutch all happiness and prosperity in their future undertakings. He even drew the Admiral to his side to warn him against the intrigues of the Portuguese. In order to secure the release of a Dutchman, Marten Van Domburch taken prisoner by the Portuguese in Cochin and found there in miserable captivity by the French traveller Francois Pyrard, the Zamorin promised in exchange for this Dutchman to set free some Portuguese in a captured galleon who had been taken prisoners by the Dutch and handed over to the Zamorin.

After the treaty was signed by the Admiral on the 13th October 1608 and handed over to the Zamorin with some further presents, the Zamorin sent them a present of 23 wild pigs. The fleet sailed on the 16th October and came in front of Cochin on the following day with the ships of the Vice-admiral. They decided to send a sloop immediately to Bantam to inform the merchants

there of the treaty with the Zamorin and to further the despatch of the promised two ships. Speedily the fleet set on its course to Malacca.

Jacques l' Hermite, the Chief of the factory at Bantam, expressed his inability to despatch two ships to Calicut. No ships could be spared from the Archipelago owing to the perilous condition of the Moluccas where Ternate and Tidore had been taken by the Spaniards. The West Coast of India lay outside the Company's direct sphere of activity. The trade there did not call for any establishment as only pepper was to be obtained there and for their present requirements enough could be secured in the Archipelago. It was not possible for some years for the Dutch to interfere there as the Zamorin proposed in 1608.

Cornelis Jacobsz Van Breckvelt and Hans Bullert

Owing to the circumstances mentioned above, the Zamorin was disappointed in his hopes of receiving Dutch ships in 1608. In the succeeding years also no Dutch ships turned up in his harbour. But relations with the Zamorin were not wholly given up. When in April 1610 three Dutch ships under the command of Arend Martensz reached Coromandel, they sent out from Tirupapaliyur, some miles south of Tegenapatnam, two servants of the Company, Cornelis Jacobsz Van Breckvelt and Hans Bullert overland to the Zamorin for negotiating with him and to conclude a treaty. This happened under orders from the Directors in the Netherlands for carrying out the instructions of their Prince as Martensz wrote to the Zamorin from the *Cleene Sonne* on the 28th April 1610. In the letter he excused himself for not sailing to Calicut because wind and storm prevented him from doing so and informed the Zamorin that he was therefore compelled to send his two emissaries to the king overland. Besides this letter the Dutch envoys took with them the patent of Prince Maurice and a letter from Peter Williams Verhoef to the king. Accompanied by two Brahmins and also an interpreter who knew Malayalam, Malay, Portuguese and "Moorish" (Arabic) and who had himself already performed this journey several times, and with two coolies who carried the bundles and luggage on their back, the Dutch proceeded on horse back through the interior of the Carnatic from the southward point of India proper. The first part of the journey was through the territory of the great "Ayya", the Governor of the

"Naik of Gingi." The financial side of the journey was accurately arranged. Both the emissaries received 114 pagodas as journey money, the interpreter was to obtain besides board three reals of eight to be paid after the completion of the journey; the two Brahmins together received 30 pardaos.¹ For the whole journey, the coolies received a pagoda each per month and board. A wax garment was taken with them for protection of luggage and letters.

No particulars are known about their journey. About September they must have been back at Tirupapuliyur with a treaty signed by the Zamorin. By this treaty the Dutch were permitted to build a stone house for keeping their wares, ammunitions and rigging. On all goods loaded and unloaded in the Zamorin's ports duty had to be paid at 2 per cent. Only once had those duties to be paid. Rice, money and household necessities were exempted from toll. The Zamorin promised to deny access to his land to the Portuguese. If a Dutchman deserted to the Zamorin, he was to be handed over to the Chief of the Dutch settlement. All merchants in the dominions of the Zamorin were granted freedom of trade with the Dutch. To no other European nation were these privileges permitted. Further the Company promised that, in case the Zamorin desired goods, artillery and ammunition from the Netherlands, the same should be supplied at the first opportunity. Lastly, the Dutch were permitted to cut wood and fetch water freely in the dominion of this prince. This treaty was pretty well of the same content as those concluded by Aren Maertsz with the Governor of the Naik of Gingi on the 29th March, 1610, and with the prince of the Carnatic on 24th April 1610. But this treaty of 1610 also produced no effect.

Pieter Van Den Broecke

After the lapse of some years, Pieter Van den Broecke, the founder of the Company's relations with Surat and Arabia, sailed along the Coast of Malabar in 1616 and halted in front of Calicut in the month of October. As the Zamorin was fighting against Cochin with an army and besieging the Portuguese fort of Cranganore Van den Broecke was received by the heir to the throne.

1. A pardao was a coin circulating in Goa worth at the end of the 16th century, about 4 shillings 6d. but afterwards diminishing in value to about 10½ d.

He evinced the utmost surprise at the fact that the Dutch had not given effect to the treaty concluded with Verhoef and that no more Dutch ships had appeared in the ports of the Zamorin. The prince requested Van den Broecke to sail to the camp of the Zamorin and verbally communicate to him the commission entrusted by the Governor-General. Owing to unfavourable wind Van den Broecke could not comply with this request but promised to appear next year in front of Calicut with ships and merchandise. The prince was contented with this. Van den Broecke was invited by the "empress" to a pompous and splendid meal and presented with a golden ring adorned with two beautiful rubies. Eventually he was conducted to the beach by the heir to the throne with a large retinue of soldiers. On his return he reported to the High Government about this reception.

Herman Van Speult

In 1625 Herman Van Speult, former Governor of Amboyna and then Councillor of India, hated by the English for his responsibility for the Massacre of Amboyna, touched the Malabar Coast on his way to Surat in compliance with the instructions of his superiors that he should greet the Zamorin and enter into commercial relations there. As soon as Van Speult reached Calicut, the Zamorin sent envoys requesting him to go over to Chetwai where he was encamped fighting against the King of Cochin. After the fleet sailed up to that place, the Zamorin appeared on the shore surrounded by more than 10,000 armed Nairs. He showed all possible courtesy to Van Speult, let the Dutch stay four or five days in his palace and sought to persuade him to establish a settlement in his land.

On the 3rd January 1626, an agreement was made, whereby the Zamorin promised to sell to the Company all the pepper and all the ginger produced in his land, the pepper for 28 Reals of Eight per Candy.² and ginger for 12 Reals per Candy. These wares were to be free of toll as were the goods which the Company wished to import into his land. Necessaries for the Dutch settlement were also to be free from duty. In return Van Speult, in the name of the Dutch United East India Company, promised to deli-

2. A Real of Eight was about two rupees in value. One candy was reckoned as equivalent to 520 pounds.

ver annually one cannon, the first to be given after the treaty was confirmed by the Directors or Governor-General and Council. The Zamorin was to prevent the sale of pepper or ginger to other nations than the Dutch and even to his own subjects. Therefore not a single countryman of his was to keep the ripe pepper with him. Strict supervision was to be exercised to ensure that no pepper was conveyed in an underhand manner out of the land. At Ponnani the Zamorin offered to the Company for an annual rent a good large fireproof stone dwelling situated close to the river for storing pepper. In this settlement the Zamorin's subjects should deliver the pepper, ginger and other wares and weigh them at their own cost. The Company's servants in the lodge stood under the protection of the Zamorin. Finally the treaty ended with the express stipulation that deserters and malefactors should be handed over by the Zamorin to the Dutch Chief. The Zamorin estimated the yield in his territories to amount to about 3000 Candies (1 Candy, in this case, meant 510 Holland pounds). After presenting the Zamorin with some gifts which were really meagre and quite out of proportion to the benefits promised in the treaty, the men went on board having been escorted ashore by the prince.

On his arrival at Surat Van Speult learned that, as the price of pepper was very low in Malabar, trade in pepper would yield considerable profit. As this pepper was coarser than the Javanese pepper and thus more in demand, Van Speult pressed his superiors to establish a factory at Calicut. Besides, they had not to pay cash for pepper, but could procure pepper by bartering Surat clothes, cloves, nutmegs, mace etc. Feeling sure that his superiors would give heed to his proposals, Van Speult suggested that a competent and experienced person should take up the position of the head of the contemplated factory at Calicut. Unfortunately Van Speult died at Mocha on the 23rd November on his return journey from Surat to the Netherlands. Even when he was alive the Governor-General and Councillors did not take kindly to his suggestions and showed him but scant sympathy. The High Council merely decided to send Van Speult's letters to the Netherlands without any comment. The treaty remained unratified.

Jacob Jansz Corencray

Jacob Jansz Corencray, Commander of the fleet sent by the Dutch factors at Surat in 1633 to sail along the coast from Daman

to Cape Comorin for seizing and destroying Portuguese ships, was instructed to enter into negotiations with the Zamorin on the pretext that he had strayed from his fleet and had come merely to procure some provisions. After offering to the Zamorin his excuse that the Dutch had continually to fight evilly disposed enemies and were being hindered by hypocritical friends, Corencray was to make it appear to the Zamorin that the treaty of Van Spault which the High Government had not yet ratified was entirely unknown to him. Corencray had been instructed to acquaint himself very exactly as to what merchandises were in demand and at what price and in what quantities they could be negotiated. It had also been suggested to him that he should gather information about the fighting strength of the Malabarees as well on water as on land, the number of their vessels of war, their armaments, etc. But any request made by the Zamorin for armed help against the Portuguese enemy was for the time being to be refused. At Calicut where Corencray tried his utmost to carry out the instructions he had received, he could achieve but little as the Zamorin was as usual fighting against Cochin. However, he succeeded in three days' time in exchanging 95000 pounds of lead for a supply of pepper of 680 quintals. (1 quintal = 500 pounds), which was brought on board in small prows by the inhabitants of Cannanore, Mangalore and Barcelor. The information which Corencray had, in accordance with his instructions, collected about the negotiable goods and their prices was satisfactory. It appeared that cloves, nutmegs, saltpetre, lead, agil, sandalwood, vermilion, quicksilver, tin, benzoin, radix china, Japanese and Borneo camphor, Chinese porcelain, sugar-candy and a small quantity of Reals in specie were negotiable. The high Government felt that instead of strictly conforming to his instructions Corencray should have stayed longer on the Coast and gathered a more considerable supply of pepper. Therefore the Governor-General and Council decided to send out four ships which should, on their way to Surat and Persia, visit the Malabar Coast also. Four ships and one small Yacht actually sailed on the 12th July from Batavia under the Command of Corencray who had acquired necessary knowledge and experience on his first voyage. This second fleet sent westwards from Batavia under Corencray proceeded first to Persia, whence, among other things, they were to take a shipment of tin which was to augment the goods destined for Malabar. Then they could steer their course

to Calicut. The goods destined for Malabar were worth 81,166 and odd guilders. They were to be exchanged for pepper. If the purchase of pepper surpassed expectations, Corencray was permitted to barter for Malabar pepper the spices intended for Surat, but not for prices lower than they would fetch in Surat. Corencray was to put into the market the commodities like lead and spices only in small lots lest the price be unduly depressed. For buying pepper, the price was at the outset allowed to be very high by the Governor-General and Council i.e. 8 Reals per Quintal. Only if unavoidably necessary were they to speak of the stock of ready money taken with them.

As the High Government were acquainted with the importance and potentialities of the Malabar trade, it was decided to secure a consignment of this pepper as cargo for the next return ship to the Netherlands. They accordingly commanded Corencray to call at all prominent pepper places on the Malabar Coast so that he might all the sooner get his ships fully loaded. Besides pepper Corencray could buy cardamom also in Malabar.

The Governor-General and Council had great expectations of the Malabar pepper trade and hoped to secure advantageous returns ere long, the more so as perhaps it was not necessary to establish there an expensive factory. The Malabarees themselves brought pepper aboard. Corencray's second expedition, however, was less successful than the first. Coming from Persia, his ships were prematurely discovered by the Portuguese who took their measure and sent out a war fleet of 10 to 20 frigates to pursue the Dutch fleet. Though they did not attack the Dutch ships, the Malabar merchants were prevented from bringing their pepper on board. Continually the Portuguese, with their small rowing vessels, made unsafe the channel through which Dutch ships had to reach the Coast. Only 150,000 pounds of pepper could be obtained in exchange for lead. An offer of 1200 Candies of pepper from his land was made by the King of Cannanore. But here also the trade was hindered by the Portuguese. The same was the case also at Baliapatnam, Mount Delli and Ponnani where the inhabitants had likewise pepper in stock. Only at Calicut, though not without the threatening of the Portuguese, could the pepper already contracted be taken. Corencray believed that if he had possessed good row boats he could have been placed in possession of the pepper stock, but now they had to sail away with the task unperformed. The Dutch believed that the Malabarees wished

ardently to trade with the Dutch and that they were disinclined to deal with the Portuguese who were also being pestered by the Malabar pirates.

Dr. Pieter Vlack

The leading figures of the United East India Company began to see of what great importance the Malabar pepper trade could be for the entire commerce of the Company in India and what damage they could inflict on the Portuguese if they could push the latter out of the same. Consequently Dr. Pieter Vlack, former President of the Council of Justice at Batavia, who went in 1634 as Commander with the return fleet via Surat and Persia to the Netherlands was commanded by the High Government to attend to the Malabar trade. Therefore it was thought advisable that he should immediately sail straight to Cannanore so that he could with all speed gather the pepper before the Portuguese were aware of the arrival of the Dutch lest the former make the trade with the pepper ports impossible by using a large number of small vessels of war as in previous years. In view of diminished production in Djambi and the west coast of Sumatra, the High Government hoped that Vlack would secure a good consignment of pepper for the return cargo for the fatherland. For this at least 400 to 500 lasts¹ pepper had to be purchased on the Malabar Coast. A large quantity of pepper could be obtained very quickly at Cannanore, Tramapatnam and Baliapatnam as they were situated very closely to each other. As further instruction, Vlack was given a price list. As much of goods and as little of cash as possible were to be exchanged for pepper, at most $\frac{1}{3}$ cash and $\frac{2}{3}$ goods. Vlack must immediately pay these prices and must not try to bargain. The Indian merchants who first brought the pepper on board had the benefit of the first and best chance out of the barter goods. The fleet was divided in order that business might be transacted at those three places at the same time, but in such wise that the ships always remained in sight of each other. Three merchants were stationed in the Malabar ports for this trade. One ship and one yacht were sent to each of the pepper centres. The other three ships ought to keep up the connection. The six ships and three yachts together covered a coastal strip of about ten miles. The friendship of the Company was offered to the King of Cannanore and other magnates of the land.

1. 1 last = 3000 Dutch pounds.

Not only pepper but also ginger, cardamom and cinnamon were the goods which Vlack was asked to secure for the Company. Nor was he to neglect the connections with the pirates of Badagara who frequently had in stock goods for sale and furthermore were sworn enemies of the Portuguese. This time the results did not come up to expectations. Owing to unfavourable winds Vlack was late in arriving on the Malabar Coast. In addition to the ports of Tramapatnam, Cannanore and Baliapatnam named in his instructions he visited Ponnani and Badagara also. But in all these places the old pepper had already been purchased by the Portuguese and other foreign merchants while the new pepper was 'scarcely plucked by the middle of December. Moreover Vlack found little interest on the part of the local people in the goods he had brought with him for being exchanged for pepper. Also, they asked exorbitant prices for the new pepper and as if they had prior mutual consultations they demanded in all places 10 Reals for one Quintal of pepper. At the same time, the price of the goods brought down to be exchanged for pepper had come down. Vlack did not accept these terms as these prices differed considerably from those of the previous year, and yet it was not convenient for the Company to appear again on the Coast within three months. Above all he dared not leave relying on the "windy" promises and treacherous contracts of the Mohamedan merchants who at the same time concluded agreements with the Portuguese who had left merchants and agents in their villages.

On the 27th October Vlack's fleet departed without pepper for Goa pursued by a Portuguese armada of 13 small war frigates. This fleet blockaded Cannanore for two months out of revenge against the ruler of Cannanore for having negotiated with the Dutch in 1634 and sold them a consignment of pepper. Vlack exhorted the king to maintain the struggle against the Portuguese and presented him for the continuance of the war with three small barrels of gun-powder and further promised all possible support. But while Vlack lay in front of Mount Delli for taking provisions he heard that the Portuguese Viceroy, warned of the coming of the Dutch, immediately concluded peace with the King of Cannanore and confirmed the same by a considerable present. The Portuguese were now free to use their fleet against the Dutch. But it did not come to a fight and, unmolested, Vlack reached Surat after a stay of three days in front of the bay of Goa.

Maurits van Ommeran

Maurits van Ommeran, Commander of one of the fleets sent by the Governor-General, Hendrik Brouwer, to Surat and Persia had been instructed not to neglect the pepper trade. Van Ommeran had been enjoined to take, before the Portuguese became aware of the project and tried to hinder the same, a great stock of pepper so secretly and so quickly as if it were for a flight. For this pepper trade they had to send very brisk and rapidly sailing yachts from the fleet stationed in the bay of Goa at the time pepper was sold on the Coast, that is February and March. Van Ommeran was commanded not to visit the Zamorin as the attitude of that ruler had aroused the deep distrust of the Batavia Government. It was felt that, as he wished to bind himself more with the Portuguese, all his proposals to the Dutch were made merely for form's sake so as to misguide the Dutch and mark time.

Jacob Jansz Patacka

Van Ommeran who passed away in the Maldives on the 18th October was succeeded by Jacob Jansz Patacka who had belonged to the fleet of Van Caerden in 1608. Over his appointment the Governor-General and Council showed great discontent. He neither blockaded Goa nor accomplished anything in the trade on the Malabar Coast. He died at Ambon in the Maldives in 1637.

Such were the early contacts made by the Dutchmen who visited Malabar before the policy of pursuing trade in Malabar pepper under the protection of the fleets blockading Goa was resorted to.

Fall of Sirajuddaula, the Nawab of Bengal

BY

DR. V. P. S. RAGHUVANSHI,

Genesis of the plot for his deposition

It is usually held that Nawab Sirajuddaula of Bengal had made himself odious to his aristocracy which welcomed the British aid against him. Most of the contemporary accounts, European and Muslim, foster such a notion. Mons. Lass, the French Chief of Cossimbazar, to whom the Nawab offered protection after the capitulation of Chandranagore writes very definitely that the house of Jagat-Seth was the brain of the conspiracy to depose him. "They are", he says, "I can affirm, the originators of the revolution; without them the English would never have carried out what they..."¹ The Seths of this family were the leaders of the mercantile community of the province and their active support contributed to a great extent to British success. The English kept themselves in constant touch with them through Amir Chand, the crafty Punjabi merchant and it was the candidate of the Seths who first figures on the stage of sedition. It was also commonly believed that the coins of the Hindu banker along with the sword of Col. Clive worked out the ruin of Sirajuddaula.² A careful study of the correspondence of the East India Company's servants in Bengal at this time would however warrant a different view. The English were the main inspiration of the conspiracy for the Nawab's deposition. The British Resident at Murshidabad, William Watts, was the principal author of the revolution and Amir Chand and Khosa Petruse, the Armenian merchant, were the two per-

1. Memoir of Lass. See Hill, S.C.: Bengal in 1756-57. London 1905, Vol. III. p. 185.

On the basis of contemporary Bengali literature, D. C. Sen concludes that it was Maharaja Krishna Chandra Rai of Nadia who first suggested to Mir Jafar the idea of overthrowing Sirajuddaula with the help of the English. History of Bengali Language and Literature. p. 616-617.

2. Hunter, Sir W.: Statistical Account of Bengal. Vol. IX. p. 258.

sons engaged by him in his confidential errands. They solemnly assured him of their full co-operation.³ There is no reason why we should not accept the confession of Mr. Watts to his father, "I alone did it".⁴

The plot for Sirajuddaula's deposition had its origin about the time the English attacked the French settlement of Chandranagore. Their inability to secure his benevolent neutrality in their conflict with their rivals made them very bitter towards him and they felt that their future security lay in his dethronement. Watts began seriously thinking about it at this time. Scrafton attached to the English factory at Dacca was mostly with Mr. Watts at this time, and in a letter to Walsh, a near relation of Clive, he referred to the need of a strong combination against the Nawab as follows :

"I think on the whole his (Sirajuddaula's) court may be compared to that of Ptolemy's that reigned Egypt when Pompey fled there after the battle of Pharsalia, that is that the head and members are all as corrupt and treacherous as possible, and the Colonel should be the Caesar to act as Caesar then did, take the kingdom under his protection, depose the old and give them a new king to make his subjects happy . . .

For God's sake let us proceed on some fixed plan Give Mr. Watts a hint of this, the least encouragement, and he will set about forming a party in case the worst. How glorious it would be for the Company to have a Nabob devoted to them."⁵

Mon. Lass refers to English intrigues with the Seths at this time. He visited them before the siege of Chandranagore and frankly spoke to them of their intention of setting up another Nawab. Amir Chand, who closely watched his movements, interrupted him, "Away with them" but the Seths calmly advised him not to talk about all that.⁶ He also spoke to the Nawab about these intrigues, "but the poor youngman began to laugh, being unable to imagine that I could be so silly as to indulge in such ideas."⁷

3. See Sir Richard Carnac Temple's article in *Indian Antiquary*, Nov., 1918. p. 267; *Bengal Past and Present*, July-December 1928. Vol. XXXVI. pp. 113-115.

4. Letter of 13th August 1757, Hill: *Bengal*. Vol. II. p. 468.

5. Letter of 9th April, *Ibid.* pp. 342-43.

6. See Hill, Vol. III. pp. 193-194.

7. *Ibid.* p. 194.

Candidature of Mir Khuda Yāf Khan Lutif

The choice of a suitable person to replace Sirajuddaula baffled both the English and the Seths for a considerable time. The names of the Fauzdar of Cuttack, of the sons of the late Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, and Shaukat Jang, the cousin of Siraj, were considered and rejected. It was difficult to secure adequate support in their favour.⁸ The Seths then proposed Mir Khuda Yār Khan Lutif, a military adventurer whom they had imported for their own security and who was now an officer of distinction in Bengal army. Clive spoke of him as "a man of great family, power and riches, supported tooth and nail by Jagat Seth."⁹ On behalf of Mr. Watts, on 23rd April, Amir Chand also concluded a definite agreement with him that whenever Sirajuddaula broke away with the English he was to join them on the condition of being made the Nawab, that he would grant the English Company a large tract of the country near Calcutta and sufficient money to satisfy the English naval and military personnel and the inhabitants of Calcutta, and that Mir Sahib and the English would bind themselves in a defensive and offensive league. The plan of operations against the Nawab was also tentatively drawn up.¹⁰ This engagement shows the readiness of the English to throw in their lot with any adventurer and Clive merely advised Watts not to commit himself to secret executions for the honour of the British nation.¹¹ This pretender of obscure parentage is mentioned to have had the support of Mir Jafar Ali Khan also.¹² But it was soon realised that the English could not pull through the ordeal in his name. Watts decided to abandon him in favour of Mir Jafar, a relation of Alivardi Khan, and an Omrah of imperial distinction. He explained to his father that on perceiving the futility of his first project he applied to Jafar Ali.¹³

Agreement with Mir Jafar

With Mir Jafar's willingness to act as their candidate the English were relieved of their anxiety and suspense. If he was ambi-

8. *Ibid.* p. 210.

9. Clive to Watts. Letter of 26th April. *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 362.

10. Watts to Clive. Letter of 23rd April. *Ibid.* p. 353; also Scrafton's Letter to Clive. p. 357.

11. Letter of 28th April, Hill. Vol. II, p. 366.

12. *Ibid.* p. 342-343, 349, 362.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 468.

tious and unscrupulous, he was also polite and persuasive and had strong influence in the government. The Seths persuaded Lutif to accept Mir Jafar's cause as his own.¹⁴ Ghaista Begum, the old enemy of the Nawab, now "leagued herself secretly" with him and gave him every assistance. Mirza Amir Beg, the confidential assistant of Mir Jafar, canvassed support with the principal men of the court and showed the English authorities at Calcutta a paper signed by them in favour of his master.¹⁵ Karam Ali writes that much of the Nawab's army had already been won over by English money and the rest of it was demoralised by the hostility of the Seths, Mir Jafar and Raja Durlabh Ram, the Diwan.¹⁶ It was not difficult for Clive to persuade the Admiral, Watson and Roger Drake, the President of the Calcutta Council, that the projected understanding with Mir Jafar was highly beneficial to the Company. On 1st May 1757 the Select Committee at Calcutta supported the idea of a revolution in the government of Bengal as highly beneficial to the Company and framed proposals of agreement with Mir Jafar. Clive communicated these to Watts and pressed him "to enter upon business with Mir Jafar as soon as possible."¹⁷ But the conclusion of an agreement was delayed for reasons which we shall shortly discuss and Mir Jafar was naturally very uneasy. He even sent Mr. Watts "a blank paper with his seal upon it" to be forwarded to the Calcutta Council.¹⁸ But it was not before 5th June that Watts could get two drafts of the treaty signed by Mir Jafar. We are informed that on that night he stole into Mir Jafar's residence in a closely guarded 'doli' used by Muslim ladies. Placing his "one hand on the holy Korān" and the other on the head of his son, Mir Jafar swore solemnly to abide by the agreement.¹⁹ Thus was the alliance, the deed of treason consecrated.

The treaty with Mir Jafar confirmed the Company's privileges and was a defensive and offensive alliance based on an identity of interests. It clearly laid down that the enemies of the

14. *Ibid.* p. 400.

15. Ghulam Hussain: *Seir-Mutāqherin*, Cambray Edition, Vol. II, pp. 227-229.

16. Muzaffar-nama, Allahabad University MSS. p. 248.

17. Letter of 2nd May, Hill. Vol. II. p. 373.

18. *Ibid.* pp. 382-383.

19. Letter of Watts of 6th June, *Ibid.* p. 399.

English were the enemies of the Nawab. Mir Jafar bound himself to deliver the French and their goods to the English authorities and desist from fortifications on the river below Hugli. He promised to grant the Company adequate lands for the maintenance of a proper military force. The treaty also mentioned the enormous exactions from the Nawab for the Company's servants and supporters, one lac of rupees for the Company, fifty lacs for Europeans at Calcutta, twenty lacs for the losses of the Hindoos, seven lacs for Armenians, etc.²⁰ On these Orme significantly remarks, "The Committee really believed the wealth of Sirajuddaula much greater than it possibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nawab Alivardi had not been spent in defending his own dominions against the invasions of ruinous enemies and even if Sirajuddaula himself had reigned many instead of only one."²¹ This treaty rendered Mir Jafar's government a bankrupt concern from the very beginning.

Duplicity of Amir Chand

The political deal between Mir Jafar and the English did not run a smooth course. The change of candidature for the 'musnad' threw Amirchand in the background and we are informed that Mir Jafar did not trust him. Khoja Petruse was the intermediary between Watts and Mir Jafar in the last phase of the negotiations.²² But Watts considered it risky to conceal the matter from him and he insisted on having 5% of the Nawab's treasures, besides a quarter of all his wealth. Amir Chand decided to strike a heavy bargain or spoil the game and Watts spoke of him as "a cunning serpent" keen to mar their affairs, if "he was not trusted with their management."²³ It was undoubtedly unwise to provoke him and Watts suggested to Clive the device of having two drafts of the treaty with Mir Jafar and in one of these Amir Chand's demand was to be incorporated. He cautioned the Colonel to keep the matter an "inviolable secret."²⁴ Accordingly two treaties were drawn upon, one on white and the other on red paper and in the latter the stipulation of twenty lacs for Amir Chand was laid down.

20. Hill. Vol. II. pp. 383-85.

21. Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, Vol. II. p. 153.

22. Watt's letter of 6th May, Hill. Vol. II. p. 377.

23. Watt's Letter to Clive of 6th June, *Ibid.* p. 400.

24. Letter of 14th May, *Ibid.* pp. 381-382.

All the members of Calcutta Select Committee put their signatures on both but Watson refused and Clive and Lushington forged his signature on the red treaty.²⁵ Scrafton then persuaded Amir Chand to accompany him to Calcutta as it was not safe to leave him at the capital. He missed his companion twice on the way but in spite of all his efforts Amir Chand did not succeed in probing the truth.²⁶ This transaction relating to the fictitious treaty has been condemned by all sensible historians as a nefarious one. There is also no evidence to suggest that Amir Chand actually divulged any fact to the Nawab.

The Authenticity of Maratha Letter

At this time when the servants of the Company were engaged in secret dealings with the Seths and Mir Jafar, they took extreme care to avoid all indications of hostility towards the Nawab. Watts strongly advised the excited Colonel "to lay aside all appearance of war" and they carried on their correspondence by "cyphers".²⁷ They did much to temporise with the Nawab by a display of their pacific intentions. Clive maintained a regular correspondence with the Nawab and his Chief Minister, Raja Mohan Lal, repeatedly declaring his resolution to live at peace with the government.²⁸ In the first week of May he also ordered a greater part of the army at Chandranagore to proceed to Calcutta. On 20th May he despatched Scrafton to Murshidabad with a conciliatory message to the Nawab along with a letter he was supposed to have received from a Maratha general in the Deccan.²⁹ The contents of this letter were as follows: Balaji Rao Sahu Baji Rao, vizier to Ram Raja, brother of Raja Sahu, expressed his desire for a personal meeting with the Governor Roger Drake but distance prevented it. He begged for English friendship and aid "to let his generals enter Bengal with 120,000 forces besides other forces to be ready at his (Governor's) disposal". He promised adequate compensation for the Company's past losses and exhort-

25. Hill, Vol. II. p. 383.

26. Hill. Vol. II. pp. 404-404; Orme: *Military Transactions*, Vol. II. pp. 158-159; *Indian Antiquary*, November 1918, Vol. XLVII, pp. 272-73; *Bengal Past and Present*, July-December 1928, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 119-120.

27. Hill, Vol. II, p. 354, p. 363-364, 366-368.

28. See his letters, *Ibid.* pp. 352-353, 356-357, 359-361, 372, 376-377.

29. Hill, Vol. II, p. 390.

ed the Governor not to make peace with the Nawab. It ended as such, "In a few days my forces shall enter Bengal, and the trade of the province shall be entirely yours. . . . The French shall not remain in Bengal. Your forces shall keep them out by sea, mine by land."³⁰ One Govind Rao reached Calcutta on 3rd May with this letter dated from Hyderabad. His servant, one "Meeccrum", met Roger Drake who apprised Clive on 11th May of the overtures from the Marathas.³¹ Scrafton informs us that later on Govind Rao also met the Colonel and vouchsafed for the authenticity of the letter from the Maratha general commanding the forces in the Deccan.³² The contents of this letter prima facie appear ridiculous. Muslim historians do not refer to the arrival of any Maratha agent at Calcutta at this time. Dr. Ives, the English surgeon at Calcutta, who has minutely recorded the transactions of this period does not refer to these overtures from the Marathas. After their treaty with the Nawab Alivardi Khan ceding Orissa to them the Marathas showed no bad faith towards Bengal government. Scrafton's account of the whole transaction is not very convincing. Later British historians take care to avoid reference to it. The "Maratha Letter" appears to be a forgery of Roger Drake whose emissaries were at this time busy fomenting disaffection against the Nawab and inciting the powerful Zamindars.³³ It was directed to assure the Nawab of the peaceful intentions of the English and save Mir Jafar from his resentment. It produced a happy reaction on the Nawab when Scrafton along with Watts, Jagat Seth and other ministers met the Nawab and spoke of Clive's interest in his well-being. The Nawab "burst forth into loud exclamations of Colonel's praise" and promised to recall the army stationed at Plassey.³⁴

Calcutta Council's Charges against Sirajuddaula

We may now enquire into the charges framed by the Calcutta Council against Sirajuddaula in their resolution of 1st May approving of secret understanding with Mir Jafar. They charged the Nawab with insincerity in concluding the treaty of February, with

30. Scrafton: Reflections, p. 83.

31. See Orme: Military Transactions, Vol. II, p. 153; Hill, Vol. II, p. 379.

32. Scrafton: Reflections, p. 83.

33. Drake to Clive, Letter of 3rd May, Hill, Vol. II, p. 375.

34. Scrafton: Reflections, pp. 83-84; See also Nawab's letter to Clive of 27th May, Hill, Vol. II, p. 394.

delay in fulfilling its articles, with evasion in restoring the losses of the Company and with insolence in directing Admiral Watson to leave the river Hugli. They objected to his protection to Mons. Lass and his party, and invitation to Mons. Bussy. They were convinced that on the first favourable opportunity he will "throw off the mask" and break the treaty. They had no doubt that a revolution against him would be attempted by his own subjects as he was universally despised. They considered it "a great error in politics" to be merely idle spectators of it and not to assist in the establishment of a new government.³⁵ It is not difficult to refute this elaborate charge-sheet. It was the Calcutta Council that had accepted peace with the Nawab in a grudging spirit fearing a combination between him and the French. As for the Company's losses, it never formulated the demands in a specific manner. The Nawab had gracefully enough paid the Company ten lacs of rupees. His orders to the Admiral to retire from an advanced position on the river Hugli near Chandranagore were inspired by his consideration for the peace and tranquillity of the province. In respect of the violation of the treaty, the English took the first step in that direction by attacking the French in spite of their solemn pledges to the Nawab. His invitation to Bussy was prompted by their aggression and was not repeated after the cessation of hostilities. The Nawab then promised the English full military aid in case Bussy appeared in Bengal. The English tried to justify their aggression by gratuitously assuming to themselves the role of saviours on behalf of the distressed people of Bengal.

Dismissal and Confinement of Mir Jafar

To satisfy the Calcutta authorities the Nawab asked Mons. Lass and his party to leave the capital and shift to Bihar. The English then pressed for permission to strengthen their garrison at Cossimbazar and station two thousand of their forces at Patna. Sirajuddaula naturally grew apprehensive and in the early part of June the plot for his deposition was openly talked about at Calcutta.³⁶ His well-wishers advised him not to sleep over the matter, and Mir Jafar was consequently stripped of the office of

35. Hill, Vol. II, pp. 370-371.

36. Hill, Vol. II, p. 398.

'Bakshi' and a strong guard placed at his residence.³⁷ Watts was quite nervous and more so to find that Mir Jafar did not have many supporters, excepting "a set of shuffling, lying, spiritless wretches."³⁸ It was unfortunate for the Nawab that he did not take a proper view of the treacherous conduct of Mir Jafar. Karam Ali says that he "turned a deaf ear to sane councils and thought English power a mere trifle."³⁹

Flight of Watts and Nawab's Reconciliation with Mir Jafar

The dramatic flight of William Watts and members of the Council of Cossimbazar on the night of 12th June left none in doubt as to the real intentions of the English. Next day the Nawab held an "extraordinary secret council" and issued orders to his generals to keep the army in readiness. At this critical juncture some of the cavalry forces that Mir Jafar had commanded refused to muster and this demoralised the Nawab.⁴⁰ The party favouring Mir Jafar prevailed upon him to come to terms with his enemy. The Nawab consequently restored Mir Jafar and his nephew, Khadim Hassan Khan, to their commands in the army. On the holy 'Koran' they swore fidelity to the Nawab.⁴¹ Sirajuddaula undoubtedly committed a grave error of judgment in trusting his sworn enemy with high military command and the reconciliation with him proved fatal for his cause. We are told that Mir Murdan, the loyal artillery officer, plainly remonstrated with the Nawab:

"My Lord, it is not wise to trust those enemies that spring in one's own family. They should first of all be brought under proper control and the English would dare not take up arms. Their presence in the army will ever be a source of anxiety to us all."⁴²

After his reconciliation with the Nawab Mir Jafar lost no time in informing Col. Clive that he was not to be discouraged by it.⁴³

37. Karam Ali: Muzaffarnama, pp. 249-250.

38. Letter to Clive, 3rd June, Hill, Vol. II, p. 397.

39. Muzaffarnama, p. 251.

40. Hill, Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 410-411.

41. Ghulam Hussain: Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, p. 89; Karam Ali: Muzaffarnama, pp. 251-252.

42. Muzaffarnama, p. 252; Also Ryaz-us-Salatin, English translation published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 374.

43. Letter of 16th June, Hill, Vol. II, p. 414.

March of the English Army

Without the active co-operation of his allies Clive was not very confident of success. He even contemplated accommodation with the Nawab if he could satisfy the English on the issue of the French and prevent their resettlement in his dominion. He expressed his willingness to proceed to Cossimbazar to refer the disputes with the Nawab to the arbitration of Jagat Seth, Raja Mohan Lal, Mir Jafar, Mir Murdan, Raja Rai Durlabh and other great men.⁴⁴ The Nawab completely ignored this letter. There is little doubt that Clive was very uneasy and disturbed at his risky undertaking. Joined by detachments from Calcutta he marched from Chandranagore on 13th June with an army consisting of 900 infantry, 190 artillery and 2200 sepoys.⁴⁵ Nand Kumar, the fauzdar of Hugli, had been replaced by Aminullah but he could not oppose his march. On 18th Major Eyre Coote successfully stormed the mud-fort of Cutwah. The stay at this place formed the most uneasy period of Clive's career. Filled with misgivings about Mir Jafar he faltered and wavered at a forward step. To the Select Committee he expressed his fears in crossing the river.⁴⁶ On 21st he held a council of war in which he informed others that Mons. Lass and his party was within three days march of joining the Nawab. Of the twenty-one military officers that attended the council only seven voted for immediate action and the Colonel was with the majority. Major Eyre Coote vigorously codemned a retrograde step.⁴⁷ The letter that Clive received from Mir Jafar, wrapped in a pair of slippers, emboldened the Colonel to resume the march to Plassey.⁴⁸ On the mid-night of 22nd June the English army reached Plassey and encamped in the famous grove where on the next day the British empire in India was ushered into existence.

Battle of Plassey: 23rd June, 1757

From the military point of view the position of the English army at Plassey was very assuring. The high mud-banks of the grove adequately covered its right and front flanks and the

44. Clive's letter to Nawab, 13th June, Hill, Vol. II, pp. 405-407.

45. Hill, Vol. III, p. 51, 65.

46. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 418-420.

47. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 53-54.

48. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 420.

left was covered by a rest house of the Nawab and the Ganges. About three hundred yards from the grove in front was a tank with high embankments. On 23rd at day-break the Nawab's army also reached Plassey in two formations, the van commanded by Raja Mohan Lal and Mir Murdan proceeded from the river towards the grove. The other under Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh, and Yar Khan Lutf fixed its position on the right of the grove at a safe distance. A small French company under Mon. Sinfray joined the van. The Nawab's artillery was dispersed among the various divisions of the army. This was to foil English attempt at a concentrated attack on the artillery.⁴⁹

In the first phase of the contest lasting upto 12.00 Mir Murdan and Mohan Lal together with the small French party, with singular zeal and unity of purpose, compelled the British forces to retire behind the grove. After a brisk cannonnade Mir Murdan succeeded in taking possession of the tank and rendering the enemy inactive. At about 12 Nature intervened against the Nawab and the heavy shower of rains induced a lull in fighting and retarded the progress of his cavalry. The English wisely covered their guns and ammunition with tarpaulins while the Nawab's army took no such precaution and its powder was completely drenched. Col. Clive was however very much demoralised by the action of the morning and he placed all his hopes on a night attack.⁵⁰ At the beginning of the lull that commenced with the heavy down-pour, Mir Murdan, the gallant officer was mortally wounded by a cannon ball in his thigh. He was removed to the Nawab's tent where he soon breathed his last. The Nawab was completely stupefied by this loss and he sent for Mir Jafar whose friends and forces had been conspicuous for their inactivity. Muslim historians have given a vivid account of this meeting.⁵¹ Forgetting all about his dignity and authority, Sirajuddaula tore off his turban and placed it on Mir Jafar's feet and expostulated, "That turban you must defend." He reminded the old general of the ties subsisting between them, the gratitude he owed to his family and implored his forgiveness for his past faults.⁵² While the meeting was going on

49. Dr. Ives: *Voyage to India in the year 1754*, p. 151.

50. Col. Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*, Madras 1882, Vol. I, p. 84.

51. Mir Jafar came to the Nawab's tent accompanied by a large retinue. It has been reported that at this meeting he contemplated taking the life of the Nawab but was restrained by his men. *Muzaffarnama*, p. 254.

Raja Mohan Lal resumed fighting and was holding his advanced post in spite of the attacks of the British artillery. Mir Jafar prevailed upon the distracted Nawab to withdraw the army from the field promising to renew the contest with vigour on the other day. Mohan Lal could not defy the summons of his master and his retreat precipitated a general rout.⁵³ The English Colonel who was just then threatening Major Kilpatrick with a court-martial for his audacity in leaving the grove with his guns was amused with the spectacle of the enemy turning its back. This took place about two hours before sunset. In his letter to the Select Committee Clive described the action as follows: "Mir Murdan and five hundred horse are killed and three elephants. Our loss is trifling, not above twenty Europeans killed and wounded."

The battle of Plassey was merely a skirmish but Muslim rule in Bengal never recovered from its fateful consequences. "This is the battle", says Sayyed Ali, the author of *Tarikh-i-Mancuri*, "in which India was lost for Islam".⁵⁴ There is no doubt that never before on Indian soil was such a trivial action fought with such a decisive result as the subversion of a government. It inspired Professor Seeley to observe that Clive's triumphs have a magical character about them and read like fable.⁵⁵ Clive, however, did not conceal the truth that his astounding success against Nawab Sirajuddaula was not all fair-play. To Robert Orme, the historian and Councillor at Madras he wrote:

"I am possessed of Volumes of materials for the continuance of your History, in which will appear fighting, tricks, chicanery, intrigues, politics and the Lord knows what".⁵⁶

52. See *Seir-Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, pp. 231-234; *Muzaffarnama*, p. 254; *Tarikh-i-Mancuri*, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1867, p. 91.

53. *Ibid.*, *Muzaffarnama*, p. 256; Also Scrafton, pp. 91-92; Dr. Ives, pp. 151-152. From the account in a contemporary Mss. entitled *Tarikh-i-Bangala Mahabat Jangi*, for which I am extremely grateful to Principal Hughes of Rajasthan College, Jaipur, it appears that Sirajuddaula took active part in fighting and that when he lost courage, he took the road to Murshidabad. Folio 100b and 101-a — Principal Hughes' English Translation. He discovered this Mss. in the India Office Library.

54. *Tarikh-i-Mancuri*, p. 92.

55. See his *Expansion of England*.

56. Hill: *Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 464. On the battle of Plassey Lt. Col. Wilson truly comments that "it will be conceded that the victory of June 23rd, 1757 adds nothing to the splendid military reputation of Lord Clive." *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. I, p. 84.

End of Sirajuddaula

Accompanied by about 2000 horsemen and mounting a swift camel Sirajuddaula reached Murshidabad early in the morning of 24th. Here even the father of his wedded wife, Mirza Iraz Khan, refused to stand by him. The Nawab is mentioned to have flung his head on the feet of Jagat Seth to patch up his peace with the English. The banker sent a message to Mir Jafar not to delay his arrival in the capital.⁵⁷ It was not advisable for the Nawab to stay in the capital and share a captive's fate. He dressed himself in rags and at dead of night on 25th proceeded towards Bihar where he hoped to be joined by Raja Ram Narain and Mon Lass. His devoted spouse, Lutfunnisa accompanied him. They were seized at Rajmahal by Mir Daud and Mir Kasim, stripped of their jewellery and sent back to Murshidabad. Here in the custody of 'Sadiq Ali Khan, popularly known as Miran, the eldest son of the new Nawab, one Muhammad Beg, brought up in the family of Alivardi Khan, put an end to Sirajuddaula's life. On 3rd July his bleeding corpse was paraded on an elephant round the city,⁵⁸ and interred near the tomb of his grand-father in Khushbag. Europeans continued to visit this spot and see Lutfunnisa in mourning attire as long as she lived lighting a lamp in memory of her beloved husband".⁵⁹

British success in Bengal during the reign of Sirajuddaula reminds us of Burke's observation, "The most wonderful things are brought about in many instances by means the most absurd and ridiculous; in the most ridiculous modes; and apparently, by the most contemptible instruments". Sirajuddaula had not succeeded to an easy inheritance. He did not possess the strength and firmness of character, the great military skill and personal resourcefulness that had served his illustrious grand-father in

57. Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, 234; Tarikh-i-Mancuri, p. 92.

58. Ghulam Hussain writes that people beheld the scene with awe and consternation. The mother of Sirajuddaula occupying a separate residence had known nothing about the revolution. When the corpse passed by the gate of her residence she enquired about the unusual noise and cries outside. As she knew the truth, the unfortunate princess forgot her sex, veil and slippers, ran out of the gate, and threw herself on the body. She covered it with her kisses and beat her face and breasts and the Nawab's servants violently forced her away from it. Sheir-Mutaqherin, *Ibid.*, p. 243.

59. Forster, George: Journey from Bengal to England, Vol. I, p. 10.

keeping the disintegrating forces in check. His faults were the faults of young age, a certain impetuosity of disposition, want of consideration for others, and poor understanding of human nature and its strange ways. But his short reign was free from the cruelties and excesses that are associated with his successors, Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim. Nor was he an immoderate libertine or moral wreck like Sarfaraz Khan. Indeed he was not served well by his own men. The Muslim court of his day was a vicious institution, and the army was honey-combed with treason. Even during the period of Alivardi Khan, Mir Habib and Mústafa Khan, prominent generals of the army plotted with the Marathas for the destruction of Muslim power. Mir Jafar Ali Khan and Ataulлах Khan plotted against his life.⁶⁰ "Loyalty and patriotism, those virtuous incentives to great and noble actions", writes Scrafton about the degeneration of Indian ruling class, "are here unknown".⁶¹

It appears that during this period the Hindu aristocracy of Bengal and Bihar was acquiring a new consciousness of power. The support of the Hindu chiefs of Bihar to the Marathas had been a source of extreme embarrassment to Alivardi Khan.⁶² In 1754 Col. Scott, the commander of the East India Company's forces at Calcutta, reported that the Hindu chiefs "secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off the tyrannical yoke".⁶³ Mons. Lass, the French chief informs us that they contemplated a bid for power during the time of Sirajuddaula.⁶⁴ It was the loyalty of Raja Ram Narain of Bihar to him that discouraged them in an open resistance to his authority.⁶⁵ Still influential chiefs like Maharaja Krishna Chandra Rai of Nadia offered full encouragement to the English. After the battle of Plassey Clive honoured him with the title of "Rajendra Bahadur" and presented him many guns used in that battle.⁶⁶ Raja Durlabh Ram was not

60. Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, pp. 86-88, 99-100; Ryaz-us-Salatin, pp. 351-358.

61. Reflections, p. 30.

62. Ryaz-us-Salatin, pp. 296-297; Holwell: Interesting Historical Events, London 1766, pp. 68-70.

63. Hill, Vol. III, p. 328.

64. Ibid., Vol. I, p. xxiii.

65. Hill; Three Frenchmen in Bengal, p. 120.

66. Hunter: Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 158. See also Drake's Letter to Clive of 3rd May, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 375.

happy with the favour shown by the Nawab to Raja Mohan Lal. The Seths had a feeling that they had not been treated well.⁶⁷ The resentment of Hindu aristocracy, the degenerate character of Muslim ruling class, corruption in administration and disloyalty in the army contributed much to the success of British diplomacy against Sirajuddaula.

It may also be said that those who collaborated with the British did not realize the full implications of their conduct. It could hardly strike their poor political intelligence that they were subverting the existing system or that the British were fighting for power in a region noted for its wealth. People at other places like Delhi were also more amused than horrified at these developments in Bengal.⁶⁸

67. Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, pp. 224-225.

68. See Hill: Three Frenchmen in Bengal, p. 118, for reactions of the chiefmen at Delhi as reported by Mons. Lass.

Land System in Mediaeval Orissa (circa 750-1200)

BY

RAM SHARAN SHARMA

During early mediaeval times Orissa witnessed the rise and fall of fifteen odd dynasties, many of them ruling contemporaneously. At a time when communications were primitive, the mountainous nature of the greater part of the region helped to sustain numerous kingdoms comfortably nested in reasonably defensible areas. Their existence was perpetuated by the predominance of aboriginal tribes, passionately fond of their independence. Several dynasties such as the Bhañja and the Tuṅga seem to have been founded by indigenous chiefs, improvised into respectable kṣatriyas by brāhmaṇical associations,—a practice which still lingers in the neighbouring tracts of Chotanagpur. In Orissa although the rulers of the hilly states owed allegiance to those of the seaboard, the tie was slender and tenuous, and in practice the whole territory was parcelled out amongst various ruling houses. The rulers granted land to vassals, officials, temples, and above all to brāhmaṇas, which led to the further subdivision of land in Orissa. The copper-plate land grants, which are more numerous in this State than in Bengal and Bihar during the same period, show that there existed a considerable class of religious grantees and secular assignees, imposed upon the common cultivators.

The secular assignees comprised vassals and officials. Records of direct land grants in favour of vassals are very few, but nearly a dozen terms mentioned in the grants seem to stand for landed vassals. Thus the bhūpālas, literally the protectors of earth, may have been important landed barons, who alone were notified of some land grants under the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga towards the end of the tenth century. Perhaps the aboriginal kingdom consisted of congeries of territorial units, each under a tribal chief (adorned with the Sanskrit title *bhūpāla*), who bore the burden of administration in his district. At this stage under the Khijjiṅga branch there was no place for officials and other dignitaries, who are men-

tioned, in many other Bhañja grants. For some time under the Bhañjas, the *bhogīs* and *sāmantas* figured as important elements in the body politic, for only these two dignitaries are addressed in a grant of Vidyādhara Bhañjadeva.¹ The term *bhogī* occurs frequently in the Bhauma-Kara and Bhañja charters. Sometimes it is taken in the sense of a village headman, but this office was held by the *mahattara* who worked under the supervision of the *mahā-mahattara*² the literal meaning of the term suggests that the *bhogī* did not have to pay any revenues for the land held by him. Perhaps he received assignments in return for some administrative work. In the Bhañja kingdom under Vidyādhara Bhañja such fiefs were so considerable that the rural people were classified into two units, the inhabitants of the regularly administered districts (*viṣaya*) and those of the assigned areas (*bhoga*).³ Under a Somavaṃśī ruler the *bhogīs* formed a distinct body known as the *bhogijana*.⁴ We also find fief holders, who were as good as *bhogīs* (*bhogirūpa*) but enjoyed limited rights.⁵ The *bhogīs* seem to have been connected with revenue administration, and a few of them held the post of the chief accountant (*mahākṣapatalika*) under the Bhauma-Karas and were employed in drafting land charters.⁶ A superior *bhogī* was known as the *mahābhogī*, mentioned in an inscription of an unspecified family,⁷ but in this sense the *brhadbhogī* appears frequently in the Bhauma-Kara grants.⁸ This officer is understood as a village headman,⁹ but in our view he was a higher assignee, enjoying more villages than a *bhogī*. As the *bhogīs* and *brhadbhogīs* recur in the Bhauma-Kara grants,¹⁰ we have here a hierarchy of landed magnates.

A graded relation, possibly regulated by the grant of land and the extent of the supply of military aid to the overlord, existed between the *sāmanta* and the *mahāsāmanta*, who were important

1. *EI*, ix, No. 37, 1.16.

2. *EI*, xv, No. 1, 11. 1-10; cf. D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, xxix, 85-6.

3. *bhogyādi viṣaya janapadam*, *EI*, ix, No. 37f 11. 16-7.

4. *IHQ*, xxxv, No. 2, Balijhari (Narsinghpur) Copper-Plates, 1. 36.

5. *EI*, xxviii, 323.

6. Binayak Misra, *Mediaeval Dynasties of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1934?), pp. 102-3, No. 12; *EI*, xv, No. 1, 11. 33-4; *JBORS*, ii, 426-7, 11. 40-2.

7. Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5, Inscr. No. 1.

8. *IHQ*, xxi, 221, 11. 27-40.

9. *Ibid.*, 217.

10. *EI*, xxix, 85-6.

elements in the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas and their feudatories. A feudatory Tunga ruler addresses his land grant only to the *sāmantas*,¹¹ which shows that only they mattered in administration. The rank of the *mahāsāmantādhipati*, a title applied to the Nanda feudatory Devānanda III (end of the ninth century), was still higher, and he could make land grants in his own right.¹² Whether he assigned fiefs to the *mahāsāmantas* and *sāmantas* is not known. But we have definite evidence that the two successive Bhañja rulers of Khijjiṅga allotted villages to the *mahāsāmanta* Vaṭṭa,¹³ whose father Muṇḍi was a *sāmanta*.¹⁴ Apparently the son rose in rank and augmented the fief acquired by his father. Although we have no epigraphic records to show that the *sāmantas* were endowed with land, their later position as an important land-owning element in Orissa seems to have developed out of their enjoyment of fiefs in the early mediaeval period.

The *rāṇakas* were another group of landholders, possibly serving as military vassals. They were identical with the *rājyanakas*, who were originally members of the royal family, and under the Bhañjas constituted a class (*varga*) by themselves.¹⁵ The epithet *upajīvijana* applied to them¹⁶ indicates that they lived on the bounties given to them by the king. Even persons, who did not belong to the ruling house, came to be known as *rāṇakas* and were granted land. The Somavaṃśī ruler Mahābhavagupta II (1000-15) granted a village to a brāhmaṇa *rāṇaka*, whose grandfather had emigrated from Śrāvastī.¹⁷ Some *rāṇakas* were assigned more than one village, as can be inferred from a charter by which a *rāṇaka* under the Gaṅga ruler Vajrahasta (1038-70) regranted a village.¹⁸ This class of vassals held important administrative posts, especially under the Somavaṃśīs. They acted as executors of land grants,¹⁹ chief accountants,²⁰ and ministers of

11. JASB, NS, xii (1916), 291ff.

12. EI, xxvi, 77.

13. JASB, xl, No. 3, 166-8.

14. Ibid., 168.

15. *svavaṃśa-samudbhav-āṣeṣa-rājanya(va)rgga*, EI, xviii, 29, 11. 17-8.

16. Ibid.

17. EI, iii, No. 47, plate F, 11. 28-42.

18. Ibid., No. 31, p. 222.

19. Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, pp. 102-3, Inscription No. 12.

20. Ibid., p. 17, Inscription No. 10.

peace and war.²¹ In the feudal hierarchy of the Somavamśis they occupied a high position, preceded by the *rājñī* (queen) and followed by the *rājaputra* (royal prince).²² The *rājñīs* probably had their personal estates, particularly under the Bhauma-Karas who could boast of six women rulers. This seems to be true of the *rājaputras*, one of whom was endowed with a tax-free village dowry by a high officer of Vajrahasta.²³ The *rājavallabhas* ranking next to the *rājaputras*²⁴ were royal favourites, who could not have been rewarded except in the usual way of being favoured with villages.²⁵

We can enumerate the different categories of vassal landholders in Orissa: *bhūpāla*, *bhogī*, *brogīrūpa*, *mahābhogī*, *brhadbhogī sāmanta*, *mahāsāmanta*, *mahāsāmantādhipati*, *rājñī*, *rājyanaka* or *rāṇaka*, *rājaputra* and *rājavallabha*. Most of them seem to have military obligations, and they lived on the revenues assigned to them. We have no statistics to find out the relative status and rank of these landowning elements, but certainly their number and importance in Orissa were far greater than in the neighbouring regions.

Quite a few villages were held by the officials, who were allotted land revenues as remuneration. The Somavamśī ruler Mahābhavagupta I (935-70) granted four villages in Kosala by three land charters to his brāhmaṇa chief minister Sādhāraṇa.²⁶ The Nanda king Devānanda III (A.D. 899) granted a village in the Cuttack District to Yaśodatta, his kāyastha minister of peace and war.²⁷ Two Bhañja rulers of Khiṇjali, both brothers, each granted a village to an astrologer (*jyotiṣi*), in the second half of the 12th century.²⁸ The astrologer, who occupies a high status in the Sena and Gāhaḍavāla list of dignitaries, may have earned assignments from the Bhañjas of Khiṇja, for his services in making calendars. A more secular assignment was made by the

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

22. *EI*, iii, No. 47, plate F, 11. 33-4.

23. *Ibid.*, No. 31, 11. 9-15.

24. *Ibid.*, No. 47, plate F, 11. 33-4.

25. R. S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1959), p. 2.

26. *EI*, iii, No. 47, B. 11. 4-5, C. 11. 4-5, D. 1. 5; Fleet, *ibid.*, 345.

27. *Ibid.*, xxvi, No. 26, 11. 19-38.

28. *EI*, xviii, No. 29, 11. 19-29; xix, 43 & fn. 1.

Gaṅga ruler Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1076-1138), who endowed his trusty agent (*āpta-kriyāya*) Coḍagaṅga with a village along with a hamlet in Kaliṅga.²⁹

The typical service grants of the Gaṅga rulers seem to have been made to military functionaries known as *nāyakas*,³⁰ some of whom were *vaiśyas*. According to a charter issued in the year 526 of the Gaṅga era under Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarman,³¹ three villages were together formed into a *vaiśya-agrahāra* and granted to a certain Erapa Nāyaka, the son of Mañci Nāyaka of the *vaiśya* caste.³² It could not have possibly meant a grant to an army officer for running an educational foundation, a sense in which the term *agrahāra* was used ordinarily in earlier grants; on the other hand it seems to have been an assignment for military service. Some evidence of a grant to a *nāyaka* is also found in an inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, who made a perpetual grant of a tax-free village to his dependent *Mādhava*.³³ The instances quoted above, though not many, are more numerous than what we find in Bihar and Bengal during this period, and suggest that in mediaeval Orissa civil and military officials were paid by grants of villages, which were also assigned to vassals for military service.

As against a dozen vassals and officials, we have records of land grants to nearly three hundred *brāhmaṇas*,³⁴ most of whom seem to have been imported from outside. The *brāhmaṇas* are addressed in a few Bhañja land-grants but not in many others belonging to the Bhauma-Kaṇas, the Tuṅgas, the Somavaṃśīs and the Gaṅgas. Either the areas in which these grants were made did not have any *brāhmaṇa* population or it was not so numerous and important as to deserve special mention in the grants. The lists of the donees show that they were invited into Orissa mainly from Madhyadesa, Tirabhukti, Rāḍha, Vaṅga and Varendra.³⁵

29. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 174, 11. 30-4.

30. *Madras Report on Epigraphy*, 1918-9, Appendix A, No. 3.

31. *Ibid.*, No. 5.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *IA*, xviii, 171-2, 11. 109-113.

34. This number is based on the list of inscriptions given in Misra, *op. cit.*; since 1934 more land grants have been discovered in Orissa but perhaps they do not indicate any material change in the ratio between the secular and religious vassals.

35. Misra, *op. cit.*, Index, p. i.

There is a view that Madhyadeśa mentioned in the Orissa land grants, was situated between Bengal and Orissa; at any rate there is nothing to suggest that it formed part of Orissa. Some grants indicate that although the brāhmaṇas came from outside they had intermediate stays in Oḍra,³⁶ from where they were taken into other parts of Orissa.

Generally individual brahmanas were granted land, but sometimes the number of grantees ranged from two to two hundred. The Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva I, who flourished in the middle of the eighth century A.D., combined two villages in northern Tosālī into one and granted the unit to two hundred brāhmaṇas of various *gotras* and Vedic schools.³⁷ This reminds us of a land grant made jointly to one hundred brāhmaṇas by Lokanātha in Eastern Bengal,³⁸ where āryanisation by means of land grants had begun earlier. In Orissa this process was especially carried on by some brāhmaṇa rulers such as the Tuṅgas and Gaṅgas. Gayādatuṅga, whose ancestors had come to Orissa from Rohtas in the Shahabad District,³⁹ played an important part in distributing land in the Talcher area to the brāhmaṇas from outside. In one case he granted the fertile land of a village to eleven brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatrā;⁴⁰ in another he apportioned out a village among three brāhmaṇas from Varendra, their family originally hailing from Śrāvastī.⁴¹ Thus this adventurous brāhmaṇa ruling family installed several brāhmaṇa landholders in Orissa. Similarly the Gaṅgas seem to have introduced brāhmaṇa landowners in the Telugu-speaking areas of their dominions.

The significance of land-grants to brāhmaṇas is not difficult to appreciate. The grantees brought new knowledge which improved cultivation, and inculcated in the aborigines a sense of loyalty to the established order upheld by the rulers, who could therefore dispense with the services of any extra staff for maintaining law and order. In return for performing these functions the brāhmaṇa donees were given all fiscal rights, amounting to virtual ownership of land.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *EI*, xv, No. 1, ll. 1-30.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 19, ll. 35-50.

39. *JASB*, NS, xii, 292.

40. *JASB*, NS, V, 347 ff., ll. 22-20, 33-4.

41. *Ibid.*, xii, 293-4, ll. 22-32.

Fiscal rights, enjoyed by the rulers and transferred to the donees, were different in backward areas from those in developed areas. Land grants in forest areas were made under the Bhañjas, the Somavaṃśis and the Gaṅgas. Yaśobhañjadeva of Kḥiñjali granted a tax-free village called Pātikomyāṇa (apparently a non-āryan settlement) with its trees, creepers, thickets, forest (*araṇya*) along with the rights to fishing and catching tortoises.⁴² The present village was obviously surrounded by forests or merged into them. A Somavaṃśi charter of Mahābhavagupta IV, who ruled over Western Orissa and Kosala in the beginning of the eleventh century, granted two villages, which were given along with the right of killing snakes (*ahidaṇḍa*) and elephants (*hastidaṇḍa*).⁴³ Probably the area abounded in elephants, for the district in which the two villages were situated was called Airāvataṇḍa.⁴⁴ The locality was inhabited by the Śvaras (now Saoras), noted for their better knowledge of elephants, lions and huge snakes living in the holes, and the caves of the hills.⁴⁵ The present grant, which was conferred as a fief (*upabhoga*) on two brothers, carried rights to all future taxes (*bhaviṣyatkaṛa*).⁴⁶ It is not clear whether future taxes meant those levied by the king or the donee. But the latter interpretation would imply an extraordinary right, by virtue of which the donees could reduce the villagers to complete serfdom. Some new fiscal rights, appropriate to forest areas, are found in a charter of the last Śomavaṃśi ruler Someśvaradeva. He gave away plots of land (*khaṇḍa-kṣetra*) belonging to two villages, and they carried the rights to the enjoyment of ivory (*hastidanta*), tiger's skin (*vyāghracarma*), various animals (*nānā-vanacara*) as well as different trees such as tamarind and palmyra, along with forests.⁴⁷ In all the three above grants the boundaries of the villages were not specified, which left scope for their expansion into the neighbouring jungles. But in a grant of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman the donated village was described as practically surrounded by jungle,

42. *El*, xviii, No. 29, 11. 16-22.

43. *JBORS*, xvii, 1 ff., 11. 29-49.

44. *Ibid.*, 11. 37-49.

45. *Ibid.*, 11. 18-21.

46. *Ibid.*, 11. 37-49. Only the terms of the grant of one village are indicated, but the grant of the second village may also have been governed by the same terms.

47. *El*, xxviii, No. 50, 11. 3-8.

trees and rocks,⁴⁸ which shows that it was situated in a forest area. Although the terms of this land grant are not laid down, those of others clearly indicate that certain fiscal dues such as rights to trees, forests, hides, fishes, etc., were characteristic of land situated in backward areas.

A striking feature of the land revenue system in settled areas was the transfer by the donors of not only villages with various kinds of dues but also with weavers, brewers, cowherds and other subjects (*prakṛtikah*). The practice was followed by the Bhauma-Kara rulers for about one hundred years from the middle of the 9th century A.D.,⁴⁹ and also by their feudatories the Bhañjas⁵⁰ and Tuṅgas.⁵¹ Of the subjects transferred the mention of weavers and brewers suggests that cloth-making and liquor-making were indispensable rural crafts. Further, the transfer of cowherds points to the importance of pastoral economy in this part of the country. Possibly the transfer of various other artisans and peasants is covered by the term *prakṛti*, which stands for the general inhabitants of the village. The fact that they were specifically made over to the donee shows that they were attached to the soil as artisans and husbandmen and in case of oppression by the grantees could not seek shelter in other village or reclaim virgin areas of which there was plenty in this region. A similar provision occurs in some 12th century Candella inscriptions,⁵² which transfer artisans, peasants and traders to the donees. But in Orissa this practice prevailed on a far wider scale and for a longer period of time. Here it may have been found necessary on account of the scarcity of working population for running rural economy. But such grants reduced the villagers to the condition of semi-serfs, producing surplus for the benefit of brāhmaṇa grantees. Many grantees were allotted *sagulmaka* privileges, which have been

48. *Ibid.*, iii, No. 3, 11. 18-22.

49. H. P. Shastri, "Seven copper-plate Records of Land grants from Dhenkanal: G-Grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevī", *JBORS* 426-7, 11. 24-32

50. *sa-tantuvāya-gokula-śaundhi(ḍi) kādi-prakṛti* ... *Ibid.*, *JBORS*, xvi, 81-3, 11. 11. 18-24; *EI*, xxix, 85-6; *IHQ*, xxi, 221, 11. 28-38.

51. *EI*, xxv, No. 14, 11. 12-20.

52. *JBORS*, vi, 239, 115-6.

53. *sa-kāru-karsaka-vaṇig-vāstavyam*. *EI*, xx, No. 14, B plates, 1-19. This is my emended reading on the basis of a land grant of Madanavarman published in a recent issue of *Bhārati* by V. S. Misra.

taken to mean hunting rights.⁵⁴ But the term, on the basis of Manu,⁵⁵ should be understood as military outposts stationed in the villages by the king, who transferred them to the donees. Control over the local machinery for coercion could enable the grantees to exercise their fiscal rights effectively and maintain the self-sufficient rural economy by means of force. We also notice the gradual undermining of customary communal rights in land. The donors transferred trees, jungles, rivers, etc. to the grantees.⁵⁶ Later survivals indicate that in earlier times the villagers had free access to all these local resources, although they were not conscious of their common ownership. But once these were specifically made over to the donees, the latter would not allow its use by the villagers without charging something. Such a practice lingered till the 19th century in U.P., where we find local chiefs levying axe-tax for felling trees.⁵⁷ Besides, the villagers could no longer easily reclaim the jungle land for cultivation. On the other hand as the family of the donees would multiply there would be the natural tendency to appropriate the fallow land for their use,⁵⁸ thus depriving the peasants of their natural rights to expand into the waste land. This was bound to lead to unequal distribution of land in the villages, the lion's share going to the donees and their descendants. Moreover, they had the additional advantage of being vested with numerous fiscal rights, which in course of time gave them practical ownership of land. This development, however, was not typical of Orissa; the transfer of all agrarian rights enjoyed by the villagers was a usual feature in mediaeval grants of Northern India.

The list of the sources of land revenue, due to the ruler and conferred on the donees, is impressive. But what share of the produce was claimed and how the demand was calculated are not known. Two land grants suggest that assessment was made in money. In one instance the revenue of the whole village granted to a brahmana was estimated as 44 rupees⁵⁹ and in another 42 rupees.⁶⁰ In Bengal money estimates first appear in the ele-

54. H. P. Shastri, *Ibid.*, ii, 426-7.

55. vii. 114.

56. *EI*, xviii, No. 29, 11. 19-22.

57. Baden-Powell, *Land System in British India*, i, 128-9.

58. *Ibid.*, i, 173.

59. *JASB*, NS, xii (1916), p. 295, 11. 22-36.

60. *EI*, xii, No. 20, 11. 27-8.

venth century, in the land grants of the Senas. But it is doubtful whether actual collection was made in money either in Bengal or Orissa during early mediaeval times. Revival of money economy does not seem to have been so strong as to render all payments possible in cash.

The net result of land grants was to create feudal conditions in which superior landholders were imposed upon ordinary cultivators. These were brāhmaṇas mainly invited from outside Orissa. They not only helped their patrons in maintaining power but also acted as foci of culture, providing moral and ideological anchor to the Hindu rulers in the aboriginal sea. Gradually some aboriginal chiefs also were transformed into feudal vassals. The Māthara chief Puñja was given the titles *samadhigata-pañca mahāśabda* and *māṇḍalika-rāṇaka*.⁶¹ He was called the *adhipati* (lord) of fifteen subdivisions (*pallikās*),⁶² which shows that he was regarded as the owner of the land placed in his charge. Such chiefs, however, did not have the authority to grant land, although one of them, Pulindarāja, was influential enough to prevail upon the Bhauma-Kara ruler Śubhākaradeva (9th century) to grant land for the maintenance of a Śaiva temple and Śaiva ascetics.⁶³ A third class of landed intermediaries was formed by the holders of service tenures, who were generally assigned land on the same conditions as the brāhmaṇas.

The brāhmaṇa donees, far greater in number than the secular intermediaries, were granted not only the usual fiscal dues to which the king was entitled but also the right of confining the working population to the donated land. This together with the grantee's inroads on the customary agrarian rights enjoyed by the villagers reduced the peasants and artisans to the position of semi-serfs. In mediaeval Orissa all this gave rise to some typical features of feudal land system, which did not arise there on the ruins of any centralised empire, as in parts of Northern India, but out of tribal, aboriginal background in which the aborigines could be assimilated into the Hindu way of life by implanting brāhmaṇa landholders in their midst.

61. D. C. Sircar, *HCIP*, v, 209.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *JBORS*, xvi, 81-2, 11. 18-24.

The Lodi Sultans and the Rajput States

BY

DR. HAMEED UD-DIN*

The Rajput States, occupying a spacious area along the southern frontiers of the Sultanate, presented a formidable problem to the Lodī Sultans who were obviously anxious to establish control over them. The founder of the Lodī Dynasty, Sultan Buhlūl Shah Ghāzī (1451-1489), tried to maintain cordial relations with the Rajputs and was very friendly with the ruler of Gwalior which, on account of its strategic position, attracted the attention of all the Lodī Sultans. It had enjoyed virtual independence during the first half of the fifteenth century¹ and when Buhlūl established his power at Delhi, it was ruled by Rai Kīrat Singh who was apparently uninfluenced by the rivalry between the Lodīs and the Sharqīs. The situation, however, changed when Husain Sharqī dispatched an army in 1466 to reduce the famous fortress of Gwalior.² His attempt failed and the Sharqī army withdrew after extorting a payment and a promise of loyalty from the ruler.³

*The author is the former lecturer in History at the Punjab University, Lahore, and is one of the contributors to *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar (Bombay, 1960). He is now resident in England and is completing a work on the political and cultural study of the Later Sultanate period.

1. After Timūr's departure from India, the Sultanate had been in abeyance until the Sayyids established their authority in 1414. The Rajas of Gwalior owed nominal allegiance to the Sayyid Sultans and paid tribute whenever compelled to do so. Khidr Khan visited Gwalior twice to receive the customary payment. Mubārak Shah saved it from being absorbed by Malwa in 1423, but subsequently had to organize three expeditions against it to recover arrears of tribute. See Yahyā Sihṛindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 186, 203.

2. Nūr al-Ḥaḡ, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (British Museum, MS Add. 11633), fol. 230b, Muhammad Barārī, "Mujmaʿ-i-Mufasssal" (A.S.B. Calcutta), MS fol. 245a, Muhammad Baqā, "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (India Office Lib., London) MS fol. 23C, (K.C.L. Cambridge) MS fol. 45a.

3. Ḥasan Khākī, "Muntakhab al-Twārīkh" (Eton College) MS fol. 147b, Nizām al-Dīn, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, (Calcutta, 1927), III, 283.

Thereafter the Raja who had been antagonized by the Sharqī aggression, began to draw closer to the Lodīs and within a couple of years became an esteemed friend of Buhlūl. In 1469 when the Lodī monarch sent two successive missions to Malwa to seek Mahmūd Khaljī's help against the Sharqīs, he nominated on each of them either the Raja or the Raja's son, Kapūr Chand.⁴ After the lapse of some years Kīrat Singh, becoming alarmed at Ḥusain's growing power, effected a reconciliation with him and in 1478 sent his son, Kalyān Mal, to Etawah to offer condolence at the death of Ḥusain's mother, Bibī Rājī. The fact that Kalyān Mal visited Ḥusain in Quṭb Khan Lodī's company,⁵ shows that Kīrat Singh had decided to assume an attitude of neutrality and maintain friendly relations with the Lodīs as well as the Sharqīs. However, the help which he soon after rendered to Ḥusain during the latter's flight from Jaunpur,⁶ offended Buhlūl who led an expedition against Gwalior in the last year of his reign. By that time Kīrat Singh had been succeeded by Raja Mān who offered his submission and gave a present of 80,000,00 *tankahs* to the Sultan.⁷

Raja Mān renewed his pledge of loyalty to Buhlūl's son and successor, Sultan Sikandar Shah (1489-1517), but secretly began to harbour the Sultan's enemies. During the first decade of Sikandar's reign at least six powerful rebels who had escaped his punish-

4. Kapūr Chand was included in the first mission which waited on Mahmūd Khaljī of Malwa on 21st February, 1469, while Kīrat Singh accompanied the second mission which met the Khaljī Sultan on 3rd April, 1469. See Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm, "Ma'āthir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī" (Univ. Lib. Tubingen, W. Germany), Ms fols. 262, 264, (Bodleian Lib. Oxford) MS fols. 307a, 309a, (King's C. Lib. Cambridge) MS fols. 471b, 475b, "Zubdat al-Twārikh" (John Rylands Lib. Manchester) MS fol. 193b.

5. Quṭb Khan Lodī was Buhlūl's cousin and brother-in-law, and had gone to Gwalior at that time. See *Tab. Akb.* I, 308, Ni'matullah "Tārikh-i-Khan Jahānī" (Chr. C. Lib. Cambridge) MS. fol. 86a, (India Office Lib.) MS fol. 82. According to *Firishta* (Bombay text, I, 322), the Raja went himself to condole with Ḥusain.

6. After being defeated by Buhlūl at Sonhar and Rapri, Ḥusain had fled towards Gwalior. Kīrat Singh received him as a friend and after providing him with men and equipment, accompanied him up to Kalpi. *Tab Akb.*, I, 310.

7. "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (India Office) MS fol. 295b, "Tārikh-i-Khan Jahānī" (C. C. Camb.) MS fol. 90a, *Tab. Akb.* I, 313.

Haig has mixed up three different names, Kirat Singh, Kari Singh and Man Singh and has used them in respect of the same person, while making conflicting statements regarding the events of the period in his chapters on Delhi, Jaunpur, Malwa and Gwalior. *C.H.I.*, III, 233, 234, 255, 360, 533 & 534.

ment, found refuge with the Raja.⁸ Matters, however, came to a head when the ruler of Dholpur whom Sikandar had defeated in 1501, also sought asylum at Gwalior. Thereupon the Sultan advanced straight from Dholpur to Gwalior, but Raja Mān probably taken unprepared, agreed to submit and expelled three refugees, Sa'id Khan, Bābū Khan and Rai Ganesh, who were still in his fort. He also sent his son, Vikramaditya, to attend upon the Sultan who, however, sent the prince back with robes of honour and a horse. Notwithstanding his professed allegiance, the Raja showed open hostility to the Sultan during the latter's march towards Gwalior in 1505 and opposed a royal detachment that had been sent in quest of *Banjāras*.⁹ This put Sikandar on his guard and after arriving at Hashawar,¹⁰ he ordered an advance party to go twenty miles ahead and keep a watch on the Raja's movements. The Raja, however, suddenly emerged from his ambush when the royal army was returning to Dholpur, but in the engagement that followed, he was defeated. Sikandar did not pursue him in view of the approaching rains and hurried back to Agra. He did not send any other expedition against Gwalior, but the idea of conquering and annexing the state appeared to be always present in his mind and his decision to transfer his capital to Agra was largely influenced by it.¹¹ Towards the end of his reign, he had completed arrangements for launching a big attack on the fort of Gwalior and

8. They included Sa'id Khan Sarwānī, former governor of Lahore, Tātār Khan of Jhatra and Muhammad Shah, all of whom having been banished as traitors, had halted at Gwalior on their way to Gujerat. The other three were Sultan Sharaf of Biyana who had fled after his defeat in 1491, Rai Ganesh, a former partisan of Bārbak and lastly, a rebel named Hābū Khan. See 'Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Ma'āth ir-i-Rahīmī* (Cal. 1924), I, 462, 463. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 323-325.

It may further be mentioned that the Raja's eunuch slave, Nihāl, who was sent with gifts to Sambhal in 1500, also offended the Sultan by returning rude answers to some of the questions put to him. "Tārīkh-i-Khan Jahānī", fol. 97b.

9. A mercantile community of professional grain transporters. The term appears to have been used for the first time in the history of the Sultanate. See Briggs, J. *History of the rise of Mahomedan power in India* (Calcutta, 1910), I, 579.

10. Identified as Jatwar or Jetwar which lies north of Gwalior. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939), I, 497.

11. For an account of the foundation of Agra, see the writer's article on "The Afghan architecture of India" in the *Revista Degli Studi Orientali*, Roma, 35/iii-iv (1960).

had called a number of his *Amirs* from distant frontiers to participate in it.¹² He died, however, before carrying out the project and the task was left to be completed by his son.

Sultan Ibrāhīm Shah Lodī (1517-1526) undertook the conquest of Gwalior early in his reign when his rebellious brother, Jalāl Khan, went there in quest of an asylum.¹³ He dispatched a large force consisting of 30,000 horsemen and 300 elephants under A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī, governor of Kara, and later sent a substantial reinforcement which was accompanied by nine distinguished *Amirs*. They laid siege to the fort, but during its progress the redoubtable Raja Mān died.¹⁴ His son, Vikramaditya, who succeeded him, lacked unfortunately, the father's courage and perseverance. He made desperate efforts to save the fort, but the Afghan army used war engines to throw shells into the massive building and ultimately succeeded in blowing up the walls by means of mines.¹⁵ Rushing in quickly, they occupied the underground stronghold beneath the fort, called Bādalgārh,¹⁶ which Raja Mān had built and from where they recovered a brazen bull which had been worshipped by the Hindus for many years.¹⁷ Vikramaditya at last surrendered and Gwalior was annexed to the

12. *Firishta*, I, 342.

13. Jalāl Khan held independent charge of Jaunpur at the beginning of Ibrāhīm's reign, but the latter succeeded in getting rid of him and reuniting Jaunpur with the Sultanate. For details of the fratricidal war and the circumstances which brought about Jalāl's tragic end, see 'Abd al-Haq, "*Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*" (Bodleian, Oxford MS Ous. 59), fol. 274, (U.L. Camb.) MS p. 74, "*Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā*" (India Office Library, London), MS fol. 296, "*Mujmal-i-Mufasssal*" (Bodleian, Oxford) MS fol. 144, (A.S.B. Cal.) MS fol. 180, Ḥasan Khākī, "*Muntakhab*" fol. 79, "*Zubdat al-Twārīkh*", (Camb. MS) fol. 60.

14. According to Ni'matullah, the Raja was an admirer of Islam. Nizām al-Dīn praised him for his distinguished courage and liberality. "*Tārīkh-i-Khan Jahānī*", fol. 122a, *Tab. Akb.*, I, 347.

15. Ahmad Yādgar, *Tārīkh-i-Shahī* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 84-85.

A further discussion on the use of explosive weapons by the Lodī army will be found in the writer's article on "The organization of government under the Lodī Sultans of India" in the *Z.D.M.G.* 110/2, p. 340.

16. To be distinguished from another Badalgārh, which was a name given to the fort of Agra. B. De, tr. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 402, N. 4.

17. It was taken to Delhi and was fixed at the Baghdad Gate where Nizām al-Dīn saw it in his own time. Badāunī adds that the nobles sent

Sultanate. He received, however, the *jagir* of Shamsabad and remained loyal to Ibrāhīm whom he accompanied to Paripat in 1526 and died fighting.¹⁸

Mewar

The story of the hostilities between the last Lodi Sultan and the Rajput ruler of Mewar has not yet been narrated in full, and in the absence of any reliable evidence, the unauthenticated statements of Tod have gained currency. Fortunately, a comprehensive account of that important episode has been found preserved in the rare work of the contemporary writer, Mushtāqī, and one is only surprised that the well-known Mughal historians who came after him, should have altogether overlooked it. Even the Afghan writer of Jahangir's reign, Ni'matullah, has not mentioned it although two other contemporaneous writers, 'Abdullah and Ahmad Yādgar, have given different versions of their own. Mushtāqī was, however, an eye-witness of Ibrāhīm Lodī's reign and had exceptional sources of information for the Mewar expedition in view of his personal relations with Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī's son, Mujīb, and the Miān's brother, Tāhā, who had accompanied the expedition and had carried messages from Ḥusain to Ibrāhīm. His work, therefore, deserves to be treated as the primary authority.¹⁹

the bull to Agra, but Sultan Ibrāhīm passed it on to Delhi. In 1584 it was brought to Faḥpur Sikrī where it was melted and converted into bugles and bells and articles of that kind. According to Ahmad Yādgar, the bull was made of copper and had a mechanism which enabled it to produce sounds. Akbar had it melted down and made into cannon. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 348, 'Abd al-Qādir Badāunī, *Muntakhab al-Twārikh*, (Cal. 1868), I, 327-328 *Tārikh-i-Shāhī*, p. 75.

18. A. S. Beveridge, *The Babur-nama in English* (London, 1922), p. 477, Anon. Work on General History, compiled in Akbar's reign (India Office, MS Ethe-120), fol. 505a.

19. For a general assessment of Mushtāqī's work, see the writer's note on the 'Original Sources' in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar (Bombay, 1960), pp. 761-762.

Sharma (G.N.) has quoted three Sanskrit and Hindi sources, namely, "Amar Kavya Vanshavalī", "Surya Vansha" and *Muhanot Nensi*, all of which deal with Rana Sanga's success. They belong, however, to a much later period and cannot be compared, therefore, even to the Persian authorities of Jahāngīr's reign. *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors* (Agra, 1951), p. 16-N. 19.

for reconstructing the story, a part of which is corroborated by another contemporary source, the Bābur Nāma.

It was probably his success against Gwalior which led Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodī to attempt the conquest of the still stronger Rajput state of Mewar which was then ruled by the renowned Rana Sanga. He fitted out a strong expedition comprising 40,000 soldiers²⁰ and sent forth some of his ablest and most experienced generals to accompany it. The chances of its success were, however, rendered precarious by the internal differences of the nobles some of whom bitterly resented the appointment of a junior *Amir*, Miān Makhan, as the commander-in-chief. Matters were aggravated by the Sultan's folly when in the midst of the operations, he tried to get rid of two of his senior and powerful *Amirs*, Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī and Miān Ma'rūf. He sent secret orders for their arrest to Miān Makhan just when the imperial army was approaching Mewar.²¹ Mian Ḥusain somehow came to know of the Sultan's action and twice foiled Makhan's attempts to seize him.²² Realizing, however, that he could not remain secure for long, he became desperate and took the extreme step of opening communications with Rana Sanga from a nearby place called Todah, and ultimately went over to him with a group of other nobles.²³ The army of Mewar, having thus been strengthened by the adhe-

20. Rizqullah Mushtāqī, "Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī" (British Museum), MS p. 117., 'Abdullah, "Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī", (S.O.A.S., London), MS p. 75.

21. According to Bābur, it was at Dholpur that Ibrāhīm's *Begs* (Amirs) turned against him. *Babur-nama*, p. 593.

22. Makhan at first tried to see Ḥusain on the pretext of offering condolence on the death of the latter's son which had occurred in Mandu quite a long time ago. Ḥusain, however, went away to the camp of Ma'rūf who told Mukhan that a lion could not be caught alive and added that Sultan Ibrāhīm had lost the balance of his mind *Sultān-i-mā rā khalal-i-dīmāgh shudah ast*. while ordering the arrest of his Amirs. Ibrāhīm, on hearing those reports, wrote to Makhan to call the two Amirs to an open court and arrest them after reading out the Sultan's *Firmān*. But the pavilion which Makhan erected for that purpose, was pulled down by Miān Ma'rūf's men. See "Mushtāqī", p. 118.

23. They included his brother Miān Ṭahā, Miān Ismā'il Jilwānī, Miān Lodhā Kākar, Khidr Khan Lodī and Miān Ma'rūf. *Ibid*.

sion of some Afghan nobles and their followers, inflicted a severe defeat on Miān Makhan and killed numerous Afghan soldiers in a sanguinary battle fought near the village of Boli.²⁴

On hearing the news of that reverse, Ibrāhīm marched from Agra and halted on the bank of the Kanbhir.²⁵ He did not engage the enemy in battle²⁶ as Miān Husain had, by that time, begun to repent of his mistake in seeking an alliance with the Rajputs.²⁷ The latter was, moreover, grieved at the bloodshed of the Muslims and the loss of eminent Afghan generals such as Ibrāhīm Khan Sarwānī Kakpūr, Daryā Khan son of Ma'rūf Lohānī, 'Alā al-Dīn and Haibat Khan. He, therefore, sent a message to Sultan Ibrāhīm through his brother, Ṭāhā, reminding the Sultan of his former services and offering to give up hostility if the Sultan agreed to

24. It might be identical with any of the two places, Bakrole (in the Asandi district) or Ghattoli (near Bundi), mentioned by Tod, but Ibrāhīm was not present there in person as wrongly stated in the *Rajasthan* (London, 1950), p. 241.

According to 'Abdullah, the Afghan army was pursued as far as Biyana, but Mushtāqī has not mentioned it. Ahmad Yādgār, however, states that Miān Makhan withdrew to his own camp from where he got into touch once more with Miān Husain Farmūlī. See "Dā'ūdī", MS p. 76. *Shāhī*, pp. 82-83.

25. The Kanbhir or the Gambhir flows through the Jaipur state. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXVI—36. E.

The exact place where Ibrāhīm halted, has not been indicated by the authorities, but Mushtāqī writes that the Sultan after his arrival there, set on fire some of the houses which had once served as a halting place for Sikandar. One of Buhlūl's sons, Ghiāth al-Dīn, who had taken up residence there, fled and joined Miān Husain Farmūlī.

26. There is no historical basis for Tod's statement that Ibrāhīm personally fought against Rana Sanga and after being defeated, left "a prisoner of the royal blood to grace the triumph of Cheetore". *Rajasthan*, p. 241.

27. It so happened that when a joint meeting of the Rajputs and Miān Husain's partisans was being held for mutual consultations, cries of "Rām, Rām" were suddenly heard from the Hindu camp near by. Those of the Hindus who were present in the meeting, also raised similar cries and the assembly broke up. Miān Husain immediately began to ponder over his own conduct and told his brother, Ṭāhā, that it was a pity that in his old age he should have become an ally of those against whom he had fought all his life. He added that he bore no ill will against Ibrāhīm, but only regretted that the latter had failed to appreciate the esteemed position which he and other old Amirs like him had enjoyed under Sultan Sikandar. See "Mushtāqī", MS p. 121.

release from captivity Sayyid Khan Yūsuf Khail and Fath Khan son of A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī.²⁸ Ibrāhīm, who was anxious to win back the Afghan deserters, immediately set free the two prisoners both of whom, after collecting their troops, went to meet Husain. Sayyid Khan, however, proved ungrateful to his benefactor and tried to win Rana Sanga's favour by speaking slightly of Miān Husain. When the Rana, carried away by Sayyid Khan's flattery, began to show indifference to Miān Husain and his brother, Tāhā, the Miān finally decided to part company with the Rajputs. In an open assembly he accused the Rana of bad faith²⁹ and marched off to rejoin Sultan Ibrāhīm's forces, taking with him Fath Khan and all the other nobles who had earlier deserted the Afghan army.³⁰ The Rana who was already upset by Ibrāhīm's arrival at the Kanbhir, was so alarmed at Husain's action in reuniting with the Sultan, that he beat a hasty retreat towards his own capital. Mushtāqī has described the manner of his withdrawal in the following words.³¹

Rānā az ānjā kih bar gardīd, chunān raft kih dera-yi-ū rā dihqā-nān ghārat kardand. Bāz pas nadīd, wa hēch khīmāh hamrāh naburd. wa dar auwal rūz bīst-o-do karoh raft. Sīsankh, nāib-i-Rānā, guft kih hēch ma'lūm namīshawad kih īn Miān Husain chih nau' ādmī ast. Bā dawīst sawār bā bādshāh-i-Dihlī mukhālfat kard, wa bāz hālā kih bā ū paivast, mā huftād hazār sawār chunān az khauf-i-ū gurīzān mīrawīm kih khabar az pusht nadārīm.

Sultan Ibrāhīm had assured Miān Husain of honourable treatment and had granted him the jagīr of Chanderi which the latter

28. They had been imprisoned by Ibrāhīm in pursuance of his policy to suppress the nobles.

29. To quote Mushtāqī, (MS p. 123).

Husain Rānā rā guft, mā shumā rā dīdīm wa āzmūdīm, kih ānchih ittīfāq-i-mā būd, bar ān namāndīd, wa az muwāfāt-i-mā bīrūn āmdīd. Mā rā khiyāl-i-shumā ma'lūm namīshawad. Harchih dar khātir-i-shumā bāshad, ān kunīd. Mā rā bahamrāhī-yi-shumā basar kardan muyassar namī āyad...

30. Sayyid Khan also accompanied them up to Dholpur where he was poisoned at Sultan Ibrāhīm's orders.

31. "Mushtāqī", MS p. 124.

had accepted only to be able to carry on his fight against Mewar. After some time, however, he went back on his assurance, and had Miān Ḥusain treacherously murdered.³² This was one of Ibrāhīm's worst follies, for, it not only deprived him of the services of a valiant fighter who was capable of successfully waging a war against the Rajputs but whose brutal murder also stirred other nobles to revolt. On the other hand, Rana Sanga was quick to take advantage of the consequent chaos that prevailed at Chanderi and marching at the head of 100,000 soldiers, defeated Ibrāhīm's supporters and annexed it.³³ He did not attack any other part of the Sultanate even though he was earnestly desirous of ousting the Afghans. Ultimately he sent an envoy to Kabul^{33a} and added his name to the list of those who had already asked for Bābur's help to overthrow Ibrāhīm. The Mughal conqueror, however, spared neither the Afghans nor the Rajputs, for, Panipat and Kanwa sealed the fate of both.

Bhatgorha

According to the Sanskrit source, "Virabhanudya Kavyam", Ghora or Bhatgorha (modern Rewa) was founded towards the end of the thirteenth century by Raringa Deva, successor of Bhima whose ancestry has not, however, been traced.³⁴ One of Bhima's descendants in the seventh generation was Rai Bhaidchandra, the

32. The foul deed was carried out by a group of Shaikhzādahs led by Shaikh Farīd of Daryābād who received from the Sultan a reward of 700 *Muhrs* (gold coin, equal to about 16 rupees) and ten villages.

33. *Babur-nama*, p. 593, "Mushtāqī", MS p. 128.

Bābur, after conquering Chanderi, restored it to Ahmad Shah son of that unfortunate Khaljī prince of Malwa, Sāhib Khan, who had sought refuge with Sikandar Lodī. Sikandar had sent him back to Chanderi with a large force, but had also deputed five of his Amirs to administer the territory in Sāhib Khan's name, while keeping him virtually interned. Ibrāhīm accorded him a similar treatment, but after his death expelled his young son. See B.N., p. 598, Muhammad Sharif Wuqū'ī, "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" (India Office), MS fol. 342b, "Zūdat al-Twārikh" (John Rylands Library, Manchester), MS fol. 201-2, (British Museum) MS fol. 179a, *Firishta*, II, 488, Ḥasan Khākī, "Muntakhab", fol. 142b.

33a. Probably late in 1525. See *Babur-nama*, p. 529.

34. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, XXI, 5, 12.

Abu'l Fadl has described Bhatgorha as a *Sarkar* in the province of Allahabad, *A'in-i-Akbarī*, Persian text (Calcutta, 1872), I, 430.

Baghela Raja³⁵ who ruled over Bhatgorha when Buhlul captured the throne of Delhi. He does not appear to have liked the advent of the Lodis, for, he preferred to espouse Husain Sharqi's cause against Buhlul.³⁶ After Sikandar's accession, he supported the Bachgoti rebels and arrested Mubarak Khan Nuhani, governor of Jaunpur, whom he afterwards released on the approach of the Lodi army.³⁷ Sikandar, however, led a punitive expedition against him in 1492, but when the army entered Kantit,³⁸ the Raja came forward to offer his allegiance. He was allowed to retain possession of Kantit, but when Sikandar proceeded towards Arail,³⁹ he became scared and suddenly fled, abandoning all his equipment and effects which the Sultan returned to him intact. Since the Raja did not take any steps to renew his allegiance during the next three years, the Sultan marched against him in 1495 and at Kharan

35. See the genealogy of the Baghelas in the *Memoirs A.S.I.*, XXI, 10.

Popular tradition derives the name Baghela either from Vyaghra, believed to be a son of Sidh Rai Jai Singh who ruled over Anhilwara from 1100 to 1150 and settled in Bhatgorha during the next twenty five years, or from the village Vyaghrapalli (the tiger's lair), situated about ten miles south-west of Anhilwara and held by Anak or Arnoraja, a descendant of Solanki Rajputs. See *Rewa Gazetteer* pp. 11-12, *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, 1/i, 198, I.G., II, 318, Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, IX, 113.

36. When Husain after a severe defeat, retreated towards Bhatgorha, the Raja helped him with money, troops and equipment and escorted him back to Jaunpur. See *Tab. Akb.*, I, 310.

37. The Bachgotis were a Rajput tribe, descended from the Mainpuri Chauhans, and were found mainly in the Aldimau, Chandah, and Gadwarah mahals of the Jaunpur Sarkar and also in the Jalalpur, Balkhar and Kathot mahals of the Manikpur Sarkar. See *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, I, 426-429, Sherring (M.A.) *Hindu tribes and castes as represented in Benaras* (London, 1872), p. 164, Elliot (H.M.), *Races of the N.W.P. of India*, ed. J. Beames (London, 1869), p. 47.

The leader of the Bachgotis was Jaga whom Sikandar pursued up to Jaund (modern Chainpur in Shahabad dist.) where he had taken refuge with Husain Sharqi, and from where the Sultan expelled him after capturing the fort. The name Jaga is not a misreading of Bajkoti, as Hodivala believes, but is the proper name which is mentioned in the "Dā'ūdī" as well as the earlier work of Mushtāqī on which 'Abdullah has frequently drawn.

38. A dependency of Bhatgorha, situated on the south-western bank of the Ganges in the Mirzapur district of U.P. According to Abu'l Fadl, it had a fort, built of stone. See *Ā'in*, Persian text, I, 425.

39. It was situated on the southern bank of the Ganges, opposite Allahabad, and should be distinguished from Argal on the Rinde in Pargana Kora. See *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, 8.

Ghati defeated his son, Bir Singh Deo,⁴⁰ whom he had sent to oppose the royal forces. The Raja fled towards Sarkaja,⁴¹ but died on the way. Sikandar turned round and went to Phaphund, but could not advance further on account of the scarcity of supplies and the exhaustion of his army.⁴²

On returning to Jaunpur, the Sultan found that a large number of his horses had died due to the strain of the long journey. This was welcome news for his opponents and Rai Lakhmichandra, another son of Bhaidchandra, together with some zamindars of Jaunpur, incited Husain Sharqī to take advantage of the Sultan's sudden weakness. However, when Sikandar marched against Husain, he sent Khān-i-Khānān to conciliate Raja Bhaid's eldest son and successor, Rai Salivahana, whose cooperation with the Lodīs led to the Sharqī monarch's final defeat.⁴³ Sikandar wished further to strengthen the bond of his friendship with Salivahana by proposing marriage with the latter's daughter, but the Rai's refusal again embittered their relations.⁴⁴ The Sultan attacked

40. Shastri has identified him as Virasimhadeva, son of Salivahana and grandson of Bhaidchandra, but Nizām al-Dīn who calls him Nār Singh, describes him as Bhaid's son. Ni'matullah supports the latter view but gives the name as Bīr Singh Deo which is further confirmed by Bābur.

According to I.G. (XXI, 281), Bīr Singh's son, Bīr Bhān, spent some time at Sikandar's court. M. Kabīr helps to establish the identity of Bīr Bhān whom he mentions as Rāmchandra's father, a description which agrees with that of "Virabhanudya Kavyam". See *Memoirs A.S.I.*, XXI, 13, *Tab. Akb.*, I, 318, "Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī", MS fol. 94a, *Babur-nama*, pp. 521, 562, 639, Muhammad Kabīr, "Afsāna-yi-Shāhān" (British Museum), MS fol. 25a.

41. Sarkaja or Sarguja is shown in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (I, 132) as part of the Allahabad province and an area known for the abundance of elephants. At the time of Bhaid's flight it actually lay in the territory of Malwa. Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī I had conquered it in 1440 and among the strange things which, according to his biographer, occurred there in that year, was the sudden but natural transformation of a mother of four children into a man who married again and begot four more children. See "Ma'āthir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī" (U.L. Tübingen), MS fol. 85a, 87b.

42. "Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī", MS fol. 94b.

Phaphund was situated about 20 miles north of Bandugarh, and about forty miles south of Rewa. It should not be taken for Bandugarh itself, as suggested by Hodivala in *S.I.H.*, I, 496. See also I.G., XXI, 281.

43. "Dā'ūdī, MS p. 45. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, I, 458.

44. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 321, *Firishta*, I, 334, "Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī", MS fol. 95b.

The "Virabhanudya Kavyam" has omitted any reference to the Sultan's proposal for marriage and Shastri observes that Sikandar was unlikely to have invited bloodshed on such petty excuses. It may, however, be noted that

Bhatgorha once more in 1498 and advanced as far as its capital, Bandugarh,⁴⁵ but finding it impossible to capture the fort which was believed to be the strongest in that territory, he returned to Jaunpur and made no further attempt to conquer Bhatgorha.

Dholpur, Mandrail, Utgir and Narwar

Dholpur, like Gwalior, occupied an equally important position. Sultan Buhlul passed through this territory in 1486 when he was marching towards Ranthambhor. The Raja accorded a friendly reception to the Sultan and presented a large quantity of gold to mark his submission.⁴⁶ The latter did not visit Dholpur again during the remaining three years of his reign. Sultan Sikandar maintained cordial relations with that state for about ten years, but at the end of the fifteenth century the new Raja, Vinayak Deo, appeared to have wavered in his loyalty and wished to bring his policy in line with that of Gwalior. Further the peace of the area around Dholpur and Gwalior was disturbed by the notorious activities of the dacoits, and Sikandar who was anxious to exercise more effective control over the southern part of his kingdom, decided to annex Dholpur. Early in 1501 he ordered an attack on its fort, but when his army met with tough resistance from the Raja's forces, he set out himself from Sambhal late in March of the same year. On his approach, Rai Vinayak Deo fled to Gwalior and the garrison, finding themselves helpless, abandoned the fort at midnight. The besieging army ransacked the town and destroyed the beautiful orchards that covered an area of seven miles.⁴⁷ At the end of the year, however, when Raja Man Singh of Gwalior renewed his allegiance to Sikandar, the latter, probably at the Raja's instance, reinstated Vinayak Deo at Dholpur. Unfortunately, Raja Man was not sincere in his professions of loyalty and within a few years, he assumed

the "Virabhanudya Kavyam" has, likewise, not mentioned a number of other events recorded by Muslim historians, in particular, Mubarak Khan Nuhani's arrest, the restoration of Kantit to Bhaid by Sikandar and Bhaid's subsequent flight. See *Memoirs A.S.I.*, XXI, 12, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, II.

45 For the precise location of Bandugarh, see *I.G.*, VI, 358-359. See also *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, 423, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, 6.

46. "Zubdat al-Twārikh" (J.R.L. Manchester), MS fol. 194, (U.L. Cambridge) MS fol. 54b. A brief account of Buhlul's attack on Alhanpur (Near Ranthambhor) will be found in *The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 141, 152-N. 9b.

47. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 324, *Firishta*, I, 336.

once more an attitude of positive hostility towards the Sultan. In order to prevent a closer alliance between Gwalior and Dholpur, Sikandar finally expelled Rai Vinayak Deo in 1505 and having annexed Dholpur, appointed Malik Qamr al-Dīn as his governor.

To isolate Gwalior and facilitate future operations against it, the Sultan gradually extended his control over the neighbouring principalities. In the same year in which he took possession of Dholpur, he led an attack on Mandrail⁴⁸ and captured the citadel. He inflicted severe punishment on the inhabitants, destroyed many temples⁴⁹ and ravaged the whole area up to the limits of Gwalior. Next year he attacked the fort of Utgir.⁵⁰ The Rajputs fought bravely from their roof-tops killing or burning their families, but the besiegers succeeded in entering the fort after making a breach in the wall. Sikandar was delighted with the victory and once more he ordered temples to be pulled down and mosques to be built.⁵¹ During their return from Utgir the Afghan army lost about 800 men and numerous animals because of the scarcity of water and the difficult terrain. After the rains had stopped, the Sultan marched towards Narwar⁵² where Jalāl Khan Lodī, governor of Kalpi, had already arrived to begin the siege. The garrison fought heroically and persistent attempts of the besiegers to breach the walls were frustrated by immediate repairs carried out from inside. The want of grain and water, however, ultimately forced them to capitulate and their request for safe passage was granted. Sikandar ordered fresh fortifications to be erected at Narwar as, in his view, if such a strong fort were to fall into

48. In Karauli, Rajputana. See I.G., XXVI, 36-E. 2, *Ā'in*, tr., II, 190.

49. The word *Kanā'is* used in *Tab. Akb.*, I, 325, and *Firishta*, I, 327, should be taken to mean Hindu temples in general, and not fire temples as suggested by Elliot. See *Hodivala*, I, 497, XX.

50. Also called Uditnagar, Ontgir, Untgar, Awantgarh, Hawantgarh Himmatgarh.

It is situated about 28 miles south-west of Karauli town, between Narwar and Gwalior. See A.S.I.R., II, 328-330.

51. According to Nizām al-Dīn, Rai Dongar of Uditnagar embraced Islam and had probably been re-instated by 1509, for, in that year Miān Sulaimān was ordered to hasten to his help. He appeared to have become unpopular with his subjects on account of his conversion. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 328.

52. According to *Firishta* (I, 339) and Nihāwandī (*M.R.*, I, 468), Narwar was at that time a dependency of Malwa, but the fort had been taken possession of by the Hindus. The I.G. (XVIII, 396), however, states that it had been held by the Tonwar Rajputs until 1507 when it fell to Sikandar.

an enemy's hands, it would be difficult to recover.⁵³ He also arranged for the settlement of numerous scholars and learned men who were assigned to the newly opened schools^{53a} and mosques, some of which had been built at the sites of demolished temples.⁵⁴ Leaving Narwar early in 1509, the Sultan spent about a month at Lahair⁵⁵ and before returning to Agra, subdued the rebels of Hatkant⁵⁶ and set up a number of police posts in the area to keep peace.

53. The city of Narwar was strongly walled and the fort, according to Tieffenthaler, was built to a great height, being reached by 300 steps. See the sketch map in *De l'Inde* (Berlin, 1786), I, 174-175.

The I.G. further states that Sikandar, after conquering Narwar, restored it to Raj Singh Kachwāha. This is not confirmed by Muslim writers whose account, however, shows that Sikandar had friendly relations with the Kachwāha Rajputs as he included Jagar Sen Kachwāha among the group of nobles who were sent to take over the administration of Chanderi. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 332, *Firishta*, I, 341. See also N. 33 above.

53a. For the encouragement of education and the general progress of culture under Sikandar see the writer's article on "Indian culture in the Late Sultanate Period" in the *East and West*, N.S. XII/i, 1961.

54. The destruction of temples at Narwar was not so widespread as is generally believed, for Ab'l Faql has recorded the existence, in his own time, of ancient Hindu temples of stone in certain parts of the fort itself. See *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Persian text, I, 450.

55. Modern Lahar, about 50 miles south-east of Gwalior. It was here that Sikandar conferred the fief of Kalpi on his second son, Prince Jalāl, who met him in the company of Ni'mat Khātūn, widow of Quṭb Khan Lodī, and the prince's foster mother. *Firishta*, I, 340. See also N. 13 above.

56. It is an old name for the Bhadauriya country, north-east of Gwalior. Abu'l Faql has mentioned it as a *mahal* in the *Agra Sarkar*. *Ā'in*, I, 444.

Reviews

STEAMBOATS ON THE GANGES: An exploration of the history of India's modernization through Science and Technology. Henry T. Bernstein. Orient Longmans (Private) Ltd., 1960. Pages xvi and 239. Rs. 15/-.

The sub title of the book is a fair indication of what the author sets out to do in this compact and well produced volume. The author is a scientist turned historian to work on this theme and earn a doctorate while working as a teaching assistant in the History Department of Yale in 1956. He spent ten months in India in 1953-4 and is now engaged in California in further studies in natural history. He does not read in any Indian Language and his work stops with 1840 (because beyond that point the manuscript records of the Bengal steam department were no longer available at the India Office Library and in all probability were destroyed long ago). The author hopes, by his work, to illustrate 'the pleasures and practical utility of historical studies of India's modernization'—a word he uses deliberately in preference to Westernization. He seeks also 'to illustrate the large trends by focussing on smaller details' and limits the field of exploration to Bengal and the Ganges valley between 1819 and 1840. The first step in the move was taken at Lucknow by the Nawab of Oudh, Ghazi-ud-din Haider in 1819, when he got an English man to construct for him a fifty foot craft powered by an engine brought from Europe.

A pioneering voyage in 1828 led the East India Company to launch a regular line of Government steamers from Calcutta to Allahabad in the 1830's for various economic and political reasons. The book not only gives an account of first man who made a success of this laborious and hazardous enterprise, but reflects the social relations among Europeans, Eurasians, Hindus and Muslims who, early in the nineteenth century, were helping to change Indian Society by introducing new knowledge of nature and new technical devices. It also attempts to identify the branches of science and technology taking root in India at the time. The author suggests that further exploration of India's experience with modern science and technology—the Ganges steamers are but one

example—might contribute in a valuable way not only to India's planning but that of other countries seeking to modernize themselves likewise. Though it does not make easy or smooth reading, the book is full of significant reflections at every step from one who has taken a genuine and friendly interest in the economy of the developing countries of the World.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND MYSORE (1762-1790): by J. Van Lohuizen, Ph.D. *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal, Land-, en Volken Kunde*. Deel. xxxi 'S. Gravenhage-Martinus Nijhoff, 1961, pages viii and 205. Two maps.

This careful and well documented study of the relations between the Dutch East India Company and Mysore under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan is based on a more complete use of the Dutch sources than that of earlier writers, and particularly of the manuscript records kept in the General State Archives at the Hague. The author does not in any way exaggerate the importance of the subject of his study and says at the outset: 'As the influence of the Company in South India never reached far inland and as Mysore at no time had expanded to the coasts where the Dutch had their settlements, there had not been much contact so far' i.e. till 1743.

In fact Dutch relations with Mysore developed out of their connection with Travancore, and their policy was to protect Travancore from a Mysorean attack and preserve intact their ties with Travancore. But after all, India was only a subsidiary interest of the Dutch whose main preoccupation was with the East Indies. Malabar was indeed an unremunerative asset, and its value as a victualling station for the Company's vessels sailing from Batavia to Morcha and as an outpost to protect Ceylon did not altogether prevent the adumbration of proposals to abandon Malabar; at any rate Dutch policy was negative and lacked a positive side. And when the British and French entered the field and sought serious control of the politics and trade of the region, the Dutch were outclassed. And Mysore itself was no small power and the Dutch did not find it easy to stand up to it.

Haidar was looked upon at first as an esteemed potentially, then as a neighbour who should be appeased, then as an aggressor, and finally as a confederate whom one had to accept by stress of circumstances. Tipu was at first friendly but soon turned into a trouble maker whose sole merit was his opposition to growing British supremacy. Dr. Van Lohuizen has done his best to bring out clearly the significant though modest part played by the Dutch in the historical evolution of both Travancore and Mysore.

There are three appendixes on the origin of the Nair Rebellion of 1766. The conquests of Coorg and Calicut in 1773-4 (by Mysore), and The Mysorean—Dutch agreement of 1781 (Text). There is a good classified Bibliography and a serviceable index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

WORLD HISTORY: OUR HERITAGE. M. Mujeeb. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960. Pages 344, Rs. 14/-.

Prof. Mujeeb graduated in the Honours School of Modern History at Oxford in 1922 and then spent some years in Germany. When he returned to India in 1926 he joined the Jamia Millia as Professor of History and Politics, and has been its Vice-Chancellor since 1948. He is a versatile writer in Urdu and English whose writings include some well studied historical plays in Urdu which he has also translated in English. In the work under review its significant sub-title, he has sought to adopt the standpoint that it is not the history of one's own country alone, but the history of the whole world that is one's heritage. The book is meant both for scholars and the general reader. 'Its purpose', says Mujeeb 'is not so much to inform as to provoke thought. It is not a narration of events, but a series of judgements that should be considered, and then accepted or rejected'. This is not a text book in the usual sense, but is calculated to create interest in the problems of human life and act as an incentive to further and more detailed study.

Prof. Mujeeb does not adopt the narrative form which would have swelled the size of his book, but groups relevant facts relating to each of the eleven broad chronological divisions he adopts under three heads: Skill, Organization and Belief, and brings out the most important features of civilization in these periods. By

J. 16

belief he does not mean only religious belief, and indicates the scope of his concept by pointing out that, in his view, belief in our own times would include democracy, the welfare state, dialectic materialism, pragmatism, institutional and personal religion, human rights and the equality of the sexes, ideas in regard to the significance of literature, art and science, ahimsa and Panch Sheela, and all these spiritual and moral influences, defined or indefinable, which mould or direct or explain human action and behaviour. Mujeeb has produced a very instructive, if somewhat unusual, account of the progress of the world's cultures which deserves to be read and pondered by all serious students of human affairs.

'The Indus Valley civilisation seems to have disappeared entirely' (p. 42) unlike the Sumerian which merged into the Babylonian to main the traditions of civilized life; this judgement differs much from the usual view. Mujeeb talks of 'the Iron Pillar' apparently of Mehrauli being made in 86 B.C., (p. 117)—a date no one has assigned to the pillar. How at Khwarizm's work (c. 825 A.D.) with its nine numerals and zero can be 'epoch-making' (p. 143) when these had come into use in India already in the sixth century (p. 141) is hard to see. Vijayanagar was founded in 1336 A.D. and not 'late in the fourteenth century' (p. 149). 'The fires lit in 1857', writes Mujeeb 'smouldered here and there for over twenty years, and in 1885 an outlet for the expression of public opinion was created by the establishment of the Indian National Congress' (p. 249); here he seems to succumb to the fashionable, but erroneous, tendency to date the beginning of the Indian Freedom Movement from 1857; the 'Mutiny' had nothing in common with the 'Congress'; the former was the last kick of a dying past, the latter the dawn of a new day.

There is a serviceable bibliography and a good Index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA, Vol. I.

By Tarachand. Foreword by Dr. Humayun Kabir. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Jan. 26, 1961, pp. xvi and 400. Price Rs. 15.50.

The commonly accepted rule of modern historical writing is that it should stop at a convenient point at least some decades before the time of writing, to enable the historian to see events

in their proper perspective and also to get a fairly comprehensive command of the 'sources' and to gain freedom from the pressures of current politics. But here in India, almost from the day Britain withdrew in 1947, there were many to set up a vociferous demand for the immediate writing of the history of the freedom movement, and we have witnessed even angry disputes about priority in this matter. The Indian History Congress, the only All-India organization of professional historians, was among the first to voice the demand for the History of Freedom Movement being written, though it attained no conspicuous success either then or subsequently in its more legitimate plan of a Comprehensive History of India of which only one volume, volume two, was published in 1957, the rest of the project being consigned to oblivion. The Government of India succumbed to these demands and sponsored the project which has had a chequered career. As a member of one of the Government committees which functioned for three years or so from 1953, the present reviewer often had occasion to feel how unsatisfactory were the results of forcing the pace in a matter like this, and the draft of the first volume that was produced by the then editor did nothing to assuage the feeling, but a lot to intensify it. No wonder the committee was dissolved. But that did not mean the dropping of the project, but its pursuit along other lines. Under the inspiration of the short lived Central Committee, the states got busy gathering material for the study of the movement within their respective territorial limits; some have produced half finished histories, others have published useful collections of source material, and yet others are still at work each in its own way. But all furnished to the National Archives, which took over from the Central Committee, copies of all the material they brought together from time to time. Dr. Tara Chand who had been Chairman of the Planning Committee at an earlier stage was entrusted with the task of sifting the material and preparing a unified history of the Indian freedom movement'.

All historical writing is necessarily subjective to some extent, and Humayun Kabir's statement that Dr. Tara Chand's 'analysis and opinion are his alone' must be taken to mean that the government which sponsors the effort is in no way responsible for them. Kabir also says that the first volume 'deals with the social political, cultural and economic conditions of India in the eighteenth century against the background of the historical processes that had in earlier times shaped the life and history of the Indian

people. It also gives an overall picture of the developments which ushered in the modern age in Europe in order to make it easier for us to 'understand the impact of the new dynamism of the west on the comparatively static Indian society'. This gives, on the whole, a better idea of the contents of the volume than Tara Chand's own explanation of the plan of his work. 'The history of Freedom' affirms Dr. Tara Chand, 'is a dialectic process. Its first step was antithetical in so far as it amounted to the destruction of the old order. This is the argument of the process which started in the middle of the eighteenth century and culminated in the revolt of 1857. The second step is the emergence of a new order which gradually gathers momentum during the half century after 1857. The third step is one of conflict and synthesis of the spirit of the old order and the new, of the East and the West, and the coming into the world of a new individual the Indian nation State. I have treated this dialectical theme in three volumes, of which this first one deals with the first term of argument'. At least in the opinion of one reader of the book, it has gained little, and perhaps lost considerably, by its affecting the Heget-Márx pattern of thought, and its dependence on citations from Marx's propagandist notes on British rule in India in the later stages of the book should have been avoided.

Both Kabir and Tara Chand speak of two centuries of foreign domination in India; this is apparently to be understood as emphasizing the theme of the book as a whole viz. the attainment of freedom from British rule in modern India, and not as calculated to deny the Himalayan fact of India having fallen under foreign domination virtually since 1200, though there were some areas which remained free and other putting up struggles against the foreign rule. In the opening pages of his work Tara Chand indeed seeks to distinguish the nature of the British and Muslim conquest—the former an alien people whose homeland lay at a distance of several thousand miles from India', but the latter though continuing to adhere to their religion and culture, 'chose to stay permanently in this country, broke with their foreign moorings, and cast their lot with the Indian people'. 'India was enriched by the addition of a new religion to her repertory of faiths' and there was much mental give and take in social life and the arts. This is one side of the picture, but obviously not the whole of it; if it were, there need have been no Muslim league and no Pakistan,

and indeed the curious reader will await with interest Tara Chand's estimate of Pakistan and its background in the Freedom Movement as he understands it. But the attempt to treat Muslim rule in India as an incident of internal history with few of the characteristics of foreign colonial rule is not without its interest, and puts many familiar things in a new light. It derives a good deal of its plausibility from the continuity of Indian culture represented by typical institutions like village, caste, guild and so on that cover a considerable area of Indian polity. It has also meant a studied playing down of the religious antagonisms that found expression in large scale demolition of temples and erection of mosques with their spoils. But even so, some brute facts keep batting in, and the part of Muslim rule in splitting the country and weakening it cannot be disowned.

Speaking of Brahmana Pandits and the Ulema for instance Tara Chand writes: 'unfortunately the two groups lived in almost complete isolation from one another. Religion, language, customs and general conditions prevented mutual intercourse. They formed two worlds apart. They were divided by impenetrable mental walls, occasionally a Zani-ul-Abidin, an Akbar or a Dara Shukoh might seek to pull them down; sometimes a Muslim Darwesh and a Hindu Yogi might meet and exchange views; otherwise the gulf between the sacerdotal groups of two communities remained wide' (147), and these groups were the leaders of the respective communities. Again, 'Aurangzeb has been rightly blamed for his bigoted religious policy, which was politically unwise, and from the religious point of view unjustified. It did much damage. Religious fanaticism widened the gulf between the Hindu and the Muslim higher classes, reopened the wounds which Akbar's policy had tended to heal, and reminded the Hindus that they were citizens of an inferior status' (155). 'But', adds Tara Chand, 'it is an exaggeration to say that it provoked a general movement against the Mughal empire or that it provided inspiration for uprising against Muslim rule', a somewhat strange opinion which he proceeds to establish in his own way by 'an analysis of the risings of the times'. While agreeing with some necessary correctives to prevalent 'patriotic' exaggerations on the Hindu side, some readers may still fail to see the validity of the main proposition advanced. Again, Shaik Ahmad Sarhindi 'was fiercely hostile towards the Hindus, when he regarded as infidels, and

considered nothing more pleasing to God than their humiliation and disgrace. He looked upon 'the realization of the poll tax (Jazia) as a means of heaping contumely and scorn upon the infidels'. (203). One more extract along this line. 'The movement initiated by Akbar reached its culmination in Dara Shukoh. But it failed to capture the Muslim mind. The ideas of Akbar were far too much in advance of the opinion of the times. They produced a reaction of which Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi was the strongest exponent. Aurangzeb followed him' (205) with disastrous results all round.

So it is clear that Tara Chand is not unaware of the shortcomings of the Islamic rulers of India and their share in paving the way for the British conquest of India. He has, however, sought to bring a fresh outlook to bear on our social and political evolution through the centuries, and the serious minded reader will be grateful for much clear and forceful writing on even familiar subjects and so too he will see that the many excursions into historical parallels from Europe are not without their own value. At the same time, he lays down the book with the feeling that this is too long an introduction for a three volume project; he also misses any indication of the main lines of thought sought to be developed in the sequel. The prolegomena would have been better confined to half the volume or less and followed by a general survey of the Freedom movement and its main phases, and a brief study of 1857. The last two chapters on the Social and Economic consequences of British Rule cannot be said to be on a par with the rest of the book. Possibly there was some hurrying at the end to reach a target date, one does not know.

Two serious mistakes have been corrected in a slip 'errata' preceding the Index. But still, one comes across statements which may not be accepted as they stand. Is it true to say that developments similar to the growth of urbanization in Europe did not occur in India till the beginning of the nineteenth century? (25). We read of the West: 'the most important result of commercial development was the rise of the freedom movement in the towns' (p. 28); to use the phrase 'freedom movement' in this context is, it seems, altogether to miss the very real difference between the freedoms or liberties of the Middle Ages and the modern concept of Freedom which is essentially a growth of the nineteenth century and was practically unknown before American Independence and

the French Revolution. One wonders what warrant there is for the statement: *bhakti* (love) was reserved for the higher caste and *prapatti* (surrender) for the lower (98); the distinction that Tara Chand makes between Brahman teachers and those of other castes is in fact unknown to Vaishnava theory—and also to a considerable extent in practice. In p. 214 an 'of' is missing between the words 'treatises' and '*Raghunandana*', and the whole sentence is a little unhappy in its italicizing the names of authors and works alike. The date when Midelleton held up the traffic between Gujarat and the Red Sea to put pressure upon the local Mughal Governor is given as 1617 and 1611 within a few lines of each other on p. 236, the latter being the correct date. Should '*raison d'etre*' on p. 280 be '*raison d'etat*'?.

Dr. Tara Chand has undertaken a difficult task, and his plan has involved his concentrating his attention in this volume on the eighteenth century, perhaps the worst in all the long history of our country. The story is dominantly one of blunder and decay, and the author who has pronounced views has not hesitated to set them forth freely and fully; he has often had to discuss subtle intangible factors the evaluation of which could seldom be unanimous. It may be that in his reaction against some current prejudices, the author has allowed himself to go a little too far, but on the whole he has done his work in the given conditions in a competent and conscientious manner; and we wish him success in the rest of it.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

AN OUTLINE OF CZECHOSLOVAK HISTORY by František Kavka, Ph.D., Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University, Orbis, Prague, 1960, pages 179. Illustrations, Maps, Guide to the pronunciation of proper names in Czech. Price 10 Kčs.

LESSON FROM HISTORY: Documents concerning Nazi policies for Germanisation and extermination in Czechoslovakia. Compiled with introduction and notes by Dr. Václav Král. Documents assembled by Dr. Karl Fremund and Dr. Václav Král. Institute for International Politics and Economics, Prague;

Historical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science, Prague. Orbis—Prague, 1961, pages 174. Price kcs. 8-

Both these books are very readable English translations of Czech and German originals which provide interesting peeps into the history and some recent occurrences in Czechoslovakia. The first book is an outline of the history and culture of the Country from pre-historic times to our own, written by a Professor of Philosophy. The eleven chapters of the work are remarkable for their sense of proportion and vividness. The narrative becomes more specific and somewhat detailed as we reach modern times, particularly the inter-war period and the aftermath of the second World War. There is no communist jargon anywhere in the book, but the point of view from which it has been written may be seen clearly from the two following extracts: 'The policy of concessions to Hitler Germany, carried out by Great Britain and France, had one central aim—to drive Germany into war with Soviet Union' (p. 136). 'Fears of the constantly strengthening position of Germany and its partners (in Dec. 1941) were stronger than the opposition to a socialist regime in the Soviet Union' (p. 138). On page 152 the word 'supplement' is used where 'supplant' is meant—the only instance the reviewer has noted of a flaw in English in this book. Its 36 illustrations and seven maps are excellent aids to the understanding of the history and culture of this enterprising little country of Central Europe.

The other book is a collection of 32 documents (1938-45) in extenso ably introduced, translated and annotated; they throw a lurid light which reveals in full detail the real aim of Nazi policy in Czechoslovakia: 'this aim has always been the complete domination of the country by German imperialism, the complete destruction of Czech national extreme and the complete Germanisation of this Slav Country' (p. 20). That this is no exaggeration but a precise statement of the case becomes abundantly clear from the documents themselves. Why this horror story is now recalled and what lesson from history the editor has in view is perhaps best stated in his own words: 'After all that happened in Czechoslovakia during the years of the second World War, the Czechoslovak people cannot remain passive in face of the growing revanchist movement in Western Germany, whose most typical representative is the Sudeten German Association of Fellow Countrymen. Henlein's and Frank's former collaborators and present

successors like Leo Schubert, Franz Karmasin, Paul Illing, Walter Becher, Walter Brand, Theo Keil, Fritz Köllner, Konstantin Höss, Ernst Frank, Franz Böhm, Rudolf Staffen and a number of others who are active in the leadership of the revanchist movement of transferred Sudeten Germans, have not relinquished their old aims. To remind all honest-minded democrats throughout the world of these aims in their new garb is the purpose of the present publication.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT (1761) BY KASIRAJ: Persian Text and translation by Dr. B. M. Gai, M.A., Ph.D. Razm-i Isha'at, Ismail Yusuf College, Jogesvari, Bombay-60, 1961. Pages xx, 39, 42. Price Rs. 2.50.

Kasiraj's account of the third battle of Panipat has been used by all historians of India, and forms one of the best known 'sources'. Sri Jadunath Sarkar thought highly of it and Shejwalkar has perhaps rated it unduly low. The account was written from memory, some nineteen years after the event, without any aid from diaries or records, and has all the merits of an eyewitness's account and shortcomings of a picture drawn from memory, which, as every one knows, often plays strange tricks. Again, as Prof. Mrs. Parekh points out in the introduction citing Shejwalkar: 'It appears to have been purposely written for some one inquisitive on the point, possibly a British official at Oudh court....when he wrote his account he was almost seventy, an age when the mental faculties are on the decline'.

The text and translation now published follow the Rampur manuscript which differs somewhat from the manuscripts used by the earlier translators Brown and Sarkar. There is no attempt to present a critical text or any apparatus, though this is the first accurate and complete translation of the work. There are unfortunately many misprints, but most of these have been corrected in Errata. The book is priced reasonably low, but there would be many prepared to pay rather more to get a better produced book to handle. The Bazam-i-Isha'at is not earning credit to

J. 17

itself or to Indian publishing industry in general by putting forth such ill-made books.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF GANDHIJI RELATING TO BIHAR, FROM 1917 TO 1947: Edited with an Introduction by Dr. K. K. Datta, Principal, Patna College, Published by the Government of Bihar, March 1960. Pages x, iv, 341. Price Rs. 12/-.

About four years back Dr. Datta produced a three volume history of the Freedom Movement in Bihar. In this volume he has carefully edited the writings and speeches of Mahātmā Gandhi relating to Bihar from 1917 to 1947, collecting them with considerable industry from different sources. The limits chosen are obviously significant—1917 witnessing Gandhi's historic mission to the indigo plantations of Champaran which constituted the first striking success in India of the technique of Satyagraha he had developed during the South African phase of his experiments with Truth in the service of Humanity; in thirty years from then India under his stalwart leadership, aided indeed by world forces of a formidable nature, attained her freedom. Bihar has played a notable part in this achievement and its 'Rajen Babu' became, appropriately enough, the President of the Constituent Assembly which framed the Constitution and also the First President of the New Republic. Bihar and Gandhi were dear to each other and Datta has done well to produce, under the aegis of his Government, this well arranged permanent record of the three fine decades of their mutual reactions.

The Introduction of seventy pages contains a succinct narrative of the different stages in the activities of Gandhi in and for Bihar and provides the necessary back-ground for the proper appreciation of the selections from various sources presented in the rest of the book, under seven sections. There are 18 well chosen illustrations, a glossary (3 pages), and a serviceable index (330-41). Dr. Datta and the Government of Bihar have earned the gratitude not only of all Biharis but of the rest of India as well, if not the world, by this precious production.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE HERITAGE OF THE LAST ARHAT OR LORD MAHAVIRA: the message of Jainism by Dr. Charlotte Krause (Leipzig), adaptation by Balchandra M. Parikh, M.A., Published by Sri Chimanlal Kothari, Madras, August 1960. Pages viii and 39.

This is a simplified version of a lecture delivered by Dr. Krause in 1929 under the presidency of the late T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, then Advocate-General. It constitutes a lucid exposition of the ideals of conduct, individual and social, which laymen and monks among Jains held before them and practised to the best possible extent and the practical purpose of the lecture and its relation to the current world situation are best expressed in the last paragraph of the booklet: 'I have been often asked as to what I think to be the merit of Jainism as a practical religion. I have, therefore, tried to give a short answer today, which the general public might be able and willing to follow. At first sight it might appear to be a one-sided answer, because it is based solely on the problem of the mutual relations of the individual and the society. Still, this problem is one of vital importance and, as I said before, is the very touchstone by which the value of a religion can be objectively assessed. Hence it would not be too much to say, as I conclude, that this exposition may well stand as a kind of introduction into the spirit of Jainism.'

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

✓ FRESH LIGHT ON KĀLIDĀSA'S MEHADŪTA, by V. K. Paranjape. Kalidasa Samshodhan Mandal, Poona. Pages xvi and 302. Price Rs. 12.50 or Sh. 19/-.

Though no date of publication appears on the title page, V. K. Paranjape's note of acknowledgement is dated 31st July 1960. The geography of the cloud messenger's route described in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, in particular, the identity of Rāmagiri whence the cloud starts his journey has long been a vexed question, and till recently there was some consensus that it should be identified with Ramtek near Nagpur. Mr. Paranjape elaborately re-examined the question, and in his Foreword, Dr. A. D. Pusalkar thus neatly summarizes the conclusions of Paranjape. 'The object of the author in writing this book', he says, 'is to establish (i) the identity of Kālidāsa's Rāmagiri with Rāmgarh in Madhya Pradesh;

(ii) the Rāma story as the main source of Kālidāsa for his *Meghadūta* and his heavy indebtedness to Vālmīki in several particulars; and (iii) the location of Panchavaṭī and Citrakūṭa respectively at Bhadrachalam near Rajahmundry and the south-eastern part of the present Madhya Pradesh.' He has also advanced certain interesting suggestions regarding the date and provenance of Kālidāsa. His plea for a first century B.C. date for Kālidāsa, like some other details, may not command easy acceptance. But there can be no doubt that Mr. Paranjape has produced a shrewd and thorough study of the questions he discusses and deserves to be congratulated in his work.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

A SURVEY OF ISLAMIC CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS

by K. D. Bhargava, Director, National Archives, New Delhi.
Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1961, pp. viii and 280, price Rs. 10/-.

'This book', says the author, 'aims at a popular exposition of the main currents of culture which have moulded the mind and heart of Muslims Important aspects of Islamic culture have been included in the book and copious illustrations from the classics have been given to convey to the reader some idea of the wealth of the materials available.' We may say at once that this object has been achieved to a remarkable degree.

The first draft of the book was made, years ago, in collaboration with the late Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, and has now been revised and brought up-to-date. The book in the main deals with Islamic culture in general and gives one chapter, the last, to Muslim culture in India. It has been written quite obviously by one who loves and admires the cultural achievements of Islam in different fields like polity, society, religion, philosophy, the arts and sciences besides industry and commerce, and is anxious that this fact should be grasped clearly by the average educated person. Even the omission of all mention of Aurangazeb in the chapter on Muslim culture in India is perhaps to be traced to this more or less propaganda motive. But there is much authentic and solid information on Islamic culture and institutions.

The author is widely read and often cites telling quotations from standard authors French, German, and English, besides Arabic

and Persian sources, to enforce his arguments. He is generally convincing so far as he goes, but one sometimes gets the feeling that one is not getting the whole picture into view. Sometimes the writing is repetitious as for instance in the treatment of the quarrel between Turkey and Russia under Salim I and Shah Ismail (127-33). The author also often cites dates in the Hejira era without giving their equivalents in the Christian era.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

✓ THE NATIONAL CULTURE OF INDIA by S. Abid Husain.
Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961, pp. xiv and 237, price Rs. 15/-.

The author of this book who had his education at Allahabad, Oxford and Berlin was a Professor of Philosophy in the Jamia Milla of Delhi founded by the distinguished nationalist, Hakim Ajmal Khan and run for a long time by that other great nationalist Dr. M. A. Angari. The author was also connected with the Hindustan Talimi Sangh and with various educational projects of the Aligarh University. He was a member of the Official Language Commission and is now Literary Adviser to the All India Radio. The President of India awarded him a Padma Bhushan in 1957.

We mention these particulars of the author's career to draw attention to the quality and variety of experience that lie behind the writing of this book which, it seems to us, is the best attempt so far made by a Muslim scholar to understand and interpret the cultural problem of India. It will perhaps be not wholly inaccurate to say that the militancy of Islam in the cultural sphere and the general dynamism of its poselyzing activity have, in India at any rate, served to keep the Muslim intellegentsia rather aloof from the country's main cultural stream. The Muslim masses—the bulk of them converts from the most backward sections of the native people of India have also been, rather aloof culturally speaking, though this aloofness is perhaps attributable as much to their relative lack of interest in culture as to a fear conscious or unconscious—not unintelligible in the circumstances of the case—of forfeiting their prospects of salvation by too close an intermingling with the religious and social life of the Kaffirs.' This work by Dr. Abid Husain is therefore very welcome indeed. The book was originally written in Urdu in three volumes and

was subsequently republished in a short English version in 1956. That it has run into a second edition is a welcome evidence of the presence in some degree in its author of that breadth of view, that freedom from fanatic loyalties and militant exclusiveness and that intellectual objectivity and imaginative sensibility which alone are consistent not merely with culture but with its study and exposition. This is the more welcome in these days when there is growing evidence of the recrudescence of that incult Muslim communal fanaticism which led, thanks to unscrupulous exploitation and encouragement of it by the British into such a formidable disruptive force that it broke up the political unity of India.

The author recognizes that Indian's cultural history of several thousand years shows that a subtle and strong thread of unity runs through the bewildering multiplicity of her life. This was, as he realizes not the work of power groups but of the cision of the great sages and seers of India and of her poets and philosophers. Those master-spirits whose faith in Indian unity brought it about have doubtless a continuing influence that will long sustain it. What threatens this unity is a perversion of forces which, rightly directed could make it a great guardian not merely of India's peace and progress but of the world's.

Mr. Abid Husain is refreshingly frank in his recognition of the underlying causes of the disastrous transformation that came over the Muslim League under Jinnah's leadership. For though 'Pakistan' has been won through force and fraud, it remains a curiously backward country, exploited by its ruling class in alliance with foreign powers. Its toiling masses have known no real freedom of any kind. Though the so-called "free" world hails Pakistan as a democracy, the Pakistan masses have never had a taste either of liberty or of well being and certainly none of democracy, Islamic or other'. Pakistan is today a western military base and its martial classes are just cannon fodder in readiness for being offered up in whatever shooting war may break out between the West and Soviet Russia. Of cultural or economic individuality which Jinnah trumped up as the figleaf covering his megalomaniac variety and frustration, there remains not the faintest trace. Even so Mr. Abid Husain seeks to place some of the blame for the petition and the cultural break up which led to it on the Congress which he says, on p. 162, became tinged with both conservatism and communalism after office acceptance under the Government

of India Act of 1935. He offers no evidence whatever of this and he fails to mention the fact that the Congress Ministries, on assuming office, freely and voluntarily authorized the European Governors of the Congress-run provinces to exercise to the full their special responsibilities for the protection of minorities and that Dr. Rajendra Prasad then president of the Congress offered to have an impartial judicial inquiry into the alleged oppression of Muslims by Congress governments. But Mr. Jinnah's appetite for power had been sharpened by close observation during his period of political hibernatism in Europe, of the Nazi techniques of political disruption and political aggression. Wartime expedencies emptied the British government's Indian policy of the faintest element of common political honesty. But it is only fair to add that Mr. Abid Husain recognizes that the unscrupulous way in which they (i.e. Jinnah and the Muslim League) exploited the cultural issue and the gullibility which Muslims, specially in the provinces in which they were in a minority, showed have scarcely a parallel in the political history of nations. It is in the face of this candid admission that one is distressed to find Mr. Abid Husain saying that the cultural pattern which is now being evolved in India, as symbolized in the National language, seeks to reject the contribution which the Muslims have made to Indian culture.

On the question of cultural integration in the current context of fissiparous forces of linguism casteism, Mr. Abid Husain has nothing that is concrete or new to offer. He realizes—as is only proper—that a balance must be struck between the old and the new, between the static and dynamic elements in the culture complex of India. It is perhaps difficult to say how this can be done. That is the task that faces the top leadership of the country today. In respect of a book which is generally so sound and sane in its approach, one is disinclined to indulge in finding small faults. But one cannot ignore those noted on some pages. We find (1) Brahma confused with Brahman on p. 42 and on other pages too, (2) The *Taittiriya Upanishad* appears throughout as *Tatriya Upanishad* (3) The long quotation on p. 44 of the parable of the chariot and the soul is set forth without mentioning its sources, viz., the *Katha Upanishad*. (4) On p. 60 there is a long passage quoted without indication of the source. Such long quotations from sources not specified are not desirable in a work of scholarship.

S. R.

LECTURES ON BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM by Dr. Radha-govinda Basak (Published by the Sambodhi Publications Private Ltd., Calcutta), pp. 1-130 with an Index.

This book contains seven lectures on the life and teachings of Buddha, the life of Buddha as depicted by Aśvaghōṣa. Buddha, the conqueror of Māra, the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, some aspects of Buddhism as in the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, Buddhist Emperor Asoka's liberality, and the interrelation between Brahmanism and Buddhism. I think these lectures are meant for students only. The author's statements are mostly not documented and in places scrappy. They are far from being scholarly. In the first lecture he has referred to some heretical teachers. The theory of non-causation or chance is ascribed to Makkhali Gosāla in the *Sāmaññaphala* sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, but the incompatibility of such a theory with the general trend of Gosāla's thought needs some explanation. The author has not made this point clear. As regards Ajita Kesakambalī the author ought to have said that the way for Mahāvīra and Buddha was prepared by Ajitakesakambalī, the negative side of whose philosophy is more prominent than its positive side. In its negative side his philosophy was employed to demolish the whole ground of the Brahmanic faith and ceremonial works, as already pointed out by the author. But he is totally silent on the positive side of his philosophy. Ajita rendered a great service to Indian philosophy by the positive side of his philosophy, which was directed against the dualistic or pluralistic theory of Pakudha Kaccāyana. What Ajita really contemplated was not to identify body with soul or matter with spirit, but to point out that a particular object of experience must be somehow viewed as an indivisible whole (*Sūtrakritāṅga*, 2.1. 15-17). Mahāvīra and Buddha were right in supposing Ajita's doctrine to be a doctrine of non-action because Ajita destroyed the ultimate ground of moral distinction by denying the possibility of personal continuity and thus deprived life of its zest, as shown by me elsewhere with full details. The author ought to have discussed the point whether Sañjaya Belatthiputta was the same person as Sañjaya the wanderer. Prof. Jacobi has identified the two names. I have discussed this point in my *Buddhistic Studies*.

The author has said nothing about the Buddha's discussions with the *paribbājakas* or wanderers from early Buddhist texts.

About the Buddha's influence on ancient Indian kings (e.g., Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, Pasenadi, Udena and Caṇḍapajjota) the author is absolutely silent. This is an important topic in connection with the biography of the Buddha, which should attract the attention of all scholars interested in Buddhism. Buddha's contact with some women of his time and their conversion by him has not been dealt with in this book.

All that the Buddha taught or promulgated for the attainment of Buddhahood till his passing away was epitomized in the *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta* (p. 3) which was the traditional first discourse. The presentation of the Path formula without any reference to the formula of the four noble truths was quite possible, and it would have been more consistent and welcome in the First discourse, if the Middle Path were its main subject matter. The two extremes (*dve antā*) mentioned in the traditional first discourse were not the only pair of extremes that were to be avoided by the Buddha's disciples. The Buddha spoke of three other pairs of extremes that were to be met by the golden mean supplied in the well-known formula of causal genesis. The *Peṭakopadesa*, the Ariyapariyesana sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Vinaya-Mahāvagga* etc. should be consulted to get a clear idea of the *Paṭhama Dhammadesanā*. I have fully dealt with this topic in my *Indological Studies* Pt. II, Chaps. II and III.

In page 5 of the book under review the author has translated *gahanaṃ* as an abyss. It really means a forest or thicket. *Dhamma* has been translated by Max Muller as righteousness and the author has accepted it. It means virtue or piety. The word *suci* has a variant, *sukhī*, meaning happy.

In page 10 the Pali passage quoted refers to *anulomadesanā*. Vide *Udāna*, Vagga, I, i; *Majjhima*, I, 262-63. The second passage relates to *paṭiloma-desanā* - *Udāna*, I, 2. In *anuloma* and *paṭilomadesanā* one has just a co-ordination of the above two formulas (*Udāna*, I, 3).

It is a pity that the author has not given the Pali titles of the two well-known Pali commentaries without any page-number (p. 16). He has given the titles in Sanskrit. Are we justified in giving Pali titles to Sanskrit books? The *Visuddhimagga* (Vol. II, P. T. S., p. 611) contains the matter to which the author has referred. In the same commentary (Vol. II, p. 497) occurs the follow-

ing relevant passage — *Ekam hi saccam na dutiyam*. There is only one truth and no second. Really speaking *nirvāṇa* is that state which is nothing but freedom from all sins and final release from lower nature. The exact reference to the *Atthasālinī* (P.T.S.) is this: *Ettha taṇhāsaṃkhātāṃ vānaṃ niggataṃ vā tasmā vānāti nibbānaṃ* (p. 409). It means that from which the arrow of desire is gone away.

The author keeps us in the dark by saying "Some other works." Let me mention one or two of them — *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* P.T.S. I, 217, *Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, P.T.S., p. 178.

In page 17 of the book *siṅca* means 'bale out' and not empty. The author quotes the *Majjhima Nikāya* only without giving exact reference which should be Vol. I, pp. 426 ff. In page 19 *Kadariyam* means stingy or miserly.

Regarding Buddha, the conqueror of Māra, he has relied much on the *Mahāvastu* account which is undoubtedly later than the Pali Canonical account. The author should have consulted the *Niddesa* (Vol. I, p. 96, P.T.S.; *Suttanipāta*, *Padhānaṣutta*, vs. 436-37) about Mara's army and compared it with that given in his book under review (p. 67). *Arati* (discontent) is Māra's second army. Māra's daughters are *Taṇhā*, *Arati* and *Rāga* (*Samyutta*, I, 124; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 202). This Pali word *arati*, which is not at all a mistake, occurs in all Pali books.

The author has not said anything about the different kinds of Māra, the enemy of liberation. It is interesting to note here as I have done elsewhere that like Māra Satan goes forth to tempt job, to test his loyalty to God whose permission he obtains before commencing his evil activities. Māra, the spirit of the Buddhists, the enemy of the Good Law, appears to have been the personification of an abstract conception of Buddhism.

The word *Upadhi* occurring in page 66 means substratum of being, substratum of rebirth. It brings grief and lamentation to a man (*upadhīhi narassa socanā*). The word *mandati* in page 66 should be *nandati*. The author has not given page-reference to the *Divyāvadāna*. It should be pp. 357 ff.

The author has made no attempt to collect references from other sources to the events noted by him in his Lecture on the life of Buddha as depicted by Aśvaghoṣa. I give below some of them for a comparative study :

Page 30 — Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 14 regarding the vision of a dead man.

Page 35 (Return of Chandaka) — Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 15; *Vimānavatthu*, pp. 73-74; *Vimānavatthu commy.*, pp. 313-14 and *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 159.

Page 39 (Search for the Prince) — Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 15.

Page 41 (Bimbisara's visit to the Buddha on the Pāṇḍava hill) — Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 198; *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 16; *Suttanipāta*, Pabbajjā Sūta, vs. 405-424.

Page 44 (Meeting with Arāḍa and others) — Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 118; *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 16, p. 238; *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 160.

Page 46 (Udraka Rāmaputra) — Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 17, p. 243; *Mahāvastu* II, p. 119. Five mendicants, Cf. *Majjhima*, I, 170; *Ibid.*, II, p. 94; *Samyutta*, III, p. 66; *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 18, p. 264.

Page 47 (Nandabālā's (Sujātā) offering of rice-gruel to the Buddha) — Cf. *Lalitavistara* Chap. 18, p. 267; *Jinacarita*, v. 207.

Page 48 (Māra and the Buddha) — Cf. *Jinacarita*, vs. 239-41, 245, 246; *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 21; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 315.

Page 74 (Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana) — Cf. *Anguttara*, I, p. 23 — *Etadaggaṃ mahāpaññānam* — Śāriputta. *Etadaggaṃ iddhi-mantānaṃ* — Mahā Moggallāna.

There are many misprints e.g., *tranquility* (pp. 11, 39), *Mālunkāputtra* (p. 17), *Siddhārta* (p. 58), *Suddhodhana* (p. 88), *Buddhamānā* (bhūmi) p. 127.

The Index has been hurriedly prepared and hence it is inaccurate (e.g., *Ājīvika* in p. 78; *Mahāprajāvatī* (Gautami) p. 78; *Lokāyata* in p. 78. *Keśakambalin* in p. 78; *Sañjayin* in p. 78; *Manoharā* in p. 80; *Kailāsa* in p. 80; *Kuśinagara* in p. 95 etc. These are untraceable in pages noted.

The printing and get-up of the book are not attractive. Some impressions are not distinct due to bad inking.

In spite of all these inaccuracies the book under review will be welcome by students and general public interested in Buddhism.

B. C. LAW.

THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA by Dr. R. C. Mitra, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris); published by Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, 1954; pp. 164 + viii.

The work under review is the English version of the author's thesis for the D. Litt. degree, submitted originally to the University of Paris. It deals with the condition of Buddhism in different parts of India from the seventh century A.D. and the circumstances leading to its virtual disappearance from its homeland gradually.

Besides a small introductory section and an index, the book has ten chapters, the first of which discusses Chinese testimony on the status and condition of Buddhism in India. In the following eight chapters, the author deals with the evidence regarding the prevalence of the religion, during the medieval and modern periods, in Kashmir, Sind, Northern and Western India, Bengal, Assam, Nepal, Orissa and South India. The causes of the decline of Buddhism in this country have been analysed in the last chapter of the book.

The author's industry in gathering items of information on the subject, especially from epigraphic sources, and his skill in utilising them are both praiseworthy. His work is characterised by sobre judgment and freedom from bias. He has rightly pointed out that a great defect of the Buddhist church was 'the very ineffectual organisation of its relationship with the laity' (p. 147) and that the effect of the Muhammadan conquest of India on the ultimate disappearance of Buddhism from the country is often over-emphasised (p. 148). We congratulate the author and the publishers for the well-written monograph.

There are certain statements in the book, on which we find it difficult to agree with the learned author. He says, "The *Bṛihat-saṃhitā* (58.45) of the 6th century identified Buddha with Viṣṇu and prescribed that his image should be marked with Śrīvatsa or the auspicious signs of the deity" (p. 135). But the stanza in question reads: *ā-jānu-lambabāhuḥ śrīvats-āṅkaḥ praśānta-mūrtiś=cha | dig-vāsa=taruṇo rūpavānś=cha kāryo=rhatān devaḥ* || and clearly refers to the Jina (cf. *dig-vāsa*, naked) and not the Buddha. The statement that the conception of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is foreshadowed in the sixth century (p. 159) is apparently based on the said interpretation. But that the

Buddha was regarded as Viṣṇu's *avatāra* at least in some quarters about the sixth and seventh centuries, if not earlier, seems to be indicated by the quotation of a well-known Puranic verse, enumerating the ten incarnations of the god including the Buddha, found in a Mamallapuram inscription assigned to the eighth century on palaeographical grounds (cf. p. 107). The conception has probably to be regarded as considerably earlier than the date of the record.

The author speaks of inscriptions dating from the fifth to the seventh century, which frequently refer to the performance of Aśvamedha and other Vedic sacrifices (p. 160). But we have numerous earlier epigraphic records referring to the horse-sacrifice performed by Śuṅga Pushyamita (second century B.C.), Gājāyana Sarvatāta and Śātavāhana Śātakarṇi (first century B.C.), Ikṣhvāku Śāntamūla (third century A.D.), Vākāṭaka Pravaraśena, Pallava Śivaskandavarman and Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman (fourth century A.D.), etc. For the various performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, see *Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai Commemoration Volume*, 1957, pp. 93 ff. The ascription (cf. *loc. cit.*) of an Aśvamedhā to the Rāshtrakūṭas and of eighteen horse-sacrifices to the Kadambas (cf. *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 240) seems to be wrong. In regard to a few inscriptions bearing on the main subject of his study, the learned author's attention may be drawn to an article on the decline of Buddhism in Bengal, published in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. XIII, 1952, pp. 55-61.

We recommend the book to all students of the history of Indian religious thought.

D. C. SIRCAR.

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Bihar Research Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XLIV, Parts III and IV., Patna.
 1. *Gaya in Inscriptions of Northern India* (700 A.D. 1200 A.D.) by Shri V. S. Pathak.
 2. *Fort William and Lord Macartney's Mission to China* by Sri P. C. Roy.
 3. *The Genesis of Janapadas* by Shri Krishna Chandra Mishra.
 4. *A Survey of Land System in India from C 200 B.C. to A.D. 650* by Dr. R. S. Sharma.
- II. *Kannadigas and Bombay, Bombay*.
 1. *Some Aspects of the Early History of Bombay* by Prof. Chidambar.
- III. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the*, Vol. X, No. 3, Baroda.
A Ksatrapa Head from Saurashtra by J. M. Nanavati.
- IV. *Pakistan Historical Society—Journal of the*, Vol. IX, Part II, Karachi.
 1. *Role of a Pakistani Historian* by Mr. Fazlur Rahman.
 2. *Madad-i-Maash Grants under the Mughuls* by Sheikh Abdur Rashid.
- V. *Pakistan Historical Society—Journal of the*, Vol. IX, Part III, Karachi.
Akhbari-i-Rangin by Dr. S. Moinul Haq.
- VI. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2, Ceylon.
 1. *Lankatilaka Inscriptions* by S. Paranavitana.
 2. *A Pillar Inscription from Moragahawela* by K. Kanapathi Pillai.
- VII. *Sri Venkateswara University—Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, Parts 1 and 2, Tirupati.
 1. *Krishna—The Statesman* by Dr. M. Rama Rao.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*,
Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya*, *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*,
Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
15. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review*, Madras.
18. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review*.
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.

Printed by S. Ramaswami, at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street,
Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXIX, Part I

April, 1961

Serial No. 115

CONTENTS

UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE EARLY INDIAN SOCIETY—by Sasanka Sekhar Parui, M.A. ..	1	NILGIRIS—by M. Arokia- swami, M.A., Ph.D. ..	105
DOST MUHAMMAD KHAN, THE FOUNDATION OF BHOPAL STATE —by Iqbal Kaul ..	13	SHER SHAH, AKBAR AND THE LINK—by Dr. Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. ..	111
INDIA, AMERICA AND CORNWALLIS —by Dr. B. G. Gokhale ..	29	MAHATMA GANDHI AS A SPIRITUA- LIZED STATESMAN—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	115
WAS RANA PRATAP TO BLAME FOR NOT JOINING AKBAR?—by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Luck.), D.Litt. (Agra) ..	45	THE ORIGIN OF THE HINDU-SIKH TENSION IN THE PANJAB—by Ganda Singh ..	119
MARATHA—NIZAM RELATIONS— THE MASIRE ASAFI OF LAXMI NARAYAN SHAFIQ AURANGABADI —by Shri P. Setu Madhava Rao, M.A., I.A.S. ..	53	SOME UNPUBLISHED SCULPTURES OF BALADEVA FROM RAJASTHAN —by R. C. Agrawala, M.A. ..	125
THE TELIKI COMMUNITY OF MEDIEVAL ANDHRA—by O. Ramachandraiya, Ph.D., and Sundaram, M.A. Hons. ..	79	ANGLO-MARATHA RELATIONS DUR- ING MARATHA—MYSORE WAR (1785-1787)—by Miss Nondita Chatterjee, M.A. ..	129
THE LATER IMPERIAL PRATI- HARAS: BHOJA II TO VIJAYA- PALA (A REVISED STUDY)— by Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt. ..	89	THE YOUNGHUSBAND EXPEDI- TION, AN INTERPRETATION—II —by P. L. Mehra, Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins) ..	137
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE		LORD CURZON AND THE PRO- BLEM OF EUROPEAN RACIALISM IN INDIA—by Dr. M. N. Das, M.A., Ph.D., (London) ..	163
		REVIEWS ..	169



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

Journal of Indian History

CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

1. DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., HON.Y., D.LITT., Emeritus Professor, University of Lucknow.
 2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandal, Poona.
 3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., College of Indology, Hindu University, Benares.
 4. PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB, B.A. (OXON), Professor of History, University of Aligarh.
 5. PROFESSOR D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., University of Poona.
 6. DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON).
 7. A. N. TAMPI, B.A. (OXON), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.
 8. SURANAD, P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.
 9. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., formerly Principal, University College, Trivandrum.
 10. DR. YOUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS), Osmania University.
 11. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., University of Lucknow.
 12. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON), Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay.
-

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription: Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-65 Naye Paise

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15

Half page cover : Rs. 8

Full page inside : Rs. 10

Half page inside : Rs. 6

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to :—

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Editor,
Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

JOURNAL *of* INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,

*Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum.*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (OXON.)

*Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.*

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,

*formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.*

DR K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (OXON.)

*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

CONTENTS

UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE EARLY INDIAN SOCIETY—by Sasanka Sekhar Parui, M.A.	.. 1
DOST MUHAMMAD KHAN, THE FOUNDER OF BHOPAL STATE— by Iqbal Kaul	.. 13
INDIA, AMERICA AND CORNWALLIS—by Dr. B. G. Gokhale	.. 29
WAS RANA PRATAP TO BLAME FOR NOT JOINING AKBAR?— by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Luck.), D.Litt. (Agra)	.. 45
MARATHA—NIZAM RELATIONS—THE MASIRE ASAFI OF LAXMI NARAYAN SHAFIQ AURANGABADI—by Shri P. Setu Madhava Rao, M.A., I.A.S.	.. 53
THE TELIKI COMMUNITY OF MEDIEVAL ANDHRA—by O. Rama- chandraiya, Ph.D., and K. Sundaram, M.A. Hons.	.. 79
THE LATER IMPERIAL PRATIHARAS: BHOJA II TO VIJAYAPALA (A REVISED STUDY)—by Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt	.. 89
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE NILGIRIS—by M. Arokia- swami, M.A., Ph.D.	.. 105
SHER SHAH, AKBAR AND THE LINK—by Dr. Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.	.. 111
MAHATMA GANDHI AS A SPIRITUALISED STATESMAN—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.	.. 115
THE ORIGIN OF THE HINDU-SIKH TENSION IN THE PANJAB— by Ganda Singh	.. 119
SOME UNPUBLISHED SCULPTURES OF BALADEVA FROM RAJASTHAN—by R. C. Agrawala, M.A.	.. 125
ANGLO-MARATHA RELATIONS DURING MARATHA—MYSORE WAR (1785-1787)—by Miss Nondita Chatterjee, M.A.	.. 129
THE YOUNGHUSBAND EXPEDITION, AN INTERPRETATION—II —by P. L. Mehra, Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins)	.. 137

CONTENTS

LORD CURZON AND THE PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN RACIALISM IN INDIA—by Dr. M. N. Das, M.A., Ph.D., (London) ..	163
--	-----

REVIEWS: Bihar Through the Ages by Professor Radhakrishna Choudhary; (2) Illustrated Income-tax Law by B. D. Nagpal; (3) Elements of Life Insurance by O. P. Bajpai; (4) Sri Siddheswara Charitramu: (Kakatiya Rajulu Charitra-Pratapa Charitra) by Kase Sarvappa; (5) Literary and Cultural Activities in Gujarat under the Khaljis and the Sultanate Muhammed Ibrahim Dar; (6) Justice and Police in Bengal: 1765-1793. A study of Nizamat in Decline by N. Majumdar; (7) The Annexation of Upper Burma by D. P. Singhal; (8) Where the Lion Trod by Gordon Shepher; (9) Akota Bronzes, by Dr. Uma Kant P. Shah; (10) Indian History—A Study in Dynamics, by Yashavant Anant Raikar, M.A.; (11) Report on Kumrahar Excavations 1951-55, by A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., and Vijayakanta Mishra, M.A.; (12) Indian Armed Forces Year Book 1959-60. Ed. Jaswant Singh; (13) Indian History — A Review, by Dr. Baij Nath Puri; (14) The Finances of the Mysore State, 1799-1831, by M. H. Gopal; (15) The Ordeal of Captain Roeder: Translated and edited by Helen Roeder; (16) The Karāva of Ceylon: Society and Culture, by M. D. Raghavan; (17) The Socio-economic History of Northern India (11th and 12th centuries) by Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar, M.A. Ph.D.; (18) Indian Records Series — "Fort William—India House Correspondence", Vol. IX. Public Series 1782-5. General Editor: K. D. Bhargava; (19) Main Currents in the Ancient History of Gujarat: by Dr. B. A. Saletore; (20) The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. VI "The Delhi Sultanate"—published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; (21) John Jacob of Jacobabad by H. T. Lambrick.	169
---	-----

Untouchability in the Early Indian Society

BY

SASANKA SEKHAR PARUI, M.A.

The problem of superiority complex appears to be inherent to the very nature of human society and it has troubled our society in various ways from the ancient days to this century when the world has advanced much through the path of civilization. The white people of pre-Lincoln America and of South Africa are so blind that they are not ready to give the black their due share of rights and liberty at any cost. This is nothing but political touch-me-notism or political untouchability—a developed form of social untouchability.

Social untouchability had so deep a root in Indian soil that even to-day the upper sections of the Hindu society avoid the touch of those considered low by them. The number of the untouchables even to-day is so high that it is a problem to our society and government. The number varies from three crores to six crores. The Simon Commission Report of 1930¹ gives a figure about forty three millions, and according to P. V. Kane,² the total number of "Harijan population" in India is about fourteen 'per centum' of the total number of the people.

The theory of untouchability is not an isolated phenomenon of a single century. It develops and changes throughout centuries and embraces new groups of people within itself. Collectively, the untouchables are known as '*antyās*' or '*bahyas*'—the people living outside villages or towns.³ They are: *Nisādas*, *Āyogavas*, *Medas*, *Andhras*, *Cuncus*, *Madgus*, *Kṣattris*, *Pukkasas*, *Dhigvanas* and *Venas*; they all, live outside the villages.⁴ The *Chandālas* and *Śvapākas*

1. Simon Commission Report of 1930, Vol I, p. 40.
2. Kane, P. V., History of the Dharmaśāstras, Vol. II, Part I, p. 179.
3. Shāma, R. S., Śūdras in Ancient India, p. 130.
4. Manu, X, 48-50.

are also regarded as untouchables. According to Dr. Sharma, the *Dombas* come from a numerous section of the untouchables in northern India. The sons begotten by a *Śūdra* on a *Vaiśya* woman⁵ and on a *Brāhmaṇa* woman are *antāvasāyins*. It is not that those begotten in this way form the class of *antāvasāyins*, but they are reduced to the position of *antāvasāyins*. According to Dr. Sharma, the whole population of tribal villages are condemned to the position of untouchables by the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁶ The number of the untouchables is not so high at the time of the origin of this group as it is in the Maurya period and, later on, in the Gupta age. It can be evidenced by the fact that the classical writers like Megasthenes and others do not say anything about the *Chañḍālas*, while Fahien gives special attention to it.

A lot of people of this country are affected by the principle of untouchability of the Hindu religion, but all of them are not equal in status, or all of them are not treated equally. A broad examination of the matter will classify it into two types—temporary and long term. Sometimes we find that a caste Hindu is treated as untouchable for a fixed period of time. To illustrate from Manu,⁷ the wife in her monthly period, or during the first ten days of her delivery, a person who has carried a corpse and has not yet bathed, etc. are not pure, till the period of impurity is over. Any people, even the Brahmins, may come within the jurisdiction of this temporary untouchability. But there is another kind of untouchability—long-term untouchability, though not permanent, and the untouchables, belonging to this, form a separate group. The *Chañḍālas*, for example, belong to this group.

It is, indeed, very difficult to have a fixed date for the growth of any historical phenomenon. It takes its shape through the process of evolution, and a long period is required to have its shape visible. The date of untouchability is very ancient, no doubt, but controversy arises with the actual age of its growth. Two views are forwarded in this connection: (a) According to P. V. Kane, it was not present at the time of the Vedas, (b) Dr. Sharma

5. Vasistha, XVI, 113.

6. Sharma, p. 131.

7. Manu, V. 85.

thinks that "untouchability appeared probably towards the end of the pre-Mauryan period."⁸

In favour of his view P. V. Kane has mentioned a passage from the Chāndogya Upanishad which states that for good deeds one comes to the family of a *Brāhmaṇa*, a *Kshatriya*, or a *Vaiśya*, but for bad works one becomes a *Chandāla* or a boar or a horse. In this passage there is no mention of *Sūdra*; *Chandālas* are looked upon as the lowest; therefore, *Chandālas* are *Sūdras*. Moreover, Kane says that all the dogs are not dirty and the flesh of a boar is recommended in the *Śraḍhdha* ceremony.⁹ Therefore, in the days of Chandogya Upanishad *Chandālas* are not untouchable. But, the opinion of P. V. Kane is a matter of criticism. The word *Sūdra* is familiar, yet, it is not used in this passage, but why?—that is not explained by Kane. Moreover, a *Sūdra* cannot in any way be equal to a boar or a dog, how much pure it may be. In our days the goat is used in the sacrifice. In spite of that, do we regard a goat superior to a human being? Certainly not. P. V. Kane has referred to another passage¹⁰ which mentions about the sin (death) of the *Dhevatāsis* thrown to the end of the quarters. Hence, one should not go to the people there (outside the Aryan pale). According to Saṃkara, those people oppose the Vedic culture. Kane says that they are the *mlechchhas*, not the *Chandālas* who only stay outside the village. Hence, untouchability is not present at the time of the Bṛihadārannak Upanishad. But what is meant by 'Aryan pale' is not clear. It may be that *Chandālas* opposed the fundamentals of the Vedic culture.

In spite of that, we have to think seriously over the points raised by P. V. Kane, but it is very difficult to agree with him without further examination.

To establish his opinion Dr. Sharma has referred to Āpastamba Dharmasūtra¹¹ where it is said that to see and touch a *Chandāla* is sinful. In the earlier manuscripts, as he thinks, this

8. Sharma, p. 126.

9. Manu, III, 270; Yājñavalkya Śmṛti, 1.259.

10. Bṛihadārannak Upanisad, 1.3.10.

11. Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, II, 1.2.8.

is not found, and as such, the theory of untouchability appears towards the end of the pre-Mauryan period. If we take it for granted we have to face some difficulties. Long before the Maurya period, in the Vedic Age, there is a group of people known as *Chandālas*.¹² If they are not untouchable before the Mauryas, then, what was their actual social status? That is not clear, Dr. Sharma flashes no light on this point. Moreover, it will be too much to say that temporary untouchability is absent before the Maurya period.

No single phenomenon is enough to explain the origin of untouchability, it is the product of a chain of causes acting simultaneously. The difference between the culture of the touchable and the untouchable is so wide at a time that the upper classes of the Hindu society think it better to check the contact with them. Even the converted Hindus who thought themselves as "The unique Brahmana" are very conscious on this point (Dr. S. K. Maity, "Man in India" vol. 40 No. 1. 1960). The blind love of their own culture, the sense of protection through isolation and the unpractical reasoning faculty of the intellectuals have a great contribution to the growth and development of untouchability.

In the early days of the Aryan settlement in India the aborigines of this country were not always hostile to them. We find the reference of conversion of the *dāsas* into *Āryans*.¹³ But some of them were not ready to embrace the new order, though they remained friendly and served the brahmanical society in various ways.

In spite of the friendly attitude the aborigines were the object of fear to the Hindues specially the *Brāhmaṇas*. The low material culture of the aborigines might affect their rich culture. The *Chandālas*, *Śvapākas*, and *Antyāvasāyins* executed the criminals and used their clothes, beds and ornaments.¹⁴ *Nisādas*, *Medas*, *Andhras*, *Medgus*, and *Cuncus* lived on fishing and hunting animals. *Ayogavas* and *Dhigvanas* were wood-cutters and leather workers

12. Chāndogya Upanisad, V.10|7.

13. Rīg Veda, VI. 22.10.

14. Manu, X. 56.39.

UNTOUCHABILITY IN EARLY INDIAN SOCIETY 5

respectively.¹⁵ *Venas* play on drums.¹⁶ And the *Śvapākas* cook the flesh of dogs and sell bowstrings.¹⁷ All these are dirty works according to the brahmanical view. Sometimes this cultural difference gives birth to religious hatred and abhorrence. Thus, on touching Buddhas, *Pāśupatas*, Jains, *Lokāyatikas* and others one has to be pure through such process as prescribed for one touching the untouchables.¹⁸ Even those among the upper classes performing unpardonable crimes are regarded as culturally low. Thus *Manu* says that those who are guilty of *Brāhmaṇa*—murder, theft of *Brāhmaṇa*'s gold or drinking of spirituous liquors should be excommunicated.¹⁹ They are treated as untouchables. Under these circumstances it is quite natural for the developed Brahmanical culture to protect itself. And this the Hindus did by guarding their culture through various rules and regulations against the very low culture of the unconverted friendly aborigines. The Hindu intellectuals like *Kaūṭilya*, *Bṛihaspati* and others of the later ages composed strict rules to continue this process. Their arguments, sometimes though logical, are unpractical and remain ideal to the brahmanical society. This ideal nature of their rules is clear in the very adjective of the *aborigines*—the untouchable, not the untouched.

Incidentally, Dr. Sharma has tried to reject the view of Ghurye—theoretical impurity of certain occupations is the origin of untouchability. Mr. Ghurye's examination²⁰ may not be exclusive, but what he says is nothing but the cultural inferiority of the aborigines, and this culture is impure, because, the Hindu *Śāstra-kāras* think it so. Impurity explains the sense of fear that led to the isolation. But Dr. Sharma is right and just to oppose the theory of N. K. Dutt²¹ and Mr. Ambedkar.²² According to N. K. Dutt the tradition of untouchability is borrowed from the Dravidians in the South. But, he fails to notice that this tradition comes among the

15. *Ibid.*, 48.39.49.

16. *Ibid.*, 49.

17. *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 3.92.

18. *Aparārka*, p. 923; *Smṛiti—candrikā*, I, p. 118.

19. *Manu*, ix, 235-239.

20. Ghurye, *Caste and Class*, p. 159.

21. Dutt, N. K., *Origin and Growth of caste in India*, I, pp. 106-7, cf. p. 31.

22. Ambedkar, *untouchables*, X.

Dravidians only after their contact with Hinduism. In the opinion of Dr. Ambedkar, those who continue beef-eating are untouchable. But, in the earliest period of Hinduism beef-eating is practised. It may, at best, be that this rule is adjusted later on, but it is not in any way responsible for the growth of this phenomenon.

Thanks to Islam, there is no strict division of classes among the Mohammadans; but Hindu society in India is overburdened with the problem of class division. The sense of purity had divided the Hindus into two blocks—touchables and untouchables. The *Śāstras* have sanctioned fourfold division of Hindu society. Under these circumstances it is very difficult to find out the true social position of those regarded untouchable in relation to the system of fourfold classification.

N. K. Dutt²³ regards *Nishadas*, *Chandālas* and *Paulkāsas* as the fifth *varṇa*. But P. V. Kane with the help of the *Śāstras* has proved that Dutt is not right in his view. To him, this group of untouchables is originally a part of the *Śūdra* class, but in course of time a distinction is made between *Śūdras* and the caste like *Chandālas*—untouchable. But, both Kane and Dutt bear extreme views and draw our curiosity. Manu says that there are only four *varṇas* and there is no fifth *varṇa*.²⁴ Pāṇini²⁵ and Patanjali have included *Chandālas* and *Mṛatapas* among *Śūdra*. The *Sāntiparva* states that *Vaidehika* is called *Śūdra* by learned *Dvijās*.²⁶ In view of these opinions, it is difficult to agree with Dutt. But, the opinion of Kane also cannot be justified fully. He has in support of his view, used Manu who says that all *pratiloma* castes (*Ksatṛ*, *Sūta*, *Vaidehika*, *Māgadha* and *Ayogava*) are similar to *Śūdras* in their *dharma*. But, in the *śāstras* it is not said that the son begotten by a *Śūdra* on a *Brāhmaṇī* is reduced to the position of *Śūdra*, but *Chandāla*. Why is the difference made frequently in the *Śāstras*? To conclude, the untouchables are not hostile to the Hindu order, but they are probably outside the *Śūdra* Class, and, as such, they are not allowed to have the position of an independent caste in the Hindu Society.

23. Dutt, N. K., I, p. 105.

24. Manu, X, 4.10.

25. Pāṇini, II, 4.10.

26. *Sāntiparva*, 297, 28.

Most of the ancient authors are least interested in the life of the untouchables. They have said something here, and there only for the sake of the upper classes of the Hindu society. This led to the difficulty of having a full picture of the life of the untouchables.

The seat of dwelling of the untouchables, as said before, is outside villages or towns. This is clear by the word '*antyajas*',²⁷ but this is not *ḍhiśāmantā*²⁸ i.e. outside the Aryan pale. Those regarded as untouchable for a short period of time i.e. woman during the first ten days of her delivery, one who carries a corpse etc.²⁹ live within their family but remain secluded for the fixed period.

The standard of living of the untouchables is very low. They live on fishing, the rejected articles of the executed criminals, hunting even dogs, woodwork, leather work, drum beating, singing, etc.—all kinds of professions which are avoided by the upper classes.³⁰ They are habituated to take the flesh, even of the lower animals like dogs and to drink regularly. It is not denying the fact that the Hindu laws and customs recommend meat eating and drinking in special ceremonies like the sacrifice. But, these are special cases and the upper classes do not live on meat and liquor. The untouchables are given inferior garments.³¹ They have to take food in broken dishes and are allowed to use only the ornaments of iron.³² Such a picture is enough to show that the standard of living of the untouchables, undoubtedly permanent, is very low.

Very little is known about the religion and religious duties of the untouchables, perhaps, on account of their negligible role in this platform of life. They have respect for Hinduism and Hindu deities, but the enmity of the *Brāhmaṇas* excludes them. From Yājñavalkya³³ and Gautama³⁴ we come to know that in

27. Atri; Manu, X, 49-50 and others.

28. Brihadārannak Upanisad, I, 3.10.

29. Manu, V. 85.

30. Vyavātāra Bhāṣya, 3.92 Manu, X; Dr. S. K. Maity, Note on caste in Ancient India, published in 'Man in India', Vol. 40, No. 1, 1960, p. 65.

31. Gautama, XIV.42.

32. Manu, X. 54-55.

33. I. 93.

34. IV. 20.

ancient days they worship the Hindu deities and perform the Hindu rites and duties. According to Yājñavalkya³⁵ the *pratiloma* section of the untouchables have the right to perform *vratas*, but, they can not perform *upanayana*.

"It is difficult to imagin anything more brutal and more material than the theology of the *Brāhmaṇas*.³⁶ This spirit of brahmanical enemism is responsible for the imposition of a lot of restrictions on the social, as well as, political rights and interests of the untouchables. They cannot enter the town, if they violate this rule people beat them and render them senseless.³⁷ If they have to enter, they are bound to give a previous notice—to strike a piece of wood to announce their arrival, so that the people of the upper classes can avoid their contact.³⁸ If they deliberately touch the higher castes they should be punished by beating.³⁹ According to Bṛihaspati, a *chaṇḍāla* cannot approach within sixteen cubits of a caste Hindu. If a *chaṇḍāla* touches an Aryan woman he has to pay a fine of hundred *paṇas*,⁴⁰ but, he has not to pay if he touches *Sūdra* woman. The Veda is forbidden to the *Bāhyas*, the *Ugras* and the *Nisādas*.⁴¹ The public roads and some other things touched by a *chaṇḍāla* and others, like a dog, are impure, but, they become pure by the wind over them.⁴² The untouchables can appear as witness only in their own cases, they have no right to witness in favour of any of the upper classes.⁴³ The punishment due to the damage to the birds and animals of *chaṇḍālas* and other by upper classes is half the fine due to the damage of that of the upper classes by the *chaṇḍālas*.⁴⁴

Certain restrictions are sanctioned by the *Sāstras* for the upper classes in relation to the untouchables. According to the

35. III 362.

36. Rhys-Davids, T. W., *Buddhist India*, p. 132 said by M. Sylvani Levi.

37. *Jātaka*, IV, 376, 391.

38. Legge, Fa-hsien, p. 43.

39. Viṣṇu—dharma—sūtra, v. 104.

40. Kauṭilya, III, 20.

41. Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, I.3.9.18.

42. Yājñavalkya, I, 197.

43. Vasistha, XVI, 30.

44. Kauṭilya, IV 10, "Candālarāryacarānāmardhadandāh".

Buddhist sources,⁴⁵ those who eat meat are born again and again in the family of the untouchables. A *Snātaka* must not have any connection with the untouchables. A *Brāhmaṇa* is no more a *Brāhmaṇa*, if he has intercourse with an *antiya* woman. The higher *varṇas* must not give the untouchables even the grain with their hands.⁴⁶ A *chandāla* must not be seen, air that touches him must be avoided, food seen by him is not worth to be taken.⁴⁷ There is a reference to the loss of caste of sixteen thousands of *Brāhmaṇas* for taking the leavings of *Chandālas'* meals. A *Brāhmaṇa* father dwelling with the *antavasāyins* with one of their women should be rejected.⁴⁸ The tank of water used by the *Chandālas* cannot be used by anybody else.

There are several cases of exception to the general rules of restrictions. To come in contact with the untouchables is sinful, but it is not so if the ground of mixing be the battlefield, the public road leading to the market, religious processions, temples, religious festival, sacrifices, sacred place, calamities, riverbank, presence of great persons etc.⁴⁹ There is no harm, if a *Chandāla* takes water from a big tank (not small) used by the upper classes.⁵⁰ There is no question of untouchability in fairs, marriages, Vedic sacrifices etc.⁵¹

A list of rules of recovery is also sanctioned by the ancient lawgivers. If a *Brāhmaṇa's* limb other than the head comes in contact with the untouchables, he can be pure by washing that particular limb.⁵² In the *Jātaka*⁵³ we find that the daughter of *setthi* of Benaras, who sees a *Chandāla* becomes pure by washing her eyes. Those who are untouchable on account of the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, theft of *Brāhmaṇa's* gold or drink of spirituous liquors may recover by *prayas citta*.⁵⁴ Those who touch-

45. *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*, p. 258.

46. *Manu*, X 53-54.

47. *Jātaka*.

48. *Gautama*, Xx. I. ef. XXIII. 32.

49. *Smṛtyanthasāra*, 79.

50. *Parāśar Mādaviya*, Vol. II, part I, p. 115.

51. *Atri*, p. 33.

52. *Aparārka*, p. 279.

53. *Jātaka*, IV 376. 390-91.

54. *Manu*, IX 235-239.

the temporarily untouchables may become pure by taking bath with their clothes on.⁵⁵

An *antyavasāyin* also becomes purified on listening to the name of Hari, repeating His name and by contemplating on Him.⁵⁶ The temporary untouchables become purified at the end of their fixed period.

All these rules of restrictions, exemption from restrictions and recovery do not develop at one and the same time. There are several contradictions e.g. once it is said that to touch a *Chaṇḍāla* in the market is sinful, in the other place it is said that the contact with a *Chaṇḍāla* in the public place is not restricted. It is natural, the system, developed throughout ages and that the different *Śāstrakāras* of different ages impose these in their own way. Moreover it is doubtful, how far these rules are followed in practice. The law-givers give an ideal picture before the society, but the society does not move always along the path directed by them.

To conclude, when the Aryans at first settle in this country they find that a great number of Indian aborigines while accepting some Hindu practices and religious functions, do not embrace Hinduism in entirety. They are considered as culturally low, and thus remain untouchable. Their life in society is suppressed at every step by the upper sections of the Hindues and they find hardly any scope to raise their status in society. A large number of rules are imposed by the *Śāstrakāras* to keep them isolated. Of course, some process of recovery is found out. The system is inhuman, as well as, illogical; it simply raised a bar against the natural rights of a group of people.

It is a problem before the historical thinkers—though the ancient Indian authors have spent a lot of their energy and time on the question of untouchability, nowhere in the inscriptions do we find a trace of its existence. True it is that the ancient writers, in most cases *Brāhmaṇas*, forward it as an ideal before the society. But, the practice is not out of existence in the early days, however less effective it may be. The cause of this non-reference lies

55. Ibid. V. 85.

56. *Bhāgavata purāṇa*, X. 70. 43.

somewhere else. Most of the early Indian inscriptions are erected to commemorate the political achievements of the mighty Kings, or donations of land to the priests or some other organisations, or to increase the religious merit. But, the untouchables, from the political, economic and religious points of view, are insignificant, and have nothing to do with the great achievements and donations. Thus, it is quite natural that they are not mentioned in the inscriptions.

Dost Muhammad Khan, the Founder of Bhopal State

BY

IQBAL KAUL

In Afghanistan, near the Khaiber pass, existed a small village named Gunda, in the Tehsil of Tirah in Khaiber District,¹ where the Warakzai Afghans² of Mirazi Khel³ (clan) had lived. Here, Khan Muhammad Khan, great grand father of Dost Muhammad Khan had lived. His son named Jan Muhammad Khan had a son named Nur Muhammad Khan who was the father of Dost Muhammad Khan.

Almost all available authorities, Hindu, Muhammeden and English, differ on the date of the arrival of Dost Muhammad Khan in India.⁴ But they all agree upon the fact that before

1. Bhopal State Gazetteer. Genealogical Table; Taj-ul-Iqbal Tarikh-Bhopal, by H. H. The Nawab Shah Jehn, Begum of Bhopal, trans. by H. C. Barstow, Calcutta; Thakar, Spink & Co. 1876 (hereafter as TI), p. 1; Part VII. Report on the Province of Malwa and Adjoining Districts, submitted in 1821; Calcutta; Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1927 by Sir John Melcolm (hereafter as Melcolm), p. 153.

2. Bhopal in 1939-42. Publicity Officer, Govt. of Bhopal: Bombay. The Times of India Press (hereafter as Bpl. in.), p. 69. Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia, Vol. I, London, 1886, (hereafter as Cyclopaedia), p. 251, mentions as Dowlatzai sect of Orakzai: Tarikh-i-Bhopal, by Mehnidi Mian, 1922 (hereafter as TB), p. 9. Tarikh-i-Ulka Bhopal; by Munshi Syed Mehnidi Ali: Published for private circulation, Gwalior, Alijah Press; Under the Superintendence of Pandit Uma Charan, 1898 (hereafter as TUB), p. 4: Bhopal State Gazetteer, p. 9.

3. TI, p. 1: Cyclopaedia, p. 351:—Doctor Hunter says, the Mirazi Khel: Melcolm, p. 153: Bpl. in 1939-42, p. 69: A Pilgrimage to Mecca, by H. H. The Nawab Sikander, Begum of Bhopal, Calcutta: Thakar & Sons, 1906 (hereafter as Pilgrimage), p. 143: TB, p. 9: TUB, p. 4: Bhopal State Gazetteer, p. 9.

4. Bhopal State Gazetteer, p. 9:—"Dost Muhammad Khan's father, Nur Muhammad Khan arrived in A.H. 1109 (1696-97), the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Aurangzeb". Pilgrimage, p. 143:—"He (Dost Muhammad Khan) went to Delhi in A.D. 1695 and first entered the service Jehal (Jalal)

joining the Mughal Court, he took services and settled in Lohari Jalalabad, where Jalal Khan, of his own tribe was the ruler⁵. Hence it is calculated that he came along with his father, in the reign of Aurangzeb, may it be the closing years of the last decade of the 17th Century.⁶

Soon after his joining the services at Jalalabad, Dost Muhammad Khan quarreled with a Pathan there, and killed him.⁷ Alarmed of the onsequences of his acts, he fled and joined the Imperial Army of the Mughals then on march against the Marathas in Malwa.⁸ His arrival in Malwa was the turning point of his life and career. Soon after the death of Aurangzeb, he resigned from the Mughal Army service⁹ and became a soldier of fortune, seeking employment here and there.

Services under Raja of Sitamau:

The first seat of his employment, immediately after his resignation from the Mughal Army, was a small Rajput State of Sitamau under Raja Kesho Das (1695-1748)¹⁰ where he seemed to have stayed for a short time.

Lease of Berasia and services in Gujarat:

Soon after, having left the services of Sitamau, and depositing his personal belongings with the Governor of Bhilsa,¹¹ Muhammad Faruk, he went in search of another Court in Malwa. In the

Khan, a noble of his tribe". TUB, p. 4:—He came to Malwa in A.H. 1120 (1703-1704): TI. p. 1:—He "emigrated to Hindustan...in the beginning of the reign of Bahadur Shah, son of Alamgir, in the year 1120" (according to its foot note 1716): A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. IV, 1933 by Atchison (hereafter as Atchison), p. 89:—He "went to Delhi, during the first years of Bahadur Shah" (1708). Bpl in 1939-42, p. 69.

5. Bhopal State Gazetteer, p. 9: Pilgrimage, p. 143: Malcolm, p. 153: TB. p. 9: TI. p. 1.

6. Mill and Wilson—History of British India, Vol. VII, p. 47.

7. TI. p. 1: Bhopal State Gazetteer, p. 9. The cause of the quarrel is, however, not mentioned in any record.

8. *Ibid.* TB. p. 9 says: He joined on the post of Harawal; Bpl. in 1939-42 says: "Distinguished himself as an officer in the Imperial Guards", p. 69. Malcolm, p. 153 says: He "took service at Delhi in the Imperial Army".

9. Cyclopaedia, p. 350; Bpl. in 1939-42, p. 69; TB. p. 9.

10. Bhopal State Gazetteer, p. 9, (see footnote), hereafter as BSG).

11. *Ibid.*, TI. p. 1.

mean while, he attacked the Zamindar of Bans Barla(?) in which he was wounded.¹²

Confusion and anarchy had prevailed after the death of Aurangzeb. The pargana of Berasia (23°-38' N and 77°-27' E), 26 miles from (modern) Bhopal, which was then held by Taj Muhammad Khan, a Noble of the Imperial Court, presented a scene of insecurity, and highway robbery was quite common and life was never safe in the territory. The agents of Taj Muhammad Khan, Kazi Muhammad Salah,¹³ Sundul Rai and Alum Chand Qanungo,¹⁴ were unable to cope with such a chaotic situation. Dost Muhammad Khan offered to accept Berasia on a lease of Rs. 30,000 a year, which was readily granted by Taj Muhammad Khan.¹⁵ This grant made Dost Muhammad Khan the master of the land.

It is probably after taking Berasia on lease that he went to Gujarat in search of services.¹⁶ But having no sufficient resources there, he had to face a precarious situation when his own men imprisoned and confined him for non-payment of their allowances. He consequently wrote to his wife, Fateh Bibi for an advance of some money, who after sending the amount requested him to come back to Malwa.¹⁷

Services in Mangalgarh:

Most probably after the skirmish at Bans Barla where Dost Muhammad Khan had received a severe wound, and his disappearance from Malwa for a short while for Gujarat, that a rumour spread and reached the Governor of Bhilso about his death. This resulted in the confiscation of his personal property by Muhammad Faruk, under whose protection he had left it. Consequently, he went in person to Bhilsa and demanded his pro-

12. TI. p. 1. No further detail or location of Bans Barla is given in any account. It may, therefore, be the modern Bareli or Bari in Bhopal State.

13. TB., p. 10.

14. TI., p. 2.

15. *Pilgrimage*, p. 143; Dost Muhd. Khan was "appointed Superintendent of Berasia". Atchison, p. 89 gives 1709 A.D. as the date of grant.

16. TB., p. 11.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 11. (It is noted that neither BSG nor TI, has mentioned this account).

perty from the Governor. But he seemed to have been given only a part of it, which made Dost Muhammad Khan quite indignant.

He went then to Mangalgarh¹⁸ (near Berasia) where he entered in the service of Solanki Rajput¹⁹ Anand Singh. Here he was made Kamdar of the estate by Anand Singh's mother.

After the death of Anand Singh at Delhi,²¹ he left Mangalgarh with a huge amount of money, valuables and jewels²² belonging to the estate. According to another account, "Dost Muhammad obtained the daughter of Anand Singh in marriage, and with her inherited greater portion of this Raja's property".²³ The account, however, does not seem to be correct due to the following:

a. Had it been so he would have rather preferred to continue at Mangalgarh, and

b. He would have preferred to make Mangalgarh his seat for future activities. But decidedly Dost Muhammad Khan became more powerful financially, and by the time he left the services of Mangalgarh, he became more secure politically as well.

Subjugation of Parason:

After settling himself at Berasia (26 miles north from Modern Bhopal), Dost Muhammad Khan's first object was to sub-due the neighbouring Rajput free-looters, who were a regular source of disturbance to the general peace and the prosperity of the country around. He, therefore, needed his own kinsmen and relations to help him in foreign land. Consequently, he "induced his relations, the Pathans of his clan from Afghanistan, to join him".²⁴

Thus after making this arrangement, he sent his agent to find out a suitable time, to attack the chief of Parason²⁵ (near Mangalgarh in the Nazirabad Tehsil of Bhopal). It was during the Holi festival that he decided to attack, and at midnight he

18. *TI*, p. 2; *BSG*, p. 9.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *TI*, p. 2.

21. Melcolm, p. 154; *BSG*, p. 9.

22. *BSG*, p. 9; *TI*, p. 2.

23. Melcolm, p. 154.

24. *TI*, pp. 2-3; *BSG*, p. 10.

25. *Ibid.*, *TB*, p. 11.

reached Parason. All including the chief were drunk and enjoying dance. Dost Muhammad Khan suddenly fell upon them and killed most of them, including the chief.²⁶ Thus he made himself master of Parason treacherously, and declared that any kind of plunder, decoity or murder would not be tolerated and defaulters would be severely punished.²⁷

Immediately after this he subdued Kichwara and Umatwara²⁸ (near Biaora), and then attacking Shamsabad (north of Berasia, in the then Bhilsa territory) killed Raza Khan, and Shumsher Khan, who were the deputies of Muhammad Frauq, the Hakim of Bhilsa.²⁹

Jagdishpur conquered and renamed as Islamnagar:

His ambitious career of regular acquisition, if not of conquest, actually began with the occupation of Jagdishpur (23°-22' N & 77°-27' E), a fortified village³⁰ about 18 miles towards south from Berasia. It proved in his later life a place of strategic importance, and consequently he made it the seat of his activities.

Jagdishpur was held by a Deori Rajput,³¹ who was a notorious robber³² in the surrounding area. Dost Muhammad Khan, shortly after received information from the Thakur of Raipur (modern Raipura village in Dillod pargana of Bhopal State), that the chief of Jagdishpur, together with his followers and relatives, had gone "on an expedition to rob a caravan",³³ leaving only few old persons in the village.

Dost Muhammad Khan availed of this opportunity and under the pretext of sport reached the bank of Tahal river, quite close to Jagdishpur, and pitched his tents there.

On hearing of Dost Muhammad Khan's arrival for hunting, the Rajputs supplied him with all necessary provisions. Then they also paid a visit³⁴ to him. He cordially received them all in

26. *Ibid.*

27. *TB*, p. 11.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 12; *TI*, p. 3; *BSG*, p. 10.

29. *TI*, p. 3.

30. *BSG*, p. 10; *Bpl. in* 1939-43, p. 69.

31. *TI*, p. 3; *BSG*, p. 10; *Bpl. in* 1939-42, p. 69.

32. *TI*, p. 3; *TB*, p. 13.

33. *TB*, p. 13; *TI*, p. 3.

34. *TI*, p. 3; *BSG*, p. 10; *TB*, p. 13 says they were invited by Dost Muhammad Khan on a feast.

the tent, and then soon after left them under the pretence of arranging for 'attar and Pan'.

According to pre-arranged plan, "his own followers had been posted close round the tent as if for parade and pomp, and had been instructed that, as soon as their leader (Dost Muhammad Khan. All the mortal remains were thrown into the Tahal river, the tent ropes, throw down the tent, and cut down the Rajputs".³⁵ The plan proved successful. Each and every individual was cut down and the town came under the possession of Dost Muhammad Khan. All the mortal—remains were thrown into the Tahal river, which henceforth came to be known as Halali³⁶ or the river of slaughter. Jagdishpur was given a Muslim name, Islamnagar.³⁷

Then the power of the Rajput chiefs of Sanchi (then known as Sansi) and Bhojpur was destroyed by Dost Muhammad Khan who sent the booty to the court of Faruqsiyar at Delhi. This pleased the Emperor so much that in a Firman (dated the 3rd Ziqada, A.H. 1130 or A.D. 1717) he honoured Dost Muhammad Khan with the title of "Sardar Diler Jung".³⁸

Thus, watching the growing power of this Afghan adventurer in Central India (Malwa), it may be concluded that he was laying the foundation of his future activities which was shifted to Bhopal, only during the closing days of his life.

Battle of Jamal-Bagri (Bhilsa): His status as a ruler of a vast territory was legitimatised:

His rising power could hardly escape the attention of the neighbouring rulers, but before it could be fully realised, he started conquering one place after another and thus established himself as an important figure in Malwa. Having acquired considerable territory, he became "ambitious to measure his strength with Muhammad Faruk, the ruler of Bhilsa".³⁹ the victory

35. *TI*, pp. 3-4; *Pilgrimage*, p. 144 gives A.D. 1716.

36. *Melcolm*, p. 154; *TI*, p. 4; *TB*, p. 14; *BSG*, p. 10; *Pilgrimage*, p. 144.

37. *BSG*, p. 10; *Melcolm*, p. 154; *TI*, p. 4. According to *TB*, p. 14, the Mughul Emperor Faruqsiyar in A.H. 1128 gave Islamnagar, through a Firman, to Dost Muhammad Khan who was also honoured with the title of "Khan".

38. *TB*, p. 15.

39. *TI*, p. 4.

over whom was to pave for a reputable status, and politically sound position among the chiefs of Malwa.

He assembled a huge force to attack Bhilsa, and mobilised it under the command of his brother, Sher Muhammad Khan.⁴⁰ The armies of Dost Muhammad and Muhammad Faruq met near the villages, Jamal and Bagri, close to Bhilsa.⁴¹ A fierce fight took place in which Sher Muhammad Khan was killed by a Mewati chief of Doraha.⁴² The Bhopal force turned and ran away. Dost Muhammad Khan was watching the battle from a close distance, under the shadow of a small hill. He suddenly fell upon Muhammad Faruq, who was watching the retreat of the Bhopal force, with delight.⁴³ The Bhilsa army was pursuing the retreating Bhopal force, and thus Faruq was left unprotected. So Dost Muhammad Khan, having overpowered Muhammad Faruq, killed him in the 'hauda'. The Pathan having killed Faruq, ordered the Bhilsa drummers to beat the drums of victory and proceeded towards Bhilsa. It was dusk, late in the evening. The garrison of the Fort of Bhilsa mistook Dost Muhammad Khan to be Faruq and opened the gates of the Fort, thinking the victorious Governor Muhammad Faruq was coming back. "Dost Muhammad Khan then threw down the corpse of Muhammad Faruq before the very eyes of the garrison, and made himself master of the Fort".⁴⁴

This victory over the Governor of Bhilsa was the turning point for Dost Muhammad Khan. His position became respectful and authority more secure. In a short time by A.D. 1719, he had taken possession of the following places.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Gyraspur (Gyaspur). | 4. Icchawar. |
| 2. Doraha. | 5. Devipura. |
| 3. Sehore. | 6. Gulgaon. ⁴⁵ |

40. *Ibid.*, BSG, p. 10; TUB, p. 5. But TB on p. 14 mentions that it was Faruq who first attacked Barasia, in which Dost Muhammad's father, Nur Muhammad Khan was killed. But this is not supported by other accounts, though a plain tomb of Nur Muhammad still stands at Barasia, as a doubtful testimony of the attack on Berasia. To avenge the death of his father, as is asserted by TB, Dost Muhammad attacked Bhilsa. But most probably it was the property-case which was the main cause of his attack on Bhilsa;

41. BSG, p. 10; TI, p. 4; TB, p. 14.

42. BSG, p. 10; TI, p. 4, mentions the name as Raza Khan Mewati.

43. TI, p. 4; BSG, p. 10.

44. TI, p. 5.

45. List according to TI, p. 5 and BSG, p. 10.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 7. Mahalpur. | 12. Ahmedpur. |
| 8. Untkhera. | 13. Bagrod. |
| 9. Ambapani. | 14. Sat. ⁴⁶ |
| 10. Chorasi Chhanwah. | 15. Bhojpur. ⁴⁷ |
| 11. Khamkhera. | 16. Ashta. |

A Coalition against Rao Raja Budh Singh of Bundi :

Dost Muhammad Khan had joined Bhim Singh Hara of Kotah, in 1719 A.D. This Hara Chief was the friend of Sayad Hussain Ali of Bara (Rajasthan), who was the Nizam's great rival in the Mughal Court. Having been recommended by the Kotah Chief, Dost Muhammad Khan had received a high Mansab.⁴⁸

On the 17 November, 1719, Dost Muhammad Khan and Bhim Singh started against the Bundi Chief, Budh Singh, who was urging Chhatarsal Bundela to revolt against the authority of Sayad. Budh Singh was ultimately defeated and his territory, east of Chambal, was annexed by the Kotah Chief.⁴⁹

This coalition and expedition against Bundi secured prestige and position for Dost Muhammad Khan. He was "Legitimised by his recognition at the Imperial Court."⁵⁰

Defeat of Girdhar Bahadur (Subah of Malwa) : Surrender of Shujalpur :

Getting alarmed by the rising influence of Dost Muhammad Khan, Girdhar Bahadur, the Governor of Malwa, drew out his army from Ujjain to meet this Pathan. But with the assistance of his petty chiefs, Dost Muhammad Khan inflicted a crushing defeat upon Girdhar Bahadur.⁵¹ This defeat of the Governor of Malwa warned Bijey Ram, the Amil of Shujalpur so much that he made a voluntary surrender of Shujalpur to Dost Muhammad Khan, and accepted services under the Pathan.⁵²

This Bijey Ram in later times became Dost Muhammad Khan's minister to whom he dictated "the memoirs of his life and experi-

46. List according to *TI*, p. 5.

47. *TI*, p. 5; *TUB*, p. 5; *TB*, pp. 14-15.

48. *BSG*, p. 11; *TB*, p. 15.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Bpl. in 1939-42*, p. 69; *TB*, p. 15.

51. *TI*, p. 5; *BSG*, p. 11.

52. *Ibid.*; *TB*, p. 17.

ence which throw many a welcome side-light on the general Indian History of that Period".⁵³

Assistance rendered to Dilawar Ali Khan against Nizam-ul-Mulk :

The mighty Mughal Empire was already on its wane. Some figure heads of Mughal dynasty were playing like puppets either in the hands of veteran politicians or shrewd diplomats. Such was the condition when Syed Brothers rose to prominence. Emperor Muhammad Shah was raised by them to the throne though these brothers were the *de facto* rulers.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Deccan, was the rival of these brothers in Delhi diplomacy. To supplement, therefore, the forces of Dilawar Ali Khan, who was a trusted partisan of the Syed Brothers, they issued a firman to Dost Muhammad Khan,⁵⁴ to render all possible help to him against the Nizam. In compliance, Dost Muhammad Khan sent help under his brother, Mir Ahmed Khan.⁵⁵ In the battle of Ratanpur (30 miles from Burhanpur), which was fought on 11th May, 1720,⁵⁶ Mir Ahmed Khan was killed.⁵⁷

Dost Muhammad Khan, however, never wanted to displease the Nizam. So, in 1723 while he was proceeding to Deccan to punish his rebellious son, Nasim Jung,⁵⁸ he had encamped on the way at Nizam-ki-tekri⁵⁹ (known afterwards after his name), near Islamnagar. He wanted to punish Dost Muhammad Khan, who had in 1720, helped Dilawar Ali Khan against him.⁶⁰ But the Pathan, very tactfully sent his son, Yar Muhammad Khan as a hostage to the Nizam.⁶¹

Thus he averted the impending danger on Bhopal.

53. Bpl. in 1937-38, p. 2.

54. TB, p. 16.

55. BSG, p. 12.

56. TB, p. 16; Melcolm, p. 155; TI, p. 6; helped with 500 horses and 250 camel men.

57. TI, p. 6; Melcolm, p. 155; BSG, pp. 11-12.

58. BSG, p. 11; but TI, on p. 6, wrongly mentions that the Nizam went to Deccan in this reference, after the war between Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah, which took place in 1739.

59. BSG, p. 12, TI, p. 6.

60. TI, p. 6; Melcolm, p. 155.

61. BSG, p. 12; TB, p. 19.

Visit of Kurwai Chief Diler Khan at his Court at Berasia :

After assisting the Imperial Power in the battle of Ratanpur (1720), Dost Muhammad Khan's position grew so strong that many petty chiefs in Malwa felt necessity of keeping good relations with him. Hence the Chief of Kurwai, Diler Khan⁶² went to pay him a complimentary visit⁶³ at Berasia⁶⁴ in 1722 A.D.⁶⁵ In their conference they decided to help mutually in their projects of conquests. But a quarrel arose between them, in which Diler Khan was killed.⁶⁶ This year Dost Muhammad Khan assumed the title of Nawab, which enhanced his position to an independent status of a chief.⁶⁷

Ginnorgarh Annexed and Bhopal Ceded :

Regarding the annexation of Ginorgarh (38 miles from Bhopal, situated on 22°-49' N and 77°-36' E), and Bhopal, various controversial accounts are given in different sources. They differ from source to source. Hence it is hardly possible to come to definite conclusion. However, the following accounts are to be examined.

1. According to Sir John Melcolm : Dost Muhammad Khan established some sort of "connection with Nawal Shah, Raja of Gunnor,"⁶⁸ who was at war with Alum Shah, a chief of Chainpur Bari,⁶⁹ during those days. Nawal Shah defeated Alum Shah with the help rendered by Dost Muhammad Khan. This made Nawal Shah so pleased that he bestowed Bhopal to him.⁷⁰

2. But according to a manuscript written by a Muhamadan writer (name not mentioned in Melcolm's account), Dost Muhammad Khan was led by some men to make Bhopal (where he had gone for hunting); as his future residence.⁷¹ But this does not seem

62. BSG, p. 11; TI, p. 5, mentions the name, Dalel Khan who came to Berasia.

63. BSG, p. 11.

64. TI, p. 5.

65. BSG, p. 11.

66. TI, p. 5; BSG, p. 11; according to Kurwai Annals.

67. BSG, p. 11; Melcolm, on p. 156 mentions the assumption of the title of 'Nawab' after the death of Aurangzeb, seems to be too early.

68. Melcolm, p. 154.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

to have any historical value as such tales were not uncommon "in India regarding the origin of every town of celebrity."⁷³

3. Regarding the capture of Ginnor, Melcolm narrates a different story to make the subject more confusing. In a battle between the Raja of Ginnor and the Imperial army, Dost Muhammad Khan helped the Raja.⁷³ The Raja won the battle. It delighted him so much that he invited Dost Muhammad Khan along with his numerous females and others to Ginnor.⁷⁴ This was a chance for the "unprincipled Afghan."⁷⁵ In a hundred 'Palkis,' Dost Muhammad Khan admitted his armed men to the Fort and thus the place was surprised and taken.⁷⁶

This might have been the mode, adopted by Dost Muhammad Khan, to capture the fort.⁷⁷ But Melcolm does not seem to support this positively. He has based his account upon a Hindu narrator,⁷⁸ who does not mention the name of the Raja. Nor does Melcolm mention the name of the narrator. This Hindu narrator simply concludes that the Raja had no issue but two nephews, one of whom had endeavoured to poison the Raja,⁷⁹ who though not killed, was reduced to a state of debility.

4. Nawab Shah Jahan Begum gives a short account of the Ginnor episode. It reveals a different story, which runs thus: —

"Gunnur was a famous fortress of the Gonds, and Nizam Shah Gond, lord of Gunnur, had been poisoned by his relative, the chief of Chainpur-Bari. Rani Kamlapati, the widow of Nizam Shah, and her son Naval Shah were living in the fort of Gunner. The Rani hearing of the valour of Dost Muhammad Khan, invited him secretly to avenge the death of Nizam Shah on the chief of Bari. Dost Muhammad Khan collecting his forces and being vic-

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*, Melcolm writes: This, though an old stratagem in Indian History may have been the mode adopted of seizing the place".

78. *Ibid.*

79. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

torious, added the territories of Bari to his dominions, and became a manager for Rani Kamlapati. When she died, he seized the fortress of Gunnur also, put to death those Gonds, who rebelled, bestowing grants according to their degree upon the rest earned their gratitude."⁸⁰

5. And according to Bhopal State Gazetteer, "Gunnurgarh was then held by a Gond Chief, Nizam Shah, who had been poisoned by the chief of Chainpur-Bari."⁸¹ The Rani Kamlapati, Nizam Shah's widow, then called Dost Muhammad Khan to assist her minor son, Nawal Shah.⁸² After the Rani's death, as it reveals, the Pathan seized Ginnorgrah.⁸³ Later on attracted by the situation of Bhopal the Pathan decided to erect his capital on that site.⁸⁴ But it does not reveal any fact about the annexation of Bhopal during the life time of the Rani.

Tarikh-i-Bhopal, on the other hand, mentions that Bhopal was restored to Dost Muhammad Khan as a reward of his help to defeat the Ruler of Chainpur-Bari. This account, however, is not mentioned in any secondary source.

Thus examining the accounts above alluded to, the following may be inferred : —

A. According to Melcolm's Report : —

- i. Dost Muhammad Khan came in contact with Nawal Shah of Ginnor or (Gondwana territory).
- ii. There is no mention that Alum Shah of Chainpur-Bari⁸⁵ was related to Nawal Shah.
- iii. Nawal Shah was helped by Dost Muhammad Khan against the Imperial army.
- iv. Melcolm's accounts are mostly based on a Hindu narrator, and thus led him to confusion.
- v. He also asserts (based upon the narrator) that the Raja of Ginnor had no son but two nephews.

80. *TI*, pp. 5-6. Almost the same account is given in *BSC*, p. 11; and *TB*, pp. 17-18.

81. *BSG*, p. 11.

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*

85. *TB*, p. 18.

- vi. That one of them poisoned the Raja Nawal.
- vii. Nawal Shah's Ranies survived till the time of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan (1742-1777) of Bhopal.
- viii. As the records reveal, Melcolm seemed to depend upon the tale narrated by a Hindu (name not mentioned), he could not come to his own conclusion.

B. According to Shah Jahan Begum's Account: —

- i. Nizam Shah was the Gond Ruler of Ginnor.
- ii. Rani Kamlapati was his widow.
- iii. Nawal Shah was Nizam Shah's son.
- iv. Rani Kamlapati had invited Dost Muhammad Khan to avenge the death of her husband, Nizam Shah.
- v. At the time of Nizam Shah's death his son Nawal Shah was a minor.
- vi. Dost Muhammad Khan ceded Bari, one of the two towns of Alum Shah (relative or nephew is not clear).
- vii. Dost Muhammad Khan served the Rani as manager of Ginnor.
- viii. Ginnor was seized by Dost Muhammad Khan, after the death of Rani Kamlapati.

C. According to Bhopal State Gazette: —

- i. Nizam Shah was the Ruler of Ginnor.
- ii. He being poisoned, the widow Rani Kamlapati invited Dost Muhammad Khan for her help.
- iii. After the Rani's death Dost Muhammad Khan annexed the Ginnor territory, in which Bhopal, was an ordinary village.

Hence the following may be established: —

(a) Nizam Shah was the Ruler of Ginnor (or the Gondwana territory). Kamlapati and Nawal Shah were his wife and son respectively.

(b) Alum Shah, one of the relatives of Nizam Shah, succeeded in an attempt to kill Nizam Shah by poisoning him.

(c) To manage the affairs of the state and to avenge the death of her husband, Kamlapati invited Dost Muhammad Khan.

(d) Nawal Shah was a minor at the time of his father's death.

(e) The 'unprincipled Afghan' being opportunist accepted the invitation of the Rani, defeated the enemy (Alum Shah), and annexed the territory of (Chainpur) Bari.

(f) Dost Muhammad Khan during the life time of the Rani, virtually ruled Ginnor, as manager.

(g) The site of Bhopal (then an ordinary village in the Gondwana territory), attracted him, who laid the foundation of a fort there,⁸⁶ during the life time of the Rani.

(h) After the Rani's death the entire territory of Ginnor and Bhopal was annexed by Dost Muhammad Khan in his Kingdom.

During his long period of thirty years⁸⁷ active life, he thus added "the whole of Eatsern Malwa, Khandesh and parts of Bundelkhund and Gondwana including Hoshangabad and neighbouring territories",⁸⁸ and Raisen in the east of Shamsabad in the north, to his territory.

His Brothers and Children :

No record is available in which the serial order of his brothers and children given. There were six brothers in all. Dost Muhammad Khan was neither the youngest nor the eldest; most probably he was the third⁸⁹ or the fourth⁹⁰ son of his father. The death account of his brothers is given below :—

1. Alif Muammad Khan was killed in fighting against Baji Rao Peishwa.

2. Sher Muhammad Khan was killed in the battle of Jamal Bagri (Bhilsa).

3. Shah Muhammad Khan was killed in fighting against Dewa-Bhau, a Commander of Dhar.

4. Aqil Muhammad Khan was Diwan of Bhopal, who was killed in a riot at the Holi festival during the reign of Yar Muhammad Khan.

86. BSG, p. 11. (The fort of Fatehgarh and the boundary wall were built in 1722 A.D.)

87. Bpl. in 1939-42, p. 70; TI, p. 6.

88. Ibid.

89. BSG. See Genealogical Table.

90. TI. See Genealogical Table.

5. Mir Ahmed Khan was killed in fighting by the side of Dilawar Ali Khan. Dost Muhammad Khan had six sons⁹¹ and five daughters⁹² (names not mentioned). The names of his sons are as under:—

1. Yar Muhammad Khan.
2. Sultan Muhammad Khan.
3. Sadar Muhammad Khan.
4. Fazil Muhammad Khan.
5. Wasil Muhammad Khan.
6. Khan Bahadur Khan.

His Death and Estimate :

It is difficult to fix the date of Dost Muhammad Khan's death. A stone in the well of Ashta records his death before A. H. 1140 (corresponding to 1727 A.D.).⁹³ But this date does not lead to any specific time. Melcolm gives the date of his death as 1723 A.D. which seems to be too early.⁹⁴

Bhopal State Gazetteer, however, mentions that Dost Muhammad Khan, after thirty years of strenuous exertions, "died in A.H. 1139 (1726) at the age of 66, leaving a well established state behind him."⁹⁵ This date agrees with other events of his life, recorded, while the other dates do not.

Dost Muhammad Khan was a man of practical wisdom and natural courage. From the beginning to the end, his life was full of daring acts, and persons of his kind were the necessity of the day.

Various Hindu writers have rightly "imputed cruelty and perfidy"⁹⁶ to his diplomatic feats (particularly the Jadishpur episode), though this is not supported by his Muslim biographers.⁹⁷

91. BSG, p. 2; TI, p. 7.

92. TI, p. 7; BSG, p. 12.

93. BSG, p. 12 (see foot note).

94. Ibid.; Cyclopaedia on page 350 gives his date of death as 1725 A.D. seems to be too early.

95. BSG, p. 12. State Records also mentions this date.

96. Melcolm, p. 156.

97. Ibid.

Dost Muhammad Khan was ambitious. His "ambition is allowed by all, and every account agrees as to the combined art and violence, which he used"⁹⁸ in subjugating Chainpur Bari, Parason, Ginnor, Bhilsa and various others. He treated the Nizam skilfully who "wanted to dispossess"⁹⁹ him of his possession. He was fully aware of the fact that he was not in a position to burn his boat against the Nizam.¹⁰⁰ Hence without any hesitation he submitted his son, Yar Muhammad Khan, as a hostage to the Nizam.

Thus he won the favour of the Nizam. After his death, the Nizam proved a paternal ally to his son, Yar Muhammad Khan, in helping him to ascend the masnad of Bhopal.

Dost Muhammad Khan, without any doubt, was a man of talent and courage though like other founders, he never hesitated to act treacherously. In various actions he had received more than thirty wounds,¹⁰¹ and "his memory as a soldier is to this day fondly cherished by the family of which he is the founder".¹⁰²

98. *Ibid.*

99. *TI*, p. 6.

100. *Ibid.*

101. Melcolm, p. 156.

102. *Ibid.*

India, America and Cornwallis

BY

DR. B. G. GOKHALE

I

The two most outstanding events of American history are the American revolution and the Civil War. Of these the Civil War undoubtedly influenced the development of the cotton trade of India and thus produced an economic impact of far-reaching consequences.¹ The impact of the American Revolution has been considered to be of a more indirect nature though this view would merit a closer examination. It is the aim of the present paper to undertake this examination so as to direct attention to areas of India's political and economic history where the impact was directly felt. The closing decades of the 18th century were of momentous significance in the history of Europe, India and America. In America they saw the emergence of a sovereign United States. In India the result was quite the reverse, for it is in this period that the foundations of the British Empire were laid. The loss of the British Empire in the American Colonies was thus made up by the acquisition of a new empire in India and these events were inter-connected by processes of the history of British Imperialism.

II

The impact of the developing British-Indian Empire was felt in the Colonies in several interesting ways. The trade monopoly enjoyed by the East India Company created reactions of hostility from the mercantilist elements in the Colonies.² By 1773 the

1. See Gadgil, D.R., *Industrial Evolution of India*, Bombay, 1950, Chapters on cotton cultivation and the textile industry.

2. Schlesinger, Aathur Meirer, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Vol. LXXVIII, New York, 1918, p. 264.

financial affairs of the Company were in a very unsatisfactory condition which threatened the annual payment of £400,000 to the British Government. The way out of this predicament was sought by making the American Colonies a kind of captive market into which the unsold tea and Indian goods held by the Company's warehouses in London could be profitably unloaded.³ The Company had spent enormous sums in the course of its military adventures in India and "to save it from bankruptcy, Parliament loaned it £1,400,000. Along with the Tea Act went an India Regulating Act, which submitted the affairs of the company to a greater degree of supervision on the part of the Crown. The Company hoped that the sale of its tea in America under favourable terms to consumers might help to right its affairs."⁴

What happened by way of resistance to these moves is too well known to need repetition here. The actions of the Company in India were also conveniently used to stir up trouble in America by some pamphlet-writers of the time. John Dickinson, writing under the name of "Rusticus" stated: "Their conduct in Asia, for some years past, has given ample proofs, how little they regard the laws of Nations, the Rights, Liberties, or Lives of Men. They have levied War, excited Rebellions, dethroned Princes, and sacrificed Millions for the Sake of Gain. The Revenues of Mighty Kingdoms have centered in their Coffers. And these not being sufficient to glut their Avarice, they have, by the most unparalleled Barbarities, Extortions and Monopolies, stripped the miserable Inhabitants of their Property, and reduced whole Provinces to Indigence and Ruin. Fifteen hundred thousand, it is said, perished by Famine in one Year, not because the Earth denied its Fruits, but this Company and its Servants engrossed all the Necessaries of Life, and set them at so high a rate, that the Poor could not purchase them. Thus having drained the Sources of that immense Wealth . . . they now, it seems, cast their Eyes on America, as a new Theater, whereon to exercise their Talents of Rapine, Oppression and Cruelty. The Monopoly of Tea, is, I dare say, but a small part of the Plan they have formed to strip us of our

3. Miller, John C., *Origins of the American Revolution*, Stanford University Press, 1959, p. 337.

4. Gipson, Lawrence Henry, *The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775*, New York, 1954, pp. 217-128.

SWITZERLAND

BERN — Winkelriedstr. 59. Sat. 8 p.m. Telephone 8-7043.

GENEVA — 74 Avenue de Bel-Air, Chêne-Bourg. Tel. 36-00-83. Services biweekly.

ZURICH — Tel. 24-75-49 for information about devotional services.

AFRICA

GHANA

ACCRA — P. O. Box 2624. Meetings at Community Center. Sun. 6:30 a.m. Tues. and Fri. 6:30 p.m.

KOFORIDUA — J. Sakordee Memorial School, Form 1 Classroom. Tues. 5 p.m. Sun. 5 a.m.

TAKORADI — Community Center at Takoradi. Sun. 4 p.m.

SOUTH AFRICA

PORT ELIZABETH — 22 Upperhill St. Tues. 8 p.m. Tel. 2-3273.

PIETERMARITZBURG — 388 Boom St. Sun. 6-7 p.m. Fri. 4-5 p.m. Tel. 2-4952 or 2-8144.

AUSTRALASIA

AUSTRALIA

SYDNEY — Adyar Hall, 25 Bligh St. Sat. 4 p.m. (biweekly). Telephone XB. 3140 (Kirribilli).

NEW ZEALAND

AUCKLAND — 25 St. Stephen's Ave. Meetings at Higher Thought Temple, Wellington St. Sun. 6:30 p.m. and 7 p.m. Wed. 8 p.m. Telephone 44-710.

ASIA

INDIA

West Bengal

DAKSHINESWAR — Yogoda Math, 21 U. N. Mukherji Road. (P. O. Ariadaha, 24 Parganas Dist.), Dakshineswar; YSS India headquarters; accommodations for guests.

CALCUTTA — Tulsi Yogoda Ashram.

GOSABA — YSS Ashram, Sonagaon 6, Sundarban, 24 Parganas Dist.

HOWRAH — YSS Gurudham, Kadamtala Branch, 166 Bellilios Rd., Kadamtala. Sun. 7 p.m. Meditation every evening.

LAKSHMANPUR — YSS Ashram and Vidypath, High School for boys, residential hostel and ashram.

SERAMPORE — YSS Gurudham, Chatra, Hooghly District.

BHUSULIA — YSS Ashram, P.O. Pingla, Vil. Bhusulia, R.R. Station Ballychak.

DEBRA — YSS Ashram, R.R. Sta. Ballychak.

DONGABHANGA — YSS Ashram.

EJMALICHAK — YSS Ashram and High School, P.O. Arankiarana.

GHATAL — YSS Ashram and Junior High School.

GOBARDHANPUR — YSS Ashram, P.O. Kasigiri, R.R. Sta. Kolaghat.

HANDOL — YSS Ashram, P.O. Bhemua, R.R. Station Haur.

KALIDAN — YSS Ashram, Sri Yukteswar Smriti Mandir and Library.

KALIKAPUR — Yogoda, Sikshayatan.

KHAGRAGERI — YSS Ashram, P.O. Sabong, Nakindi.

SELF-REALIZATION

CANADA

MONTREAL, P.Q. — 3593 Ontario St. East. Tues. 8 p.m. Telephone LA. 1-9081 or LA. 5-4050.

VANCOUVER, B.C. — 3538 W. 34th Ave., Wed. and Thurs. 8 p.m.; Sun. 11 a.m., 7:30 p.m. At 807-809 Thurlow St. Mon. 7:45 p.m. Tel. MU. 3-4940 or AM. 6-6728.

MEXICO

CHIHUAHUA (CHIA.) — No. 1409 Morelos St. Tues. 9 p.m. Write c/o Apartado 323.

MERIDA (YUCATAN) — Calle 30, Num. 502-P. Wed. 8 p.m. Tel. 27-56.

MEXICO, D.F. — Coahuila St. Num. 79. Tues. 6:30 p.m. Tel. 23-26-16. Distributing center for SRF Lessons in Spanish; write to Apartado 1680.

MONTERREY (N.L.) — Calle Salamanca, 1246, Colonia Las Mitras Norte. Wed. 8:30 to 10 p.m.

CUBA

HAVANA — Masonic Bldg., Carlos III St. and Belascoain, 9th floor, Nos. 937 and 938. Tues. and Thurs. 6:30 p.m.

BRAZIL

RIO DE JANEIRO — Rua Urbano Santos, 15 Praia Vermelha. Sun. 10 a.m. Telephone 26-5823.

CHILE

CONCEPCION — 470 Anibal Pinto. Sat. 8 p.m.

SANTIAGO — Los Serenos 470, 6° piso, Oficina 64, Clasificador No. 846. Mon. 7 to 8:30 p.m.

COLOMBIA

ARMENIA, CALDAS — Carrera 19, No. 20-34. Sat. 7 p.m. Tel. 2831.

BOGOTA — Calle 57, Num. 25-51. Wed. 8 p.m.

CALI — Calle 8a, No. 6-10. Tues. 7 to 9:30 p.m.

PERU

LIMA — Avenida La Paz 1493, Miraflores. 2nd and 4th Friday each month, 8 p.m.

VENEZUELA

CARACAS — San Mateo a Vargas, No. 10. Wed. 8:30 p.m.

EUROPE

ENGLAND

LONDON — 33 Warrington Crescent, Maida Vale, W. 9. Thurs. 7 p.m.

FRANCE

PARIS — 114 Rue de l'Abbé-Groult, c/o Mr. C. Desquier. Distributing center for SRF Lessons in French.

SOUTH AMERICA

ARGENTINA

BUENOS AIRES — Av. Juncal No. 857. Sat. 5 p.m. Wed. 7:30 p.m.

CORDOBA — Calle Dorrego 372, Villa Cabrera. Sat. 5 p.m.

Property. But thank God, we are not *Sea Pows*, (sic), nor *Marrattas* (sic), but *British Subjects*, who are born to *Liberty*, who know its Worth, and who prize it high".⁵ And finally the success of the American Revolution gave the Americans new opportunities of expanding their own trade with China and India.⁶

.At the other end the impact of the American Revolution on Indian affairs was no less interesting. The extension of the Revolutionary War to the East disturbed the normally smooth relations among the Europeans in India.⁷ As Holden Furber points out "Old relationships were broken as commercial ties snapped, but there were compensations for all, whether belligerents or neutrals. For the British the war provided new ways of making money at the expense of their own East India Company. For the French and Dutch, the war lessened political power and prestige, but still left opportunities for profit in co-operation with the British. For the neutral Danes, "Ostenders" and Portuguese, war always meant increased business from the carrying of cargo goods on British, French or Dutch account."⁸ On the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the Company's Bombay administration had to borrow heavily from its own servants to meet expenses of the military operations (wars against the Marathas and Mysore) and in return open to these officers ways of making profits through the "country" trade.⁹ But one of the most vital impacts of the Revolutionary War was seen in the real stimulus given to the European ship-building industry in Bengal and elsewhere.¹⁰

III

Perhaps it is in the career of Charles Cornwallis that an exploration into the inter-relationships between certain aspects of events in America and India becomes both interesting and significant. The career of Cornwallis spanned three continents during a period when empires were disintegrating and new dominions

5. Schlesinger, *Op. Cit.*, p. 275; also Miller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 342.

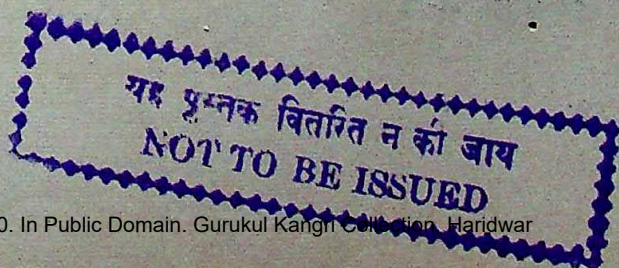
6. Greene, Everts Boutell, *The Revolutionary Generation, 1763-1775*, New York, 1954, pp. 217-218.

7. Furber, Holden, *John Company at Work*, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. 19-20.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 188.



arising out of the decay of old civilisations. But Cornwallis has not been very fortunate in attracting much attention from historians and biographers in the matter of detailed biographies and studies of the activities. Perhaps there is something of an explanation for this in the nature of his personality. It had nothing of the flamboyance of a Clive or Wellesley. He had neither the vision of a social reformer like Bentinck nor the dash of a Dalhousie. Even as an imperialist he does not show as much colour as a Dufferin or a Curzon. Nor does his career have around it the air of scandle and tragedy as that of Warren Hastings. A recent judgement on him describes him as "essentially a soldier, a man of physical courage and a competent general with a high sense of honour and duty but of quite ordinary abilities."¹¹ Born on December 31, 1738, Cornwallis belonged to a family of Irish origin living then in London. He was educated at Eton and was commissioned as an Ensign in the First Guards in 1756. At the age of 36 he was promoted to the rank of a Major-general and was sent to America in 1776 on the outbreak of the Colonial Rebellion. In 1777 he won the battle of Brandywine and occupied Philadelphia. He was then promoted to be Lieutenant-General and appointed second-in-command of the British forces. In 1778 he sailed to England to be near his ailing wife and returned to America shortly after her death. On his return he won the battle of Camden and took Charleston. But then came disaster and the Colonial Revolt became the triumphant American Revolution with his surrender at Yorktown on the 14th of October, 1781.

On his return to England after a spell as a prisoner of war in America, attempts were made to persuade him to accept the Governor-Generalship of the East India Company's territories in India. This he accepted after some initial hesitation and worked in India during 1786 and 1793 working out important administrative reforms and winning the Third Mysore War in 1790. After his return to England he served in Ireland from 1798 to 1801. Four years later he was appointed to a second term in India but died soon after his arrival on the 5th of October, 1805, and was buried at Ghazipore near Banaras.¹²

11. Mersey Viscount, *The Viceroy's and Governors-General of India, 1757-1947*, London, 1949, p. 26.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-25.

Cornwallis thus had served in military and civil capacities over quarter of a century in America, Europe, and India. He was intelligent but not brilliant, a devoted soldier but not much of a diplomat. He had the aristocratic ideas of his time and represented all the stolid virtues of the English squirearchy of his days. His personal involvement with events in the American Revolution certainly must have strengthened in him aristocratic convictions and he shared the aristocratic English reactions to the French Revolution, its ideas and consequences of those ideas. It cannot be denied that there was a vital difference between conditions in America and India and this difference must have been plain to Cornwallis. On the other hand there was a good deal of similarity between social elements in the two areas, elements which loyally supported the English in America and those likely to play a similar role in India. Let us now examine these elements in the two areas and attempt to find out whether the American experience had any impact at all on some of the important administrative measures taken by Cornwallis in India.

IV

From the planting of the Colonies in the opening decades of the 17th century to the outbreak of the Revolution in the closing decades of the 18th century, life in America had undergone many changes. There had grown prosperous mercantile and land-owning communities whose interests either harmonized with the larger interests of the Empire or were in acute conflict with the demands of imperial economy and policy. There were also the bureaucratic and clerical elements in the Colonies such as to make conflict with the Empire almost inevitable. The Colonies, in social and cultural terms, were after all projections of England shaped by the peculiar conditions obtaining in the New World. English ideas and institutions had struck deep roots in the emergent American mind whereas destruction, partial or complete, of old ideas and institutions in India was essential before Western ideas could take root. This process naturally took a long time and that explains the time-differential between the rise of nationalism in the American Colonies and the appearance of the same phenomenon in India. On the eve of the outbreak of the Revolution there was a small but determinedly revolutionary minority which expressed ideas and raised slogans breathing defiance of English authority. On the other side there were

numerous and scattered elements who were loyal to the Mother Country. It is this group of "Loyalists" that is of immediate interest to us here. An examination of the social contours of the Loyalist group reveals the bases of its economic interests. Jameson states that "as a matter of course, almost all persons who enjoyed office under the Crown became Tories, and those were a large number."¹³ Similarly among the merchants many whose economic interests were threatened by the rebellion supported the royal cause.¹⁴ Among the farmers the richest tended to be Loyalists though to this there were quite a few illustrious exceptions like George Washington and others. We must not forget, too, the British credit crisis of 1772 and its impact on the Colonies. Many of the planters were heavily in debt. As Sheridan points out: "Dependence upon British credit was widespread and debt pervasive that the great planter had a common bond with his fellow countryman on the lower rungs of the social ladder." In New York the bulk of the property owners belonged to the Tory Party and likewise Tories were active in the Carolinas.¹⁵ When Howe left Boston some 1100 persons, who formed the aristocracy of the province, left with him and this group formed one tenth of the people (including soldiers and sailors) who were evacuated.¹⁶ Generally speaking among the exiled loyalists a majority were landowners, substantial men of business and a great number of public servants.¹⁷ The Loyalist strength, thus, lay among the mercantile and propertied groups as well as professional men who were strong in the middle and southern colonies.¹⁸ These represented not only the aristocracy of wealth but

13. Jameson, J. Franklin, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Revolution*, Princeton, University Press, 1940, p. 13; There has been a tendency to question some of the assumptions and conclusions of Jameson but such criticism does not affect the ideas quoted in this paper. See Tolles, Fredrick B., "The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement: A Re-Evaluation", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. LX, No. 1, October, 1954, pp. 1-12.

14. Jameson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 16, 17; also see Richard B. Sheridan, "The British Credit Unions of 1772 and the American Colonies" in *The Journal of Economic History*, XX, No. 2, June, 1960, p. 183.

16. Trevelyan, George Macaulay, *The American Revolution*, London, 1905, Vol. I, pp. 373-374.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

18. Trevelyan, George Macaulay, *History of England*, London, 1928, p. 553.

also of culture, satisfied with the existing order of things and afraid of the threats posed by the Revolution to their social status, wealth and privilege.¹⁹ Their natural conservatism based on prosperity tended to strengthen loyalist sentiments whereas the radicals appeared to the then English observer as "of a disposition haughty and insolent, impatient of rule, disdainful subjection, and by all means affecting independence" in sharp contrast to the "remarkable plaint and submissive disposition of the inhabitants of Bengal."²⁰ The strength of the Revolutionaries lay among the plain people, the sturdy peasant proprietors, the aspiring small merchants, artisans, craftsmen and frontiersmen who scoffed at the pretensions of aristocracy and chafed against the restraints imposed by English economic and political control.²¹ And while New England had an urbanized aristocracy and few large estates "throughout the rest of the country the English system of large properties was extensively followed" and gave considerable strength to the Loyalist cause.²² The records of the confiscations of Loyalist properties in North Carolina and other areas shed a good deal of light on the interrelationships between loyalism as a political phenomenon and landed properties of a substantial and hereditary kind as its economic basis.²³ As Jameson points out "The feudal ages had discovered that, if men desired to give stability to society by keeping property in the hands of the same families generation after generation, the best way to do this was to entail the lands strictly...."²⁴ This pattern had already made substantial inroads into the agrarian economy of the Colonies and it expressed itself in some ways in loyalism.

The American evidence thus shows that England had been able to secure considerable support from loyalist elements that clung tenaciously to the privileges which they had secured under

19. Van Tyne, Claude Halstead, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution*, New York, 1929, p. 5.

20. *Ibid.*, also see Miller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

21. Jameson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

23. See DeMond, Robert O., *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution*, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C., 1940, pp. 240-250; also Harrell, Issac Samuel, *Loyalism in Virginia*, Chapters in the Economic History of the Revolution, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C., pp. 113-132.

24. Jameson, *Op. Cit.* p. 36.

the ægis of the Empire. Among these the most important were the big merchants and the equally big land-owners. This had obvious implications for the situation in India.

V

Though the English beginnings in India go back to the opening decade of the 17th century, almost the same period as the planting of the Colonies in the New World, it was not until the middle of the 18th century that the East India Company emerged as a major factor in the politics of continental India. The English Factory at Surat was established in 1608 and the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1615-1618), though not very spectacular in its results, was able to emphasize the political position of the English at the court of Jahangir (1605-1627). The earliest Bengal factory was set up at Hariharpur on May 14, 1633²⁵ and Madras was settled by 1640. The Hooghly factory began functioning in 1651 and between 1658 and 1680 at Kasimbazar, Dacca and other places. In 1668 Bombay was occupied and by 1690 Calcutta had become one of the major settlements. By 1680 the East India Company had an annual investment of £150,000 in Bengal alone.²⁶ Between 1717 and 1729 the Company's investment in Bengal rose from £ 278,593 to £ 363,927.²⁷ All this investment of capital and mercantile activity constituted a great economic revolution in Bengal and other areas of the country. Rafail Danibegov, a Georgian traveler to India in the closing decades of the 18th century, describes Bombay as "particularly famous for its merchants who are extraordinarily rich", and he observed somewhat similar conditions in Calcutta also.²⁸ There was thus the growth of a mercantile aristocracy²⁹ comprising fabulously rich bankers who maintained branches in many parts of the country.³⁰ As pointed out by K. M. Panikkar, under the impact of European trade, there had developed a powerful Indian capitalist class whose

25. Bruton, William, "News from the East Indies or a Voyage to Bengalla", published in Hakluyt's *Collection of Early Voyages, Travels and Discoveries*, London, 1812, Vol. V, p. 55.

26. See Bhattacharya, Sukumar, *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, From 1604 to 1740*, London 1954, p. 164.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 33; see Richard B. Sheridan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 164.

28. Kemp, P. M., *Russian Travellers to India, Delhi*, 1959, pp. 103, 109.

29. Bhattacharya, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 134-135.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

interests were closely intertwined with those of the European merchants. K. M. Panikkar's perspicacious observations on this phenomenon are worth quoting at some length here. He says :

"During the eighteenth century, as a result of the growth of Bengal trade, the commercial community of North India had flocked to Murshidabad and Calcutta. The Marwari millionaires of Bengal had become the equivalent of the compradore classes of Shanghai of a later period. While the nawabs and generals were able to squeeze them occasionally, there was no doubt that effective power in the form of control of the economic life of the province had passed from the decrepit Mogul nobles to the *bania* capitalists who fawned on them in their *durbars* but held their purse strings tightly.

"The emergence of this powerful class, whose economic interests were bound up with those of the foreign merchants and who had an inherited hatred of Muslim rule, was a factor of fundamental importance to the history of India and Asia".³¹

The Virji Vohras of Western India, the Anandaranga Pillais (*Dubash* of Dupleix), Pachiappa Mudaliars of South India and the Jagat Seths of Northern India were representatives of this new class who not only profited from the commercial revolution brought about by a change in India's trade but also were willing to throw their weight behind such political revolutions as were likely to sustain their prosperity. Plassey is an eloquent instance of this change. The battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757) is traditionally described in the chronicles of Anglo-India as a glorious clash of arms enlivened by the swashbuckling heroism of Robert Clive. But it was really a "transaction, not a battle, a transaction by which the compradores of Bengal, led by Jagat Seth, sold the nawab to the East India Company. The nawab's generals, already in league with the Hindu merchant princes and their British allies, did not fight and the treacherous general, Mir Jafar, received, as the price of his betrayal, The Nawabi of Bengal".³² A few years later in 1764 the Company defeated the armies of the Mughal emperor and his allies and secured the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar

³¹. Panikkar, K. M., *Asia and Western Dominance*, London, 1959, pp. 77-78.

³². *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

and Orissa. The Company had arrived on the political stage of India.

The interests of the mercantile classes of Bengal and other parts of India could not continue to be in harmony with the interests of the growing British empire forever. There was to come a time when these twin interests would clash and the classes that helped the British consolidate their economic and political hold over India in the initial stages would be ranged in open hostility against the Empire they first helped come into being. This was demonstrated later when the class of Indian merchants and industrialists threw their support behind the growing force of Indian nationalism in the opening decades of the 20th century. The Marwari, Gujarati and South Indian businessmen ardently supported the nationalists when they called for movements like *swadeshi* (Buy Indian) and "Boycott of British goods" and contributed financially in a generous measure to the activities of the Indian National Congress. In another study the present author has shown how Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the organizational leader of the Congress, was able to exercise such control over the Congress and make of it a fighting machine with the help of the rich financiers of Gujarat, Rajasthan and elsewhere.³³

British rule, therefore, could not rely at all times and completely on the allegiance of this class of merchants and industrialists. Such an unvarying support could come only from those groups that came into being under the aegis of British rule and depended for their continued prosperity on the continuation of that rule. On the assumption of the Diwani the immediate problem confronting the Company's administration in Bengal was that of revenue collection. After the first few years spent in the delectable pastime of "Shaking the Pagoda Tree" the administration had to set its own official house in order and get seriously down to the business of evolving a viable and efficient system of revenue collection. We need not go into the details of these efforts marked by annual, quinquennial and decennial assessment tried out by

³³. See Gokhale, B. G., "Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel", *Leadership and Political Institutions in India*, Edited by Richard L. Park and Iren Tinker. Princeton University Press, 1959, pp. 87-99.

the administration. Under Warren Hastings the first serious efforts were made to gather information on patterns of land-holding and systems of collection of assessment in the past. This work was done with commendable thoroughness by Sir John Shore and others. During the time of Warren Hastings it was his rival Phillip Francis who had made the suggestion of a Permanent Settlement for the first time. In the old Mughal days the principal agency of land-revenue collection was the Zamindar who was put in charge of a specific area for the purpose of land-revenue collection and general administration. This Zamindar was an administrative official and often the office passed on in a hereditary succession. To Philip Francis the Zamindar appeared "peculiarly like an English country squire", an opinion entirely at variance with the facts of the situation as revealed by the evidence collected by Sir John Shore.³⁴ The English land-lord system rose from the concept of private property in land which in itself was a survival of the past feudal tradition.³⁵

There were three distinct ways in which the Company could attempt to work out a system of revenue collection. One was to entrust the task to its own civil servants. The second was to come to some settlement with the individual peasant-proprietor and the third was to use the old Zamindari system. The first was impracticable since the Company did not have the requisite number of trained civil servants for the purpose. The second had obvious disadvantages since it involved dealing with hundreds of thousands of farmers, a task cumbersome in itself and one which required intimate knowledge of local customs and usages which the Company naturally did not have at that time. The third alternative offered the maximum advantages. Instead of dealing with a numerous peasantry the Company could ask a few thousand Zamindars to collect revenue from the individual peasant-proprietors, allow them to keep a stated part for their maintenance and expenses of collection and submit the rest to the

34. Weitzman, Sophia, *Warren Hastings and Philip Francis*, Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, No. LVI, Manchester, 1929, pp. 76, ff.

35. Desai, A. R., *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay, 1959, p. 35.

treasury.³⁶ The administrative convenience of the Zamindari system was accepted by all concerned; the dispute concerned decennial and permanent systems of settlement. Sir John Shore had urged the decennial settlement. His reasons were that "even after all the investigation that had been entered into, many questions had been decided on imperfect grounds, that in some cases injustice might have been done, by ignoring rights which had not been fully explained and that in others the Government might have suffered through concealment or fraud. For these and many other reasons he urged the advantage of leaving everything open to revision, after ten years' experience should have thrown fresh light on many obscure questions".³⁷ This debate on decennial versus permanent settlement went on for some years and when Cornwallis came on the scene he was deeply involved in it. The Directors had urged him to settle the issue of settlement as soon as possible. His own experience of loyalism in America and his personal ideas of the superiority of the system of squirearchy are cited as weighty factors which made him finally decide on the Permanent Settlement which he announced on March 22, 1793. Thus Kaye states that the Cornwallis settlement was "the aristocratic plan of an aristocratic statesman".³⁸ Mill stated "Full of the aristocratical ideas of modern Europe, the aristocratical person now at the head of the Government avowed his intention of establishing an aristocracy upon the European model".³⁹ Sir Richard Temple noted that the Cornwallis settlement was "a measure which was effected to naturalize the landed institutions of England among the natives of Bengal".⁴⁰ The most recent view is of Mishra who observes that Cornwallis seemed to have in view the formation of a new class of Zamindars, comprising the Company's regular farmers, its bunyans or agents and also the inferior Zamindars and talukdars who, from the identity of their economic

36. Forrest, G. W. (Ed.), *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India*, II, Warren Hastings, London, 1901, pp. 265-269.

37. Ross, Charles, (Ed.), *Correspondence of Charles Cornwallis, First Marquess*, London, 1859, Vol. II, p. 195.

38. Kaye, John William, *The Administration of the East India Company*, London, 1853, p. 181.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 181, Note.

40. Temple, Sir Richard, *Men and Events of My Time in India*, London, p. 30.

interests, formed a social group which differed in habits and character from zamindars descending from ancient families. Though yet predominantly feudal, a considerable part of this class operated under the influence of the Company's commercial capital, and invested their savings in the purchase of landed property. The gradual rise of this new social element perhaps caught the imagination of Cornwallis who observed in a letter of March 6, 1793, 'that the large capitals possessed by many of the natives, which they will have no means of employing when the public debt is discharged, will be applied to the purchase of landed property as soon as the tenure is declared secure.' Perhaps he also foresaw the consequences of the rising free trade movement in Britain, since he suggested that, in case Indian industries became completely engulfed by British capital, the security of tenure would convert land into a regular source of investment for Indian capital, leave the field open for the operation of British free trade in India, and avoid the possibility of antagonism arising from important avenues of investments being closed to the inhabitants of the country".⁴¹

What the Cornwallis Settlement then did was to bring into existence a new class of landed proprietors. Overnight the mere tax-gatherer became owner of the land and the farmer was turned into his tenant. It is not possible to argue that Cornwallis was unaware of the change in land-relationships he was introducing for he had at his disposal the evidence collected by Shore and others. He was not simply interested in questions like who owned the land farmed and if there were injustices involved in making the Zamindar the owner of the soil these were more than compensated for by the loyalties of the class the system was creating. The following extract from his correspondence makes clear the aim in view:

"In case of a foreign invasion it is a matter of the last importance, considering the means by which we keep possession of this country, that the proprietors of the lands should be attached to us from motives of self-interest. A landlord who is secured in the quiet enjoyment of a profitable estate

41. Mishra, B. B., *The Central Administration of the East India Company, 1773-1834*, Manchester, 1959, pp. 190-191.
J. 6

can have no motive for wishing for a change. On the contrary, if the rents of his land are raised in proportion to their improvement—if he is liable to be dispossessed, should he refuse to pay the increase required of him—or if, be threatened with imprisonment or confiscation of his property on account of the balance due to Government upon an assessment which his lands were unequal to pay, he will readily listen to any offers which are likely to bring about a change that cannot place him in a worse situation, but which hold out to him hopes of a better”.⁴²

Sir John Malcolm, Private Secretary to Lord Wellesley, writing to Mr. Barlow further confirms this motivation when he says: “We can only hope that a sense of gratitude will be the primary feeling in the breasts of those who benefit by this admissible system and that they will repay the State for the care it takes of their interests by a firm and lasting attachment”.⁴³ Some attempts have been made to question the assumption that Cornwallis’ aristocratic ideas were behind the introduction of the Permanent Settlement but the evidence before us does not warrant such doubts.⁴⁴

The Permanent Settlement thus created the “first breach under the British conquest of India in her old land system based on village right over land”.⁴⁵ It led to the rise of a new class of wealthy loyalists who benefited from the British connection. To this class was added another, that of the administrator who manipulated the law for his own advantage. This class eventually developed into a new landed class.⁴⁶ It is noteworthy that these new classes, with a few exceptions, generally supported British rule in India and loyally supported the Raj against commotions within and wars without. It was the conservative class to whom the British looked for continued support and to whose interests they paid special attention by giving it weightage in representa-

42. Ross, *Op. Cit.*, II, p. 473.

43. Kaye, *Op. Cit.*, p. 185.

44. Weitzman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 197.

45. Desai, *Op. Cit.*, p. 35.

46. See Cohn. B. S., “The Initial British Impact on India; A Case Study of the Banaras Region”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, August 1960, pp. 429-431.

tion in the reforms of 1909 and 1919.⁴⁷ As Desai states "for political-strategic reasons, the young British Raj in India needed a social support in the country to maintain itself. It was expected that the new class of landlords, which owed its existence to the British rule, would naturally support it".⁴⁸ And this is confirmed by no less a person than Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General of India 1828-35) in the following words:

"If security was wanting against extensive popular tumult or revolution, I should say that the Permanent Settlement, though a failure in many other respects and in its most important essentials, has this great advantage at least of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors deeply interested in the continuation of the British Dominion and having complete command over the mass of people".⁴⁹

A question may now be asked as to why, if the political advantages of the Zamindari system were so significant, it was not extended to other parts of India where other systems like the Ryotwari and the Malguzari were preferred. The explanation for this must be sought in two causes. First, the Zamindari system was not so well-entrenched in the western and southern parts of the country under pre-British rule as in Bengal and Northern India. Secondly the peculiar disadvantages of the system were great. The Permanent Settlement benefited the landlords who were often absentee landlords not interested in the improvement of agriculture as it was thought they would. While they grew rich the Government's share of their increased riches did not proportionately rise. And by the time Western India had been annexed the superiority of British arms was unquestionably firmly established. As the cost of Government increased the Government had to find new avenues of increasing revenue which the Permanent Settlement could not allow if extended to all parts of India.

But where it was introduced the Settlement produced its own results beneficial to British rule. It created a "Class of rural

47. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 167-169.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

49. See, Keith, A. B., *A Constitutional History of India*, London, 1936, p. 215.

capitalists, interspersed by several layers of absentee land-holders, whose care was confined to the rent they received from their under-farmers. This class constituted a new feature in the social history of the country. It possessed neither the nobility of the old aristocracy nor the progressive outlook of the nascent capitalism which grew in Europe from the centres of Industrial production, broke the bonds of feudal relations, and established liberalism as the guiding principle of life. It was indeed a class of commercialized feudalism, possessing neither an independent status in commerce nor a natural interest in land".⁵⁰

Our analysis of the American experience in the closing decades of the 18th century and British actions during that period in India has revealed a similarity of certain aspects of group interests aligning themselves on the British side. While there is no decisive and clear evidence to say that it was the American experience that led Cornwallis to finally decide in favour of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal in 1793, the possibility of the American experience influencing certain aspects of British decisions in India cannot be altogether ruled out. Seen in this light certain events in American and Indian history do assume a significance.

50. Noshra, *Op. Cit.*, p. 196.

Was Rana Pratap to Blame for not Joining Akbar ?

BY

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Luck.), D.Litt. (Agra),

Dr R. P. Tripathi writes in his scholarly work, "The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire," that in the contest between the Mughal empire headed by Akbar and Mewar under Rana Pratap the latter unnecessarily prolonged the struggle and committed the mistake of keeping himself aloof from the Indian Confederation. The Rana must, therefore, be held responsible for preventing the consummation of the political unity of India. "Rana Pratap's heroism, sturdy independence, love of freedom, readiness to suffer and sacrifice have inspired," writes the learned historian, "a large number of modern writers to read in his struggle facts not quite justified by sober history.....However one may admire the courage, determination and indomitable will of Rana Pratap, it will have to be admitted that he stood for a principle quite different to that which inspired his contemporary princes of Rajputana. While he fought for the independence of Mewar and the supremacy of the Sisodias, the other princes could not feel enthusiastic about it, for, their past experiences of the policy of the great rulers of Mewar were not very happy."¹ He continues: "The reasonable and generous terms offered by Akbar, viz., freedom from interference with social, religious and internal administration knocked the bottom out of the case against joining the Mughal Confederation.....It was not possible to make much of the bogey of matrimonial relationship enforced by the Mughal Emperor, for there is very little evidence outside the propagandistic compositions of the bards of Mewar to show that matrimonial alliance was a general policy of the Mughal empire to be enforced ruthlessly on all the Rajput princes. Indeed there was hardly any novelty in such relationship.....There is no positive evidence to

1. Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 222-223.

show that Akbar was bent upon enforcing it or there was *any great social upsurge or upheaval* against such an alliance amongst the Rajputs."²

Referring to the long indecisive contest between Akbar and Pratap Dr Tripathi writes: "Looking at the whole affair in cold historical perspective, it is a matter of regret that the refusal of Maharana Pratap Singh to recognise the fact of the superior military power and unlimited resources of the Delhi Emperor, cost so much bloodshed and suffering and continued to inspire the conflict for twenty years more after his death. If Rana Pratap had offered the terms which his successor offered to Jehangir, in all probability Akbar would have gladly welcomed them." The learned scholar concludes: "The rulers of Mewar strained every nerve and spared no pains humanly possible to keep the crimson banner of State independence lying. Therein lies their glory. But their inability to appreciate the force of facts produced nothing except a brilliant romance which all lovers of chivalry will undoubtedly treasure."³

If a writer of lesser eminence than Dr Tripathi had propounded the above theories, it would not have been necessary to notice them. As Dr Tripathi not only enjoys a high place among modern writers of medieval Indian history, but has written his "Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire," with the professed object of restating the history of the great Mughals for whosoever interested in it, in the light of the latest studies and researches" and of correcting the mistakes of all previous writers, it is well to analyse and examine his views in the light of the contemporary evidence.

In the first place, the responsibility for not joining the so-called Mughal Confederation does not rest with the Rana, but with Akbar, who insisted throughout on the Rana's personal attendance at his court, whereas the demand of Mewar was that her ruler should be exempted from going to the Mughal capital and attending the imperial court. There is no recorded evidence to show as to what terms Akbar had offered to Pratap's father, Udai Singh, before

2. *Ibid.*, 224-225.

3. *Ibid.*, 378.

he undertook the siege of Chittor in September 1567 and the Rana's reaction to them. We have it on the testimony of Abul Fazl that when the siege had lasted for sometime and the Rajputs had noticed Akbar's grim determination to capture the fort without caring for sacrifices involved, the garrison of Chittor opened parleys, offering to recognise the Mughal suzerainty and to pay an annual tribute; but Akbar insisted on the Rana's personal attendance which the garrison declined to agree to and hence the negotiations fell through.⁴ As far as Rana Pratap was concerned, the first recorded attempt of Akbar to persuade him to submit peacefully was made in September 1572 when the Mughal emperor was about to march on an expedition of conquest of Gujarat. Consequently he despatched an embassy under Jalal Khan Qorchi who returned to court at Ahmedabad on November 27, 1572.⁵ Unfortunately no details of the terms offered to the Rana are mentioned by any of the two contemporary writers, who referred to this first Mughal embassy to the court of the new Rana. Nor is there any reference to the factors that led to the failure of the mission.⁶ The emperor now felt that a Rajput envoy of an exalted status and influence might be more suitable for the delicate task and consequently he directed in April 1573, Prince Man Singh of Amber to proceed to Udaipur to contact Rana Pratap. But though the Rana accorded a friendly reception to Man Singh, he declined to attend the court at Agra and Man Singh had to return disappointed. (end of June). Abul Fazl records the failure of the mission in these words: "The Rana came out to welcome them (Man Singh and his colleagues), and received him (Man Singh) with respect and put on the royal khilaat. He brought Man Singh to his house as his guest, but owing to his evil nature he proceeded to make excuses (*about going to court*), alleging that 'his well-wishers would not suffer him to go'. He made promises about going to the sublime court, but raised objections, and gave Man Singh leave to depart, while he himself stayed and procrastinated".⁶ It is clear from the above account that Pratap did not altogether reject Akbar's offer of an alliance and

4. A.N. III, 320.

5. Tarikh Akbar Shahi of Muhammad Arif Qandhari, 255; Tabqat Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Vol. II, 240.

6. A.N. III, p. 40; Eng. Tr. III, 56.

that he put on the royal khilaat which implied that he was not unwilling to submit. But he refused to go to court. In other words he wanted exemption from personal attendance.

A third Mughal mission under Raja Bhakwant Das, father of Man Singh, followed in September-October, 1573, with no better results. Regarding this mission the historian Abul Fazl writes: ".....when the victorious army reached Gogunda, which was the Rana's residence, Rana Kika expressed shame and repentance for his past conduct and prolonged deficiency in service, and by way of submission came and visited Raja Bhagwant Das. He also took him to his house and treated him with respect and hospitality. He sent along with him his son and heir, and represented that by his ill-fortune a feeling of desolation (*tawakhuski*) had taken possession of him, and that now he presented his petition through the Raja and was sending his son as a mark of obedience. When his desolate (or savage) heart should become soothed by the lapse of time, he too would come and do homage in person".⁷ Thus the Rana not only expressed his desire to submit but also sent his son and heir, Prince Amar Singh, to the royal court. Of course, he made excuses regarding his personally going to the court and attending it. A little after this another notable envoy was sent to Rana Pratap. This time it was the famous Todar Mal, who on his return journey from Gujarat, called on the Rana at Gogunda. He too was well received. But again the Rana declined to go to Fatehpur Sikri. Abul Fazl is silent on the cause of Pratap's refusal to attend the imperial court and only says that he visited him (Todar Mal) also on his way and displayed flattery and submissiveness".⁸

This cryptic remark shows that the Rana had not brushed aside the proposal of his joining the Mughal Confederation. As is clear from an account of the four unsuccessful Mughal missions, Rana Pratap had not ruled out his willingness to submit to Akbar and recognise him as his suzerain. All that he wanted was that as a condition precedent to such a recognition he must not be forced to attend the Mughal court in person. The royal Khilaat that he accepted and put on was an indication of the fact

7. A.N. III, p. 67; Eng. Tr. III, 92-93.

8. *Ibid.*, 67; Eng. Tr. III, 93.

that he was not averse to acknowledge the Mughal suzerainty. The fact that he sent his son and heir to Akbar's court was a further proof of his desire to make up the quarrel with so mighty a ruler as Akbar. It is surprising that a scholar of Dr Tripathi's ability should have ignored the main issue involved in the dispute between Akbar and Pratap.

Secondly, it must not be forgotten that even before Akbar had realised the futility of peacefully settling the Mewar problem, he was doing his very best to exert military pressure on the Rana and to bring about an encirclement of his territory. In fact, while refraining from any direct military expedition against Mewar, Akbar pursued the policy of blockading it at the very time when he was sending one after another of the above-mentioned four missions of peace to the Rana's court. Besides occupying eastern half of Mewar, arranging for its survey and settlement, establishing powerful garrisons of the ferocious Central Asian troops in the interior of the country, he surrounded Mewar on the north, east and west by Mughal territory before he had sent his first mission to Pratap's court. It should also be remembered that the alienation of parts of eastern Mewar which Akbar granted in assignment to Muslim officers and deserters from the Rana, such as Jagmal (who was given Jahazpur) or as the endowment land to the Khwaja's shrine at Ajmer, amounted in effect to a pincer movement from within. At the same time Akbar tried to isolate Mewar from its natural allies, Idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswara, and Bundi. In the face of these hard facts, he would be a bold man who would accuse Rana Pratap of intransigence. Dr Tripathi's assertion that "if Rana Pratap had offered the terms which his successor offered to Jahangir, *in all probability*, Akbar would have gladly welcomed them", makes little sense. Pratap had in fact offered these very terms at least as early as the time of the second Mughal mission to his court, if not earlier.

Thirdly, it is easy in the second half of the twentieth century to ridicule the so-called bogey of matrimonial relationship when the entire world is drawing closer together and racial and religious prejudices are dying out. But in the medieval age even inter-caste marriages among the Hindus themselves were taboo. These are by no means common even today, and except for a case here and a case there, marriages between Hindus and Musalmans are very rare indeed in the present age. Raja Bharmal of Amber

was compelled under extra-ordinary circumstances, which threatened the extinction of his kingdom, to offer his daughter in marriage to Akbar. Honestly speaking it was not a willing alliance. As for the earlier marriages of this nature to which Dr Tripathi refers the less said the better. Those who are in touch with Rajasthan know that the modern descendants of medieval Rajput rulers are so ashamed of those alliances that they have tried to propound a theory that the ladies given in marriage to the Mughal rulers were the daughters of the Rajas' concubines, not their daughters by their Rajput queens. Thus the marriages of Rajput ladies with Mughal princes were and are in Hindu eyes *mēsalliances*. Dr Tripathi probably is the first prominent Hindu writer to commend such matrimonial relationship.

Fourthly, it was only after the failure of the peaceful negotiations and the use of naked force by Akbar that Pratap decided not to recognise Akbar's suzerainty *at all*. From 1572 to 1578 he was willing to submit on the condition that he should not be called upon to appear at the Mughal court, but after the battle of Haldighati in June, 1576 his stand was that *he would not recognise Mughal suzerainty at any cost*. Modern writers have failed to take note of Mewar's two different stands at different periods of Rana Pratap's relationship with Akbar.

Fifthly, the unconditional submission of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer was due in a large measure to the persuasion and diplomacy of the ruling house of Amber, which persistently and for obvious reasons earnestly wanted the principal Rajput ruling dynasties of Rajasthan to fall in line with it. This is clear from all contemporary Persian chronicles. Akbar and his court on that account displayed an unusual regard for the Kachchwahas. Sometimes no action was taken even when the members of the Kachchwaha ruling family of Amber and their relations were guilty of unbecoming conduct.

Finally, the contention that after all Mewar lost her independence in the time of Pratap's son Amar Singh and that it would have saved immense sacrifices, if Pratap had done the same in 1572, seems to be based on a misunderstanding. The honourable terms secured by Amar Singh in 1615 were due to the long and stubborn resistance put up by Pratap and for 18 years by Amar

Singh himself. Without these sacrifices Mewar could hardly have hoped for a preferential treatment; treatment different from the one meted out by the Mughal emperor to Amber, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Dungarpur. It is because of his successful defiance of Akbar the Great without reckoning the sacrifices that Pratap has been rightly called the embodiment of "the elemental spirit of India", that up-holds her traditional glory and defies everything that tarnishes that glory.

Maratha Nizam Relations

THE MASIRE ASAFI OF LAXMI NARAYAN SHAFIQ
AURANGABADI

BY

SHRI P. SETU MADHAVA RAO, M.A., I.A.S.

Among the historians of the 18th century Deccan, Laxmi Narayan Shafiq holds an important place. His grandfather was a trusted servant of Firoz Jung, the father of Niam-ul-mulk, the founder of the Nizam dynasty of Hyderabad. Laxminarayan's father, Lala Mansaram, was the secretary of Nizam-ul-mulk. He was with Nizam-ul-mulk till the latter's death in 1748. The family settled in Aurangabad and as such Laxminarayan is known as Aurangabadi. Lala Mansaram, the father of Laxminarayan, is the author of two books in Persian, dealing with the life of the first Nizam and his court. They are the Masir-e-Nizami and the Risale-Darbar-e-Asafi.

Laxminarayan was born in 1743 A.D. According to the prevailing scholarship of the age he studied and soon obtained mastery of Persian and Urdu. He was a disciple of the great scholar and critic Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami (1704 to 1786) the author of *Khanai Amira*. He was also a friend of the celebrated Urdu poet Siraj Aurangabadi. Laxminarayan is the author of two works in Persian dealing with prominent Urdu and Persian poets and their poetry. These two works, the *Chamanistane shora* and the *Gule rana* are considered indispensable to this day by students and scholars of Urdu and Indo-Persian literature. Laxminarayan is the author of three works on history. His first work, the *Masir-e-Asafi* was written in 1794 A.D. and deals with the Nizams of Hyderabad from the migration of Khwaja Abid to India in 1658, upto 1794 A.D. The second work, the *Bisatul Ganaim* was composed in 1799 A.D. and deals with the history of the Marathas upto the death of Nanasaheb Peshwa in 1761. This work is small and consists of only 114 pages. The third work of Laxminarayan,

the *Haqiqate Hindustan* is mainly of statistical nature. The revenue and the divisions, districts and paraganas of the Mughal empire are described in great detail in this work. This work seems to have been composed in about 1804 A.D. Laxminarayan seems to have died shortly after. In the following lines a brief description of Laxminarayan's work, the *Masir-e-Asafi* to the extent it deals with the Maratha Nizam relations will be attempted.

Masir-e-Asafi

This work has not been published so far. Manuscript copies of the book are available in a few libraries. Through the kind courtesy of Shri Marshall, the Head of the Library Department, the University of Bombay I was able to get the manuscript copy of this work from the Asiatic Society Library of Calcutta.

The bulk of the work is enormous. The number of pages of this volume runs to 1057. One would suppose that Laxminarayan must have dealt in very great detail with the history of the Nizams to have covered more than 1000 pages. But a close look at this work dispels this illusion. Following the example of other Indo-Persian historians, Laxminarayan reproduces hundreds of pages from the works of other historians. It may be said to his credit, however, that he acknowledges the debt fairly and frankly, a practice not resorted to, it may be admitted with regret, by many Persian historians. The result, however, has been that there is very little of Laxminarayan's own contribution until one-half the bulk of the volume is gone through.

Thus, for the origin of the family of the Nizam until the establishment of Nizam-ul-mulk in the Deccan in 1720 A.D., Laxminarayan has reproduced in full the account given by Khafikhan. He has also laid under debt Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami by borrowing copiously from the latter's work, the *Khazanai Amira*. About the history of the Marathas, Laxminarayan has reproduced in full the Persian chronicle, the *Tarikhe Shivaji*, itself a translation of a Marathi *Bakhar*, and translated into English by Sir J. N. Sarkar from the Persian manuscript of the India Office Library in the *Modern Review* of 1907 A.D. It is only when we come nearer to 1757 A.D. that we see Laxminarayan giving account of undoubtedly much that he saw and observed, as he was attached to the court of the Nizam.

It is well known that Shahanawaz Khan who was the Prime Minister of the Nizam Salabat Jang from 1753 to 1757 A.D. lost the favour of the Nizam in that year and fled to the fort of Daulatabad. At his invitation the Marathas invaded Aurangabad. To meet this danger, the Nizam brothers Salabat Jang, Nizam Ali Khan and Basalatjang joined hands and effected a reconciliation with Shahnawaz Khan. After the Maratha campaign had ended and they had departed, the Nizam brothers, with the help of Bussy, effected the arrest of Shahnawaz Khan. At this time Hyderjung, the agent of Bussy came to power. He rightly understood that Nizam Ali Khan, who, at that time held the Governorship of Berar was the most capable and ambitious of the Nizam brothers. He proceeded to divest Nizam Ali Khan of all power and persuaded the Nizam Salabatjung to transfer Nizam Ali Khan from Berar to the province of Hyderabad where Hyderjung hoped to put him in detention. Seeing the net closing around him Nizam Ali Khan decided to get rid of Hyderjung. On 11th May 1758 Hyderjung was invited to the tent of Nizam Ali Khan. This is what Laxminarayan has to say about the murder of Hyderjung in page 564.

On the third of Ramzan, Thursday, in the year 1171 Hejira, Nizam Ali Khan invited Hyderjung, saying that, as he was to depart the next day he wanted to have conversation with him about two or three important items. Accordingly Hyderjung repaired to the tent of Nizam Ali Khan accompanied by a few attendants and two guards. Nizam Ali Khan called in his companions one by one and putting their hands in those of Hyderjung said, "These are my faithful and favourite companions. I entrust them to you. Please be considerate to them." After this he left with the intention of going to the closet. His faithful servants then joined together and finished Hyderjung in this way. Qamqamjang caught hold of the two arms of Hyderjung and held them to his neck in a grip. Zabardast Khan and Shahsawarjang plunged their daggers in his stomach in close proximity. Vithal Sunder Raja Pratapwant smashed his head with a blow of the sword. They then wrapped the corpse in a white sheet and threw it in a corner.

Laxminarayan is the only author according to whom, it was Vithal Sunder Pratapwant who struck the blow. The other works such as the *Tarikhe Rahatafza* do not mention the presence of Pra-

tapwant. The author of the *Rahatafza* says that "as soon as Nizam Ali Khan had left the place, Mohamad Ghous Khan and Gulam Sayyad Khan (the latter rose to be the prime minister of Hyderabad under the title of Mushir-ul-mulk) attacked Hyderjung and killed him with their daggers."

About the campaign of Udgir in 1760 we get some details from Laxminarayan. There is a school of thought in Maharashtra which holds the view that in the final battle, the Marathas had surrounded the elephant carrying Nizam Ali Khan and could have captured or killed him but for their mistaken notions of generosity. This is what Laxminarayan has to say about the final battle fought on 3rd February 1760 in page 584. The Marathas surrounded the rear guard (chandawal). The Nizam's army fought with great determination but it was not even one tenth of the enemy's army. At last Shaukatjung, the Nizam's general was killed. Qadirsahib Jalaluddowla, Hasan Munawar Khan, Gulam Naksh Band Khan, Basantrai, Gourbaksh, the brother of Bhalerao, Ballkrishna Pandit and Raja Balawant sacrificed their lives for the Nizam on the field of battle. On the enemy's side 1000 horsemen, and officers lost their lives. After destroying the rearguard of the Nizam's army the Marathas advanced with their elephants who were equipped with swords in their trunks, and fell upon the centre of the Nizam's army. Nizam Ali Khan was engaged in person against them. He discharged a few quivers of arrows with great effect. Very little distance remained between the Marathas and the elephant carrying Nizam Ali Khan. At this time by divine dispensation innumerable bullocks full of grain loads which were in the Nizam's camp rushed into the field of battle and created a great obstruction. In the fight, what was the advanced guard turned into rearguard and rearguard turned into advanced guard, Saifuddowlah, the Mirbakshi, exerted his utmost in that battle and returned to the camp in the evening. Seeing the destruction of his rearguard and the condition of his army Salabatjung became very anxious and was inclined to sue for peace.

After the battle of Udgir the Maratha army marched towards the fatal field of Panipat. Laxminarayan has reproduced entirely the account of the battle of Panipat as given by Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, in his *Khazanai Amira*. He has also reproduced a Persian version of the Marathi despatch said to have been sent by Malharrao Holkar to Nanasahib Peshwa. This despatch is known in Marathi

as "Holkarachi Thaili". When the late Shri Rajwade came across a copy of this despatch, the first 19 and the last 2 pages of the Marathi despatch were missing. He published it in its incomplete form in 1901 A.D. During the last 60 years students of Maratha history have been searching for the lost pages without success. Fortunately we now have the complete despatch of Malhar Rao Holkar as translated into Persian by Laxminarayan in the *Masir-e-Asafi*.

While the Maratha forces were engaged with the Afghans at Panipat, Nanasahib Peshwa had left his brother Raghunath Rao with a sizeable army in the Deccan to watch the movements of the Nizam. Nizam Ali Khan soon came into conflict with Raghunath Rao. In page 636 Laxminarayan gives an account of the brief conflict between the Nizam and Raghunath Rao. Raghunath Rao advanced with his army in the province of Medak. Nizam Ali Khan advanced to meet him. In the meanwhile Nizam's younger brother, Nasir-ul-mulk Mir Mughal Ali Khan had been appointed the Governor of Nanded. He, along with Ismail Khan Panni, advanced from Hyderabad and met Nizam Ali Khan near Medak. Raghunath Rao was aware of the small number of troops with Nizam Ali Khan. He had a large army with him. With a view to force a conflict he approached Nizam Ali Khan. Just at this time the news of the disaster to Vishwas Rao in Northern India reached Raghunath Rao. He lost heart and was forced to ask for peace. Nizam Ali Khan seized this opportunity and agreed to the peace between the parties.

After the death of Nanasahib Peshwa, Madhav Rao succeeded his father in 1761 A.D. Laxminarayan says in page 638 that, dissatisfied with the accession of his nephew Madhav Rao, Raghunath Rao collected forces and suddenly descending upon Aurangabad laid siege to that city. Nizam Ali Khan becoming aware of the highhandedness of Raghunath Rao marched against him in 1175 Hejira. He had reached Dharur when he heard that Raghunath Rao had moved towards Aurangabad. Although Motminuddowlah Dargah Kuli Khan, the governor of the city of Aurangabad protected the city with bravery, Raghunath Rao destroyed the suburbs and parganas of Aurangabad. Nizam Ali Khan rapidly crossed the ghat of Dharur. Raghunath Rao raised the siege of the city and moved to oppose the Nizam's army. He found the enemy strong. He therefore decided to draw the army of Islam towards Daulata-

bad and engage them at that place. He therefore retreated towards Aurangabad. Nizam Ali Khan pursued him and reaching Aurangabad, where he left his heavy baggage, he made arrangements for the provision of his army. He left Aurangabad on the 23rd of Rabiul Akhar 1175 Hejira and turned towards Ahamadnagar, which was in the hands of the Marathas. He passed through Toka and Chambhar-gonda. Raghunathrao appeared from behind the hills, and started firing cannon and discharging rockets. Under the orders of Nizam Ali Khan, Raja Pratapwant and Saifuddowlah engaged Raghunathrao in battle. Janoji Nimbalkar hurried to their help. The victorious army of Nizam Ali Khan reached the environs of Ahmadnagar. At this stage Raghunathrao collected his forces once again and fell upon Raja Vinayak Das who was posted at the left wing of Nizam's Army. Sultanji Nimbalkar and Murad Khan rushed to the help of Raja Vinayak Das and successfully beat off the attack of Raghunathrao. When the Nizam's army reached Turabad, Raghunathrao once again attacked the Nizam's army. Nizam Ali Khan left the Nizam Salabatjang under the protection of the camp and pursued Raghunathrao for a distance of ten miles before he returned to his camp. To cross the ghats Nizam Ali Khan marched at night. He crossed the ghats and camped on the river Ghodnadi. Raghunathrao camped on the other side of the river. He started a fierce cannonade. The shots falling in the camps of the Nizam produced great consternation. Nizam Ali Khan did not like to give the impression that his tents were removed due to fear. He ordered a march to the rear for a short distance. The next day the Nizam's army crossed the river. They fought the enemy every day and reached the environs of Poona. On the night of 27th Jamdil Awal, Nasir-ul-mulk, the younger brother of Nizam Ali Khan, due to his inexperience and the persuasion of some people deserted Nizam Ali Khan. He and Raja Ramchandra (Jadhav) who was leading the vanguard of the army joined the Marathas with a large army of their own. This caused great shock and anxiety in the army of the Nizam. Nizam Ali Khan called together all his officers and said, "Those who want to serve me with heart and soul should remain and those who want to leave me can partake of the betel leaf and leave the camp freely." Janoji and Sultanji with tears in their eyes said that the treachery of Raja Ramachandra would drag them also into blame but they begged

Nizam Ali Khan to observe how faithful they were. Nizam Ali Khan instilled confidence in his army and marched forward. The Marathas tried to oppose him but could not succeed. Raghunathrao saw that even the desertion of Nasir-ul-mulk and Raja Ramchandra had not affected the march of the army of Islam which was now only a few miles from Poona. That city was in danger of being burnt and destroyed. Raghunathrao felt that it would bring great discredit to him. He therefore started negotiations for peace. Nizam Ali Khan sent Janoji and Sultanji to him and pointing out his lapses to Raghunathrao warned him against the repetition of the same. At the same time he agreed to peace. Raghunathrao handed over territory yielding an annual income of over 27 lakhs of rupees from the subhas of Aurangabad and Bidar to Nizam Ali Khan. Afterwards he returned to his country. The Nizam also returned and on his way devastated the fief of Pancha Mahal held by Ramachandra Jadhav as a punishment for his treachery. (643).

After his return from the campaign Nizam Ali Khan put his brother Salabatjang, the Nizam in internment at Bidar, and seized all power. Nizam Ali Khan spent the rainy season at Bidar. At this juncture Murad Khan sent a letter to the Nizam the purport of which was that differences had broken out between Madhavrao and Raghunathrao. The counsellors of the Peshwa had divided themselves into two parties, one supporting Madhavrao and the other Raghunathrao. Finding his position untenable at Poona, Raghunathrao fled with a few horsemen on 3rd safar 1176 Hejira and took the road to Nasik. He had sought refuge, Murad Khan said in his letter, with Islam. It would be necessary for the Nizam to help him.

On receipt of this letter the Nizam ordered Janoji and Sultanji Nimbalkar to act in league with Murad Khan and march to the assistance of Raghunathrao. The three generals accordingly marched to the river Bhima. Madhav Rao too arrived with his army on the other side of the river. As the river was in flood, the armies could not cross it, nor was there any possibility of fight. Murad Khan took note of this situation. Accompanied by a few horsemen, he swam across the river during night and suddenly appeared before Madhav Rao. He succeeded in securing the person of Madhav Rao and brought him to his camp on the other side of the river. Next day he arranged a meeting between

Raghunath Rao and Madhav Rao in his tent. Murad Khan succeeded in resolving the differences of the parties. He then started with them to meet the Nizam. On receipt of this strange news, the Nizam marched from Bidar and reached the province of Bijapur. On the 10th of Jamadil Akhar 1176 Hejira Raghunath Rao and Madhav Rao met Nizam Ali Khan through Murad Khan at Pedgaon. Raghunath Rao handed over a territory yielding an annual income of 50 lakhs of Rupees including the fort of Daulatabad in return for the assistance he had received from the Nizam.

Nizam Ali Khan then held consultations with Raghunath Rao. The subject was the putting down of Hyder Ali Khan, who was becoming bold year by year. The combined armies marched to the fort of Miraj. As the success of the Nizam's campaign this time had been achieved through the efforts of Mohammad Murad Khan, this was viewed with great displeasure by Raja Pratapwant. Even before the territory and the fort of Daulatabad mentioned in the treaty had changed hands, peace between the Nizam and Raghunath Rao was shattered by Pratapwant. He persuaded Nizam Ali Khan that Raghunath Rao should be dismissed. Janoji, the son of Raghuji Bhosle, was promised the power and status of Raghunath Rao and was induced to join the Nizam. Nasir-ul-mulk, the younger brother of Nizam Ali Khan, had joined the Marathas. Due to their lack of appreciation of his services he became disappointed and returned to the Nizam on the 14th of Shaban 1176 Hejira. Oppressed by Raghunath Rao, Gopal Hari, the Governor of the fort of Miraj, appealed to the Nizam through Raja Pratapwant. The Nizam recommended Gopal Hari for consideration to Raghunath Rao. Raghunath Rao refused to entertain this representation. On this, Nizam Ali Khan resolved on punishing Raghunath Rao. Seeing himself unable to resist the Nizam, Raghunath Rao started devastating the territory and appeared before Aurangabad from the West.⁶⁴

He demanded a large ransom from the city of Aurangabad. Motmin-ul-mulk Dargah Quli Khan, the governor of the city, in spite of insufficient forces and provision of war material, strengthened the defences of the city and entrusted the fortifications for defence to Himmat Khan the uterine brother of Murad Khan and the Kotwal of the city and other officers. He prolonged talks with Raghunath Rao, while awaiting help from Nizam Ali Khan. Raghunath Rao came to know of these designs and decided to cap-

ture the city. He constructed ladders and other necessary requisites for the capture of the city. On the 28th of Shaban, his army descended upon the suburbs of the city. Raghunath Rao along with his select troops, took his stand to the north of Aurangabad. His soldiers erected ladders to scale the walls. They brought the elephants to the proximity of the walls. There is a gate in the walls of the Gulabi Baug of the Quila Ark. The elephants were brought to break this door. Himmat Khan, Mirza Mohamad Baqar Khan and others from the city showered arrows, and bullets and even stones and shoes upon them and repulsed the enemy. Many of the enemy were killed at the hands of the inhabitants of the city. In the thick of the fight, the elephant driver of Raghunath Rao was hit by a bullet. Raghunath Rao then withdrew from the attack. Hearing of the arrival of Nizam Ali Khan, he turned towards Baglana. On the 26th of Shaban Nizam Ali Khan arrived at Aurangabad. As the enemy appeared to be bent upon devastating Berar, Nizam Ali Khan left Aurangabad in the beginning of the month of Ramzan and marched towards Balapur in Berar. The Marathas turned from Berar and passing by the city of Aurangabad moved towards the city of Hyderabad. Nizam Ali Khan pursued them to the bank of the river Godavari. Here a consultation took place with his officers and it was decided to give up the pursuit of the Marathas and march towards the city of Poona. Accordingly the Nizam's army having crossed the ghats of Ahmadnagar divided itself into detachments. These were to devastate the country round Poona, while the main army marched towards the city of Poona. The Nizam's army was four miles from the city. The people fled from the city and took refuge in the forts in the vicinity. The Nizam's army burnt and destroyed the buildings of the city, razing them to the ground. They did not leave a stone unturned in their work of devastation in the country round Poona.

Meanwhile Raghunath Rao had attacked the city of Hyderabad in the beginning of the month of Zilqada. He tried his best to capture the city, but Bahadur Dil Khan, the governor fought, and protected it.

At the approach of the rainy season the Nizam's army left Poona. Similarly Raghunath Rao moved away from Hyderabad towards Poona, while the Nizam's army had reached Dharur on its way to camp at Bidar for rainy season. Janoji Bhosle opposed

the idea of camping at Bidar and instead, suggested a cantonment at Aurangabad on the ground that it was both near to Nagpur and Poona and that further operations could be undertaken after the end of the rainy season. Raja Pratapwant was not inclined to this view but in view of the reasons put forward by Janoji he had to yield. The Nizam's army accordingly marched towards Aurangabad. Verily the Angel of death was doing his work and dragged Rajabahadur away from his intention. The Nizam, with his principal officers, artillery, elephants and other material crossed the river Godavari. Rajabahadur Pratapwant stayed behind with a small army with some officers. Janoji Bhosle pretended that disturbances had broken out in his army and on this pretext he moved his army six miles away from that of Pratapwant. Just at this juncture Raghunath Rao came with forced marches and fell upon the army of Rajabahadur. Rajabahadur, inspite of his small army, fought with determination. A great battle took place. The brave soldiers of the Nizam cut their way through the enemy and approached the elephant carrying Raghunath Rao. They cut the ropes supporting the houda. It was just a matter of time before they could cut off the head of Raghunath Rao. In the confusion, however, a number of elephants got mixed together and seizing this opportunity Raghunath Rao escaped safely. Murad Khan had a strong enmity towards Rajabahadur. He saw that the tide of the battle was turning in favour of Rajabahadur. He felt that if once Rajabahadur were to win, he (Murad Khan) would be crushed into insignificance. He, therefore, in the thick of the fight ordered his bodyguard to shoot Rajabahadur. The bullet reached its aim and the head of Rajabahadur fell on the plank of the houda. Seeing the plight of Rajabahadur, the army of the Nizam broke and fled and what was certainly a victory was turned into a defeat. The distracted army could not face the attacks of bullets and blades. Many of them fled and threw themselves into the river where they were drowned. Many were put to the sword. In short a whole world was destroyed. Many of them were plundered and began to wander in wilderness. Mir Musa Ruknuddowlah fled from the field of battle on foot with only the dress he was carrying on his body and went to Hyder Yar Khan Sherjung.

Hyder Yar Khan Sherjung was at one time the Prime Minister of the Nizam Salabatjung. He was assisted in his work by

Rairayan Shambhulal, Hamidulla Khan, and Laxmanrao Khandagale. These four persons carried on the administration for Salabatjung. They were afraid, however, of Nizam Ali Khan who had been declared heir apparent. At that time Salabatjung was encamped at Elgundal. It is said that they decided upon the murder of Nizam Ali Khan and sent a person to Elgundal for this purpose, where Nizam Ali Khan was also encamped. The would be murderer entered the bed-room of Nizam Ali Khan but his courage failed him. He was arrested by the guards of Nizam Ali Khan when he made a confession. Nizam Ali Khan sent him to Salabatjung. He followed him almost immediately. On the news of the approach of Nizam Ali Khan, Shambhulal and Hamidullakhan poisoned themselves. On the day Nizam Ali Khan met Salabatjung, Sherjung and Laxmanrao Khandagale left the court of the Nizam without permission and fled. Laxmanrao had a detachment of 2 to 3 thousand cavalry with him. He fled from the court of the Nizam. Sherjung reached Poona and sought refuge with the Marathas where he started conspiring against the Nizam. His property at Aūrangabad was confiscated by the Nizam. Sherjung's family succeeded in escaping from Aurangabad due to the carelessness of Dargah Quli Khan, who was related to Sherjung by ties of marriage.

In short, Sherjung, who was inwardly at the bottom of all the trouble, was delighted with the defeat of Islam and was in expectation of the capture of the Nizam's Officers. He welcomed the opportunity of the arrival, in distress, of Mir Musa Khan. He received him with all honours and in alliance with Mohamad Murad Khan started negotiation for peace. It was decided that Mir Musa Khan should be appointed the Prime Minister of Nizam in place of Raja Pratapwant. Mir Musa Khan was a straightforward man and was a companion of Nizam Ali Khan. But he was also inexperienced. Sherjung got a promise from Mir Musa Khan that as soon as he went to the Nizam and got himself appointed as Prime Minister he would get the mistakes of Sherjung pardoned by the Nizam and recall him from the Marathas. He would also see that Sherjung was put in full charge of affairs. Mir Musa Khan had understood that life would be very hard for him. But he had now been assured of appointment as Prime Minister. He considered this as beyond his capacity. He said to Sherjung "I am like your son and I owe my life to you. Leave aside the high

post which I am getting, I am perfectly willing to be Prime Minister only in name. I do not want anything else". In short at the bidding of Sherjung, Murad Khan went to the Nizam and initiated his proposal. As the Nizam had sustained a very severe defeat and the position of Raghunath Rao had become very strong, and as he (Nizam) knew that Murad Khan belonged to the party of Raghunath Rao, he agreed to the Prime Ministership of Mir Musa Khan. Twenty days after the defeat at Rakshasbhawan Mir Musa Khan approached the Nizam and received his orders of appointment. Sherjung got his mistakes pardoned through Musa Khan Ruknaddowlah. Sherjung was perfectly acquainted with the Marathas. He now returned to the Nizam and very soon took charge of all the affairs of administration, leaving Mir Musa Khan Ruknuddowlah Prime Minister in name only. Gulam Sayyad Khan was given the title of Muinuddowlah Sohrabjung and was appointed as the Governor of Berar. Soon after, news was received that Salabatjung who was in detention in the fort of Bidar had died on 20th of Rabiul Awwal 1177 Hejira. It is said that the guards of Salabatjung were afraid that as a result of the defeat of the Nizam's army due to the death of Raja Bahadur the powers of Raghunath Rao had increased enormously. They therefore, under instructions secretly strangled Salabatjung and killed him. They were afraid that he would create disturbances. God alone knows the truth.

After a short while Nizam Ali Khan on the advice of some well wishers arrested Mohamad Murad Khan and his cousin Himmat Khan, for the former's complicity in the murder of Raja Bahadur and detained them in the fort of Golconda where they remained till their death (685).

After a while Ismail Khan Panni was appointed as the Governor of the province of Berar, while Muinuddowlah Sohrabjung (later Mashir-ul-mulk) was transferred to the province of Aurangabad, the Governor whereof Dargah Quli Khan Salar Jung was dismissed.

After the end of the rainy season Madhav Rao decided to punish the Bhoslas of Nagpur. He desired the assistance of Nizam Ali Khan, through Dhondo Ram his Vakil at the court of the Nizam. The Nizam's army marched towards Berar. Seeing this junction, the Bhoslas came to terms. At this juncture a

meeting took place between Madhav Rao and Nizam Ali Khan on the banks of the river Purna. It is said that in the pride of his youth Madhav Rao gave a stiff salute to Nizam Ali Khan without bowing his head. This was not liked by the Nizam. But observing restraint, he ignored this lapse and received Madhav Rao warmly. Great festivities and illuminations were held during this meeting (661).

In page 662 the author tells us that Madhav Rao imprisoned Raghunath Rao, as the latter had been at the bottom of trouble and disturbance. Ruknuddowlah, the Prime Minister, who had an understanding with Madhav Rao, left for Poona. He made many people at Poona inclined favourably to him through his lavish entertainment. At this time Madhav Rao had again decided upon punishing Janoji Bhosla, who had raised his head after the imprisonment of Raghunath Rao. Ruknuddowlah allied himself with Madhav Rao in this campaign which ended successfully after which Ruknuddowlah returned to Hyderabad. Shortly after the Marathas embarked on a campaign against Hyder Ali. The Nizam had earlier marched against Hyder Ali accompanied by British troops. Before any engagement was fought against Hyder Ali by the Nizam, the Marathas had come to terms with Hyder Ali. They now strongly advised Nizam Ali Khan to join hands with Hyder Ali. This is what Laxminarayan has to say in page 663. The agents of Hyder Ali Khan approached Nizam Ali Khan for his alliance, under instructions from Sherjung and through Moinud-dhin Sahib a religious dignitary of Adoni. Letters of Madhav Rao urging alliance with Hyder Ali and fighting against the British were received continuously. On seeing, this, the British withdrew from the Nizam's army which now joined Hyder Ali. How the Nizam was worsted in his fight against the British and came to terms with them is well known.

In page 674, Laxminarayan gives an account of the death of Madhav Rao Peshwa. The chronogram composed by Laxminarayan; gives the Hejira date 1186 of the death of Madhav Rao. Laxminarayan says that due to illness the lamp of Madhav Rao's life was extinguished by the chill winds of death while he was still in the prime of his youth. He was succeeded by his brother Narayan Rao, while Raghunath Rao continued to be in prison (675).

While Raghunath Rao was in prison, Gaziuddin Imadulmulk who was at one time the Prime Minister of the Mughal happened to be in Poona on a visit of condolence to Narayan Rao following the death of Madhav Rao. Remembering the past relations with Gaziuddin, Narayan Rao granted Gaziuddin a jahgir yielding an income of 2 lakhs of rupees in the pargana of Kalpi. Narayan Rao was young and inexperienced in the etiquette of the court. Gaziuddin felt that he was not shown sufficient consideration. He obtained the permission of Narayan Rao and met Raghunath Rao. He whispered into the ears of Raghunath Rao "That you, inspite of your experience should be imprisoned by an inexperienced youth passes understanding. You ought to remove him and seize power yourself". This advice had effect on Raghunath Rao. After the departure of Gaziuddin, Raghunath Rao who was greedy for power started a conspiracy with the army. Sumersing had a risala of 5,000 infantry; Mahamad Yusuf Gardi had 4,000 infantry; Rais Mohamad Arab had a risala of 2,000 Arabs; Tulaji Powar had a detachment of 4,000 and Manaji Phakde was an officer of 2,000 cavalry. Raghunath Rao entered into conspiracy with them and promised them Jahagir and other considerations on condition of the imprisonment of Narayan Rao and his accession to power. He agreed to pay 3 lakhs of rupees to Sumersing and 2 lakhs rupees each to the other two officers. The wife of Raghunath Rao, putting their papers in a pitcher sent them to the officers referred to above. They unanimously decided on the murder of Narayan Rao, although this was not the intention of Raghunath Rao. A fresh agreement was arrived at and jewellery worth 7 lakhs of rupees were promised to Sumersing and others. On Monday Narayan Rao had gone to worship at the Parvati temple according to his custom. He returned from the temple and having dismissed his bodyguard entered his inner chamber to have his meals. The conspirators who had joined together armed themselves with weapons and entered the palace. They broke the doors. Tulaji Pawar, Mohamad Yusuf and Rais Mohamad seized Narayan Rao and dragged him out of his apartment. Sumersing entered the apartment of Raghunath Rao and bringing him out of his prison, seated him on the throne of the Peshwas. At that time Raghunath Rao repeatedly said that Narayan Rao should be put in confinement in his (Raghunath Rao) apartment. But the officers felt that were Narayan Rao to live, it would be against their interests. They therefore, attacked him with swords and killed him. They

then congratulated Raghunath Rao. The secretaries then appeared in the presence of Raghunath Rao. Laxminarayan has composed a chronogram on the death of Narayan Rao, "Shud Raja Zaman Maqtul" (The ruler of the age was killed) gives the Hejira date of murder as 1187.

On his accession to power Raghunath Rao made demands of Chauth from the Nizam, Hyder Ali Khan and Mohamad Ali Khan, the Nawab of Karnatak. Within 15 days of his becoming the Peshwa he marched out of Poona with his army.

He first started on a campaign against the Nizam with an army of 30 to 40 thousand. The officers and statesmen of Poona outwardly declared themselves to be on his side but inwardly they were very anxious about themselves and they sent their families and belongings to various forts for security. Raghunath Rao started persecuting one and all. Balaji Pandit (Nana Phadnavis) pretended that he was ill and desiring medical assistance at Poona returned to that city. Moro Phadnavis took a similar step. Sakharam Bapu had already left the camp earlier and was staying in Poona. These three statesmen consulted one another on the future course of action. Raghunath Rao, confidence of his strength, paid no heed to them and marched against the Nizam. Nizam Ali Khan marched out of Hyderabad on 22nd of Shaban 1187 Hejira. Ruknuddowlah who was away on the affairs of Berar joined him on the 24th at the village Mokla, 28 miles from Hyderabad. The Nizam organized his army. The vanguard was entrusted to Sabitjung, the brother of Ibrahim baig Dhaunsa Zaf Ruddowlah Zabitajung; the rear guard was entrusted to Hashamatjung; the wings of the army were placed under Sharfuddowlah, Ruknuddowlah, Shujauddowlah and others and the position between the vanguard and the centre to Samsam-ul-mulk. Other Officers in the army like Maharao Nimbalkar, Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, Gopalsingh Kandharwala, Narpatsingh, and Balaji Keshaw were allotted important positions in the army. It appears from the account given by Laxminarayan that minor engagements were fought with Raghunath Rao in which the Nizam's army suffered. An agreement was made with Raghunath Rao by which territory yielding an income of 12 lakhs of rupees was handed over to him. Next day however Raghunath Rao entertained the Nizam and returned the deeds of agreement. It would appear that Raghunath Rao must have become aware of the activities

of the statesmen at Poona due to which he became suddenly anxious to placate the Nizam. After this campaign the Nizam returned to Hyderabad. Laxminarayan then narrates the progress of the civil war among the Marathas and the support which Nizam Ali Khan gave to the cause of Sawai Madhav Rao. It was in the year 1775 when Nizam Ali Khan was on a campaign in Berar against Mudhoji Bhosle that Ruknuddowlah the Prime Minister of Nizam Ali Khan was murdered. At that time the trusted officers of Ruknuddowlah viz. his brother Sharfuddowlah and the general Zaf Ruddowlah were away from the camp. Ruknuddowlah had been stabbed while in the tent of Nizam Ali Khan. The attendants thinking that the wound was not serious carried him to his camp. Laxminarayan states at page 723 as follows. "It is said that Ruknuddowlah had come to a secret understanding with the statesmen at Poona. His general Zabitajung (Zaf Ruddowlah Ibrahim Baig Dhausa) had a strong army at his disposal. His (Ruknuddowlah) brother Sharfuddowlah had an army of 10,000. Sharfuddowlah's son Dawarjung had 3,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry at his disposal. Hashamat Jung had a similar army of 3,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry. Other officers also had troops with them. All these had owed their rise to Ruknuddowlah and were attached to him. Ruknuddowlah had evil designs against the Nizam and had decided to achieve them once the affair of Mudhoji was satisfactorily settled. For this reason Bakshi Begam Sahiba, the chief wife of the Nizam, who had got wind of this affair carried out the plan (viz. the murder of Ruknuddowlah). After the death of Ruknuddowlah the Nizam returned from Berar. At this stage the grateful Karbharis of Poona handed over the fort of Daulatabad and certain parganas like Gangapur and Vaijapur to the Nizam in return for the help rendered by him in their war against Raghunath Rao. Soon after, the first Anglo-Maratha War started. The Nizam maintained a neutral attitude in this struggle. Nana Phadnavis for a time succeeded in rallying Hyder Ali, the Bhoslas of Nagpur and others to his cause against the English. In page 750 Laxminarayan reproduces the letter written by Hyder Ali to the Peshwa (756).

It is as follows:—After greetings. "Be it known that it has come to our ears that the British have started activities against your esteemed self and are waging war due to the anxieties of which you are not finding time to attend to your normal business.

Finding no alternative to this fight being waged in your country and Bengal, you have I understand, decided to treat with the English. Therefore in view of the interest of our countries I have decided to render assistance to your Government and for the pleasure of your good self I have collected a large army and am waging a campaign against the British. Kindly consider my activities as affording a sure foundation to your interest. Please do not in any way treat with the British either in your country or in Bengal. Await news of my activities. I am sure that by the grace of God it is the British who will solicit peace and send messages to that effect. Please do not treat with them in any case without consulting me. I have written this after full consideration of your inclination. If you have any other designs in view kindly communicate to me without delay. For the purpose of negotiations I have sent Nur Mohamad Khan to you. Whatever he will communicate to you may kindly be considered as my views. What more! May your days be spent in happiness". On receiving this communication Balaji Pandit (Nana Phadnavis) remarked, "We will be much pleased to act in accordance with his desires as we are sure that the efforts of Hyder Ali have been undertaken for the prestige and honour of Pandit Pradhan. God willing, till the end of our lives our friendship will be unchangeable. Nothing will be done against your wishes". After this the case of Peshkash or tribute from Hyder Ali to the Peshwa was taken up as during the campaign of Haripant Phadke, Hyder Ali had promised a tribute of 32 lakhs every year. Nur Mohamad Khan who possessed a smooth tongue said that as his master was at present engaged in a campaign which was to the interest of Peshwa he would like to retain 15 lakhs of this tribute per year for the expenses of the war.

As there was no other alternative and as Nana Phadnavis was not yet sure of his position due to differences between Maratha chiefs, he agreed to the request of Hyder Ali. Hyder Ali made a further request that an army of 5,000 Maratha horse should be attached to him till the duration of war against the English, to be maintained at his expense. Balaji Pandit replied that this would not be possible as Colonel Goddard's arrival was imminent, but that, after things settled down Hyder Ali's request would be granted.

We need not follow the vicissitudes of the Anglo-Maratha war as the details are available in ample measure in contemporary papers. Suffice to say that during the course of the war Hyder Ali died and Tipu succeeded him. A Maratha chief, Tatya Joshi had been attached to Hyder Ali. He was recalled. Tatya reported that Tipu was more than ever determined to push the war to a successful conclusion. Nana Phadnavis, on hearing this report conveyed his compliments through the Vakil of Tipu Nur Mohammad Khan. Tipu replied to Nana Phadnavis as follows "The late Nawab (Hyder Ali Khan) had, according to the desire of the Peshwa's Government, entered into struggle against the English and had rendered all possible assistance. During this campaign he departed from this fleeting world. At present I have succeeded to the throne and keeping in view the policy of my father, am still engaged in continuing the fight against the English and thus rendering assistance to the Peshwa's Government. During this campaign, due to the treachery of my servants the area of Bednore was occupied by the English. For that reason I was forced to turn my attention to this area. Taking into consideration the services rendered by my father, please send a strong army to my assistance as soon as possible so that in alliance with each other we can rid our countries from the presence of the enemies and then march towards Madras or any other place desired by the Peshwa's Government. If you are desirous of coming to terms with the English please do not do so without consulting me". In addition to this letter Tipu instructed his Vakil to strongly impress upon the mind of Nana Phadnavis that but for the help rendered by Hyder Ali, retention of Poona or the kingdom of the Deccan would have been difficult for him. If they sent the army to his assistance and were guided by his advice in treating with English, then friendly relations would develop between them.

When the correspondence was placed before Balaji Pandit, Tipu's Vakil made the additional communication that a strong army may be sent to the assistance of Tipu at Bednoor. Balaji Pandit (Nana Phadnavis) gave a reply as follows, "We have not yet entered into any negotiations with the English. If we send our troops away from us, the ports of the English are near Poona. If, God forbid, they resume their activities on this side we will be placed in difficulties until the arrival of our troops. We are anxious to continue our friendly relations with you. If you send

the annual tribute as was done by Hyder Ali and stick to our agreement we will consider the sending of our troops from here. If the annual tribute is not received from you, movement of troops from this side will not be possible. Besides, differences will develop between us.

After sending this communication Balaji Pandit started negotiations with the English. Mahadji Scindhia also took a hand in these negotiations. As is well known, the treaty of Salbai marked the end of the Anglo-Maratha War. Raghunath Rao was handed over to the Marathas. Hari Pandit received him and after escorting him to a few places of pilgrimage fixed his residence at Kopergaon. Two thousand infantry and 1,000 horsemen formed the guard of Raghunath Rao. On the representation of Hari Pandit, Raghunath Rao dismissed about 200 of his confidential servants and attendants. During his detention Raghunath Rao and his wife Anandibai carried on a surreptitious correspondence with the Scindia, Tipu and the English. On receipt of their representation Scindia replied to them that he would have 1,000 horsemen ready at a distance of eight miles from Kopergaon. They were instructed to take into custody Raghunath Rao and his son as soon as they left Kopergaon and were to escort them to Jamgaon. As soon as Balaji Pandit received this information through his spies he doubled the guard round Raghunath Rao and the attempts of Raghunath Rao to free from Kopergaon were foiled.

To the East India Company Raghunath Rao wrote as follows : —

"Far from giving me a proper treatment Nana Phadnavis has put me in very strict custody. I am afraid for my life. Kindly get me relieved from this prison. My representation may be placed before the authorities of the East India Company and the king of England." This letter was also intercepted by Nana Phadnavis. When Tipu came to know of the design of Raghunath Rao he sent a spy Balaprashad with a sum of Rs. 1,000 to inform Raghunath Rao that if he, Raghunath Rao, could arrive four stages from his place of residence Tipu would join him with an army of 10,000. Balaprashad came to Poona but when he noticed the strict arrangement made by Nana Phadnavis he returned to Tipu without achieving his purpose.

At this juncture Raghunath Rao fell ill. He did not come out of his palace for two or three days. When Balaji Pandit heard of his illness he sent physicians to treat him. The wife of Raghunath Rao did not like that Raghunath Rao be treated by the physicians of Balaji Pandit. But the physicians through their flattery persuaded Raghunath Rao to take medicine at their hands. Due to their treatment what was an ordinary illness developed into a serious disease, and within 40 days Raghunath Rao died. Raghunath Rao's wife openly sent a message to Balaji Pandit saying "this event (death) had happened due to 'your instructions.'" Being afraid of the life of her children she took all precautions (770).

Now that Balaji Pandit had achieved security of his position and full power as a result of the treaty with East India Company and the death of Raghunath Rao, he thought of engaging in a campaign against Tipu. If Tipu were to send the fixed tribute, he said, there would be no war between them, otherwise he would enlist the co-operation of Nizam and Mudhoji Bhosle and invade Tipu's territory. Balaji Pandit and Hari Pandit called for Nur Mohamad Khan, the Vakil of Tipu and told him "the amount due from Tipu for the last two years has not been paid. Similarly the tributes are in arrears. It is two years that Tipu has ascended the throne. He has not paid the required amount. It is necessary that he should send the four years' arrears of tribute with an addition of five lakhs of rupees for default. Then alone there will be peace between the two states; otherwise there would be war." The Vakil wrote to Tipu saying that the Brahmins had a design of invading his territory. If Tipu desired peace he should send the required amount. But if however Tipu desired war it would be better that he (Vakil) should be recalled. Tipu replied as follows: "There is no trust left either in you or the Marathas. The Marathas had promised that they would not enter into negotiations with the English without consulting me. However when they saw that the English had taken possession of a part of my country they ignored their previous undertaking. They did not send my assistance to me. On the other hand they entered into negotiations with the English. Now they are planning to break the treaties with me. You are instructed not to ask for your leave from Balaji Pandit as it would mean that all means of information from that State would be stopped. I am not yet

MARATHA NIZAM RELATIONS

73

free from all complications about the port of Codial. You should therefore stay there." In accordance with these instructions Tipu's Vakil had no other alternative but to make attempts at delay by representing that as soon as Tipu was free from his entanglement of the port of Codial he would send the arrears of tribute. Hari Pandit and Balaji Pandit were not satisfied with the replies of Tipu's Vakil. They deputed their Vakil Krishnarao Ballal to Nizam Ali Khan. He was asked to inform the Nizam that they would like to meet the Nizam if he would agree to travel 15 stages from Hyderabad. This was agreed to. They themselves left Poona to meet the Nizam. Hari Pandit was joined by Tukoji Holkar on the way. Balaji Pandit (Nana Phadnavis) entrusted Sawai Madhav Rao to the care of Appa Balawant and Amritrao and left Poona to meet the Nizam. They first arrived at Pandharpur where they stayed for 20 days. Meanwhile the Maratha Vakil saw the Nizam and it was decided that the meeting between Nizam and Balaji Pandit should take place at Yadgir on the river Bhima. Both the armies camped in each other's vicinity for one month. It was decided between the parties that a campaign be undertaken against Tipu next year and that both should recover the territory seized by Tipu from them. The Nizam said that he would go to the assistance of Balaji Pandit and desired that for the expenses of his army the district of Bijapur should be handed over by the Marathas to him. Balaji did not agree to this. He suggested on the other hand that as a result of the joint venture whatever territory would accrue should be justly appropriated between the parties, wherein due regard would be paid to the expenses of the Nizam. After the meeting Tukoji Holkar saw the Nizam.

The Vakil of Tipu informed the latter of the designs of the Peshwa and the Nizam. Tipu started his counter manoeuvres by conspiring with Holkar. He offered him a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs to ensure dilatory action on his part in the coming campaign. He also sent a Vakil Mahamad Gias to Poona. Mahamad Gias started diplomatic manoeuvres through Laxman Rao Raste. He (Vakil) informed the Peshwa that Tipu had not turned away from friendship with the Peshwa nor would he do so. The Vakil informed Nana Phadnavis that he (Tipu) had asked for help in the disturbances at Bednoor but it was not rendered by the Marathas nor had they consulted him before negotiations with the Eng-

lish and now they were planning to invade his country in consultation with Mudhoji and Nizam Ali Khan. Balaji Pandit asked the Vakil whether he had brought the arrears of tribute from Tipu with him. The Vakil replied that payment of tribute could be arranged if the Peshwa gave up the design of invading the territory of Tipu and did not enter into any agreement about the invasion with Nizam Ali Khan and Mudhoji. Nana Phadnavis replied that they would in no case change the decision unless the tribute was received quickly. With these words he dismissed the envoy of Tipu. Ten days after this meeting Nana Phadnavis sent Kishan Rao Ballal to the Nizam requesting him to march according to the agreement. He sent similar instructions to Mudhoji at Nagpur. Kishan Rao Ballal arrived in Hyderabad. The Nizam said that he would require 25 lakhs of rupees for the preparation of his army and that the district of Bijapur or Ahmadnagar should be handed over to him. Unless this was agreed to it would not be possible for him to march. Kishan Rao Ballal felt that correspondence on this issue might entail delay and possibly Balaji or Haripant might not agree. Nana Phadnavis had asked Kishan Rao Ballal to make earnest efforts to make the Nizam join the campaign. Considering all these matters Kishan Rao Ballal told the Nizam that he (Nizam) should postpone the demand for 25 lakhs of Rs. for the present. Once the Nizam joined the Peshwa the district of Bijapur would be handed over to him before invading the territory of Tipu. On this reply the Nizam agreed to join the campaign. He did not know that Kishan Rao Ballal's reply was only a diplomatic stunt. Accordingly the Nizam joined the campaign against Tipu. Nana Phadnavis and the Nizam met on the banks of the river Bhima.

We need not go into the details of the Maratha-Nizam invasion of Tipu's territory. The Marathas captured the fort of Badami from Tipu. A desultory warfare occurred between the two parties. Before the Marathas and Nizam had invested the fort of Badami the Nizam demanded the cession of the district of Bijapur from the Marathas. This was flatly refused by Nana Phadnavis. The Nizam reminded Nana Phadnavis of the assurance which Kishan Rao Ballal had given him about handing over the territory of Bijapur before invading the kingdom of Mysore. Nana Phadnavis then made enquiries of Kishanrao and his son Goyind Rao Ballal and discovered that they had made

unauthorised assurances to the Nizam. Kishan Rao was disgraced but the Marathas stuck to their refusal to cede Bijapur. The Nizam left the Marathas in a huff. In the meeting with Hari Pandit the Nizam remarked as follows "In view of the departure from the agreement which you have resorted to, war would inevitably break out between us. But I have decided that until Swai Madhava Rao assumes full powers of administration, I would not fight against him." He however agreed to leave his contingents with the Marathas besieging Badami.

As is well known, Tipu captured the fortress of Adoni from Nizam. The war with the Marathas dragged on for two years without any party having advantage over the other. The war came to a close with the treaty of Gajendragad. Laxminarayan dwells on the discreditable role played by Tukoji Holkar in this campaign. At the close of the campaign, at the approach of the rainy season Tipu found difficulties in getting provisions for his army from Shrirangpattan as two rivers had to be crossed viz., Tungabhadra and Krishna, and they were in floods. The Marathas on the other hand were in their own country. They could ensure provisions for themselves and at the same time obstruct the flow of provisions to Tipu's army. Tipu sent his envoys to the Marathas. He offered the payment of the arrears of tribute pending for the last four years and also guaranteed prompt payment in future. He however desired that the districts of Badami and Nargund which had been captured by the Marathas should be returned to him. Under instructions from Nana Phadnavis, Haripant refused to part with Badami and Nargund. Ultimately the treaty of Gajendragad was signed and the long drawn campaign ended (825). Laxminarayan then dwells on the affairs of the Nizam. He deals with the rise of Zafruddowlah (Ibrahim Baig Dhousa) for a short period and the appointment of Gulam Sayyad Arastujah Mushir-ul-mulk as the Prime Minister of the Nizam. He next deals in detail with the Third Mysore War. Considerable literature being available in Persian and Marathi on the War which the Marathas, the English and the Nizam made on Tipu it is not necessary to repeat the account given by Laxminarayan in the work. Laxminarayan brings his work to a close to the beginning of 1794 A.D. when the Nizam was camping at Bedar.

Voluminous as the work of Laxminarayan is, it is not difficult to assess its importance. As has been remarked above, Laxmi-

narayan has followed numerous Indo-Persian historians in the method of his work. He has copied not scores but hundreds of pages from the works of historians like Khafikhan and Gulam Hussein Azad. About 120 pages from Khafikhan, about 80 pages from G. H. Azad's *Khazana-i-Amira*, about 100 pages from *Tarik-e-Shivaji* a Persian version of a Marathi chronicle have resulted in taking the bulk of the book to 1057 pages. He does not possess critical acumen in shifting material or in arriving at a judgment on any given issue. Laxminarayan gives an impression of being a very poor historian in repeating the stories of the origin of the Marathas or in reproducing the Persian translation of the letter alleged to have been written by Malharrao Holkar after the battle of Panipat. He does not stop even once to consider whether the material he was placing before the reading public belonged to the realm of fact or fiction. As such, till at least 1761 the account given by Laxminarayan in his work deserves to be skipped over lightly. It is only after 1761 when Laxminarayan became a witness to many of the incidents pertaining to Maratha-Nizam or Nizam-Mysore relations that he becomes readable. His father Mansaram was the chief secretary to the first Nizam. His grandfather Balmukund was attached to the father of Niam-ul-mulk. Laxminarayan himself was a courtier in the court of Nizam Ali Khan. He makes a reference to his own poetical compositions at the time of the marriage of Alijah the eldest son of Nizam Ali Khan. There are several similar references to Laxminarayan's contacts with the Vakil of Tipu. Laxminarayan worked for a long time as Secretary to Alijah. As such the account which he gives of the Nizam and Hyder Ali and Tipu is full and of an intimate nature. We cannot therefore brush aside lightly his treatment of some of the incidents the knowledge of which he must have obtained from intimate sources. Some of these are given below :

(1) At the battle of Rakhsas Bhawan, fought in 1763, the Nizam's Prime Minister Vithal Sunder was shot dead at the instance of Murad Khan an officer in the Nizam's Army.

(2) The appointment of Ruknuddowlah as the Prime Minister of Nizam after the battle of Rakshas Bhawan was practically forced upon the Nizam by the Marathas as a result of the machinations of Sherjung (the ancestor of the Salar jung family of Hyderabad) with the Marathas.

(3) Laxminarayan informs us that Sherjung was one of those who had conspired to get Nizam Ali Khan murdered. This point is ignored by the later historians of Hyderabad, probably because the Salarjung family was dominant in the history of Hyderabad throughout the 19th century.

(4) The death of Salabatjung under suspicious circumstances is referred to by Laxminarayan. He says that for fear of Raghunath Rao trying to release Salabatjung from captivity and placing him as the Nizam, Salabatjung was put to death, adding significantly that this was done "under instruction." We can easily understand why Laxminarayan does not specifically use the word "Nizam Ali Khan" and satisfies himself only with the expression "under instruction." When this book was written by Laxminarayan, Niam Ali Khan was still living. The author of the Persian work Hadiquatul Alam, which was written in 1807 A.D., 4 years after the death of Nizam Ali Khan is more specific when he says that Salabhatjung was strangled to death under the instructions of Nizam Ali Khan.

(5) Dealing with the circumstances under which the Prime Minister Ruknuddowlah was murdered in 1775, Laxminarayan specifically points out that one of the causes of the murder was the intimate relations which Ruknuddowlah had established with the Marathas and the wide suspicion that with the help of his contingents he was planning violence against the Nizam. The Marathi records require to be scrutinised on this question. The suspicion can be easily understood if it is realized that during the period Ruknuddowlah was Prime Minister of Nizam, the state of Hyderabad had very nearly become the protectorate of the Marathas. This must have been very galling to the anti-Maratha party of the Nizam's council.

(6) Dealing with the murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa, Laxminarayan emphatically states that Gajiuddin Imad-ul-mulk, one time Prime Minister of the Mughal emperors instigated Raghunath Rao, during his visit to Poona, to seize power. This point has to be examined in the light of Marathi records if any.

(7) The attempts of Raghunath Rao to escape from the custody of Nana Phadnavis and his conspiracies with the Scindia, the East India Company and Tipu have been related in detail by Laxminarayan. He gives vent to the widespread suspicion that Raghu-

nath Rao's death was hastened under the treatment of physicians specially deputed by Nana Phadnavis.

(8) As a side light of Nizam Maratha campaign against Tipu, Laxminarayan refers to the insistence of the Nizam to be given the district of Bijapur for assistance to the Marathas in the war against Tipu. It is amusing to read that, faced with the refusal of the Marathas to hand over Bijapur, the helpless Nizam could only say that it was sufficient to provoke a war between them but that as he had promised that he would not wage war against the Marathas until Sawai Madhav Rao assumed administrative powers he would keep quiet for the present.

The above are some of the points which deserve to be examined in the light of the extant Marathi, Persian and English papers. It can be said that while Laxminarayan's work is of practically no importance for the period ending in 1761, it will be extremely useful for the study of the period between 1761 and 1794.

The Teliki Community of Medieval Andhra

BY

O. RAMACHANDRAIYA, PH.D., AND K. SUNDARAM, M.A. HONS.,
Andhra University

The economy of medieval Andhra was primarily an agrarian one. But, from the 11th century to the 16th century, we find a progressive increase in the development of towns and cities, around the holy shrines and the capitals of the kings of different dynasties of the times. Demand arose for various kinds of goods. The communities that engaged themselves in industry and trade—the artisans, the oil-mongers, the weavers and merchants—attained a status and position of their own and became important 'social groups' within the compass of the medieval state. They carried a distinct numerical figure with their name, worshipped a distinct deity, cherished a mythical origin of their own, bore a *praśasti* and had their own organization. It is proposed here to study the social history of the Teliki community in detail, the manner in which they led their lives through these centuries, the position they occupied in the society and the communal organization they had.

The Telikis were easily one of the important industrial communities of the time. They were the oil-mongers and like the other communities of a similar nature, they carried their own distinct number—Thousand, with the name of the community.¹ Their principal seat was Bezwada, the modern Vijayawada on the banks of the river Krishna, and they were known as Teliki Vēvuru of Bezwada. Not much information is, however, available to

1. The inscriptions of the period from Andhra area reveal that this association of a number is a common practice in Medieval Andhra. The purport, however, is not clear. Thus, if the oil-monger community was a Thousand community (Teliki Vēvuru), the artisan community was a seventy-four community (Debbayi Nālgū Ahaṇāla Pañcāṇāmbāru) while the Penugonda Vāiśya community was a Hundred and Two community (Nakaraṇḍu Nūṭa ribbandru).

reconstruct their social history. What little is known is to be gathered from a few epigraphs of the time and from a literary work known as "Manuvamśa Purāṇa" which deals exclusively with the history of the Teliki community.

The earliest epigraph to mention the Teliki community of Andhra belongs to the reign of Cālukya-Cōla King Kulōttunga I (A.D. 1071—A.D. 1120).² Therein the community seems to have already attained a position of importance having close connections with the dynasty of Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgi. Rājarāja Cōḍa Gaṅgadēva, son of Kulōttunga, and viceroy of Vēṅgi, is known to have conferred great many honours on the members of the Teliki community in the year A.D. 1084. His Tēki plates, that register this, also contain interesting information about the community itself. The Telikis were about one thousand families. They had accompanied King Vijayāditya of Ayōdhya to the South and settled at Vijayawada. This Vijayāditya was the mythical progenitor of the Cālukyas of Vēṅgi.³ The Telikis served the Eastern Cālukya family ever since as hereditary servants, always intent on pleasing the minds of the kings with supreme devotion and with all resources of mind and body at their disposal. (Parayābhaktyā saktyā ca pragñayā sadā madiyānvayabhūpāla cittārādhana tatparāḥ). They protected the Cālukyan kings at the beginning of their rule with their courage and other virtues (nijaiḥ yatnaih nijaiḥ prārow vikramādyaiḥ). For their meritorious services, they were rewarded with privileges which were designed to assure for them a certain favoured position in the society of the times. The edict states that, when a member of the community marries at Vijayawada or any other town, city, village or hamlet, the bridal pair should proceed on the roads on horse-back, and later when the marriage procession drew to an end, they would place a pair of valuable clothes at the feet of the king and prostrate before him and they would then receive from him, betel served in a golden plate as the old custom would ordain.⁴

The oil-mongers would not have sprung to such eminence, as is established by the Tēki plates all of a sudden. It must have

2. E. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 334 ff.

3. Rāṇastapūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya. E. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 359.

4. Tēki plates.

been a development, quite gradual and long incoming. Considerable amount of mystery, however, hangs over the origin of the Telikis and about the circumstances in which they secured such recognition among several communities of the land. The only source of information in this direction is the literary work 'Manuvarṇa Purāṇa'⁵ which purports to give the origin and greatness of the oil-presser castes. The Purāṇa like the Tēki plates traces the origin of the Telikis to the North. They were Kṣatriyas and descendants of Manu. They incurred the wrath of a sage named Viśvambhara, who cursed them to be born as oil-pressers. This curse however was to come into effect in Kaliyuga. In the meanwhile, the kṣatriya forefathers of the Telikis performed great many exploits which the Purāṇa describes at length. But the interesting part of the exploits comes in the phase of Kaliyuga. King Viṣṇu Vardhana of Ayōdhya, conscious of the greatness of the scions of Manu race, who stood by the side of the kings of Hastināpura, made them occupy a pivotal position in the governance of his kingdom. Once, the king became intent upon conquering the Vēngi kingdom to reduce the pride of its ruler. Thereupon he summoned the scions of Manu race to his presence and commanded them to lead the forces against Vēngi and subdue it. For a reward, the king offered to make them the rulers of Vijayawada. This they accomplished quite expeditiously showing great valour. The king was pleased with the mighty act and installed them as rulers of Vijayawada. Thus the Purāṇa establishes the connection between the Kṣatriya ancestors of the Telikis with Bezwada. During their long stay as rulers, when the curse of Viśvambhara, began to take effect is not clear from the Purāṇa. But they had to forsake their Kṣatriya lineage to become the community of oil-pressers. They changed their former 'gōtras' derived from various sages to assume the ordinary 'gōtras' (Vyavahāra gōtra samanvitulai). The Purāṇa also gives the picture of the righteous life, the community led in Vijayawada, worshipping God Mallikhārjunadēva.

The concluding portion of the Purāṇa, mentions two 'dharmaśāsanas' given in favour of the Telikis by the kings who were pleased with the conduct of the community. The first is the

5. Manuvarṇa Purāṇa (Manuscript). D. 160 of the Catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

'śāsana' given by Bezwada Madhavavarma which, we are told, was inscribed on a stone, lying on the east side of the shrine of Mallikārjuna. This refers to the privileges given to the Telukula śeṭṭis of different places like Peda Vēngi, Niḍadavōlu Taṭikalapūdi and Bezwada. They were made the Peda (Śeṭṭi chiefs) of the places. They would receive according to the 'dharmaśāsana' three māḍas of coin, three bundles of betel leaf and three hundred and sixty arecanuts and a shawl whenever a marriage was performed in the community. The second 'śāsana' refers to the grant of certain villages as 'ēkabbōgas' to Telikis by a king named Pratāpa Cōla. The villages were Bezwada, Peda Vēngi Vijayarāya Jananāthapuri, Dhanañjayapuri, Taṭikalapūdi, Padmāvati, Bhōgavati, Tāḍuvāyi, Chintalapūdi, Kautavaram, Sākēta Pañcālapuravaramulu, Mathurayātrāpuramu, and Maṇikarnikamu. Thus, with these acquisitions, the Telikis lived on enjoying supremacy in their vocation, worshipping the Brahmans and serving the poor.

The account of the Purāṇa thus contains much that is mythological and legendary and must be correlated to, and verified by available evidence from the epigraphs of the times. Firstly, as to the question of their original home, the Purāṇa and the Tēki plates postulate, a northern habitation and a subsequent immigration to South, and this immigration is associated with the date of conquest of Vēngi by a king of Ayōdhya. The king is styled in the Tēki plates as Vijayāditya while the Purāṇa has him as Viṣṇuvardhana. It is known that one Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana was the founder of the Eastern Cālukya line of Vēngi. If he were to be the Viṣṇuvardhana of the Purāṇa, he was the brother of Pulakēśin II (A.D. 609—A.D. 642) of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi. He was in no way associated with Ayōdhya. The earliest epigraphical record to connect Vēngi Cālukyas with Ayōdhya is dated in Śaka 933 (A.D. 1111) and issued by king Vimalāditya.⁶ But according to it, the leader of the expedition to South from Ayōdhya was Vijayāditya and not Viṣṇuvardhana. The Eastern Cālukyas of Vēngi claim to be of the lunar race and descendants of Pāṇḍavas and the lunar line is always associated with Hastināpura but never with Ayōdhya. It is curious to find the attempt in the Purāṇa to bring Ayōdhya and Hastināpura together. But then it only speaks of earlier Teliki affiliations to

6. Raṇastapūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya. E. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 32⁶.

Hastināpura and not of the Cālukyas. King Vijayāditya is mentioned in the epigraph as the forerunner of the Eastern Cālukya line. Thus, the question of the original home of Telikis is conjectural. It must remain so especially when the problem of the original home of Cālukyas with whom the Telikis associate themselves to tracing their original home is still unsettled.⁷

As regards their caste, it can be said that the vocation which the community followed, namely oil-pressing, was the one generally followed by the members of the 'śūdra' community in the medieval times. But in the Purāṇa we are told, they were originally Kṣatriyas who later took to oil-pressing because of the curse of the sage Viśvambhara. This only shows the general desire of a community, which had recently come to affluence, but in the lower social strata, to reach a higher social status by making a claim to a caste acknowledged on all hands to be distinctly superior. The Manuvarṇśa Purāṇa was obviously written to enhance the social status of one such community. There is no wonder if it traces the origin of the Telikis to the Kṣatriya caste. Nor is the claim a vain boast. The 'śūdra' community of the medieval times, possessed to the full the valour of the kṣatriyas and in fact, supplied recruits to the royal armies of the day.

It may be fairly certain that the first Cālukyan conqueror of Vēṅgi had some Teliki contingents in his army which must have proved to be of exceeding help to him. And that was the basis of their later prosperity, as that was what enabled the community to establish itself in Bezwada. The Tēki plates describe the Telikis as those whose valour protected the early Cālukya kings. Some of the members must have distinguished themselves as captains and generals, as did Śūrana of the Viśvakarma community,⁸ and this could have made the community prominent in the land. In any case, the history of the Telikis seem to have started with that of the Cālukyan rule in the Andhra country.

The Manuvarṇśa Purāṇa attributes the issue of the two 'dharmaśāsanas' mentioned therein to two kings, Mādhavavarma

7. For the different arguments on the question of original home of Cālukyas, see Prof. N. Venkataramanayya's "The Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgi", p. 5 ff.

8. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 117; Bhārati; Vol. 36, Sāñchika, 11.

and Pratāpa Cōla respectively. It holds no key to their identity, nor does it provide us any more information to go by. History knows of several Mādhavavarmas who ruled from Bezwada. But they are of the Viṣṇukundin dynasty. It is from Viṣṇukundins that the early Cālūkyas wrested the lands of Andhra. Could this Mādhavavarma of the Purāṇa be of the same line? If this were so, then the Telikis must have been already residing in the Bezwada area at the time when the Cālūkyas attempted its conquest. Highly needed and immense must have been their assistance to the Cālūkyas for gaining mastery over the country. How this was secured by the conquerors or what induced the Telikis to go over to the invader cannot be known. They must have been at least assured of undisturbed enjoyment of all that they earlier had under king Mādhavavarma. Of the king, Pratāpa Cōla again nothing is known. The Purāṇa gives him a compendious name Cālūkyā Viṣṇu Vardhana Maharāja Dēvabhallāna Viraperumallu Pratāpa Cōla Narēndra and the date given to him is Śaka 1190. The king might be a Cōla. But then by the year A.D. 1268, on the Imperial Cōla throne was seated Rājēndra III (A.D. 1246—A.D. 1279) and not Pratāpa Cōla. On the basis of his Cālūkyan extraction and Cōla suffix, we can say that he was a local ruler ruling somewhere near Bezwada who strove for the betterment of the Teliki Community.

Finally, a word may be said about 'The Thousand' that is attached to the Telikis. The Tēki plates, as mentioned earlier, describe that the community is known to have subdivided itself into thousand families, ten of which are mentioned by name. The Manuvarṃśa Purāṇa likewise speaks of the thousand Rṣi 'gōtras' of their ancestral Kṣatriyas which they had to exchange, under Viśvambhara's curse, for 'Vyavahāra Gōtras'. Thus the members of the community had a notion that they originally consisted of thousand families.⁹ Thus the number 'Thousand' became sacred to them and they referred themselves in their records with it.

9. It may be mentioned in this connection that the oil-monger community of Tāmilnāḍ of certain areas entertained the same notion that they were originally produced of thousand 'gōtras'. It may be possible that this tradition travelled from Andhra to Tāmilnāḍ in later years. See A.R.E. 1912, ii, para 72.

We may now set forth the account of the community, thus. The original home of the Telikis is not clearly known. If the Mādhavavarma of the Manuvarṇśa Purāṇa were Viṣṇukundin, their earliest known habitat was in Andhra, near about Bezwada. They were of the fourth caste. Having attached themselves closely to the dynasty of Eastern Cālukyas and served in the king's armies from the very beginning of their rule, they were recipients of great honours and privileges. This infused them with a sense of importance that made them love to be regarded as Kṣatriyas, though now fallen. Soon, royal patronage added to their importance in other towns of Andhra as well. The corporate nature of the community was the recognition which it received from the Cōḷa Viceroy in Vēngi, Rāja Rāja Cōḷa Gaṅgadēva.

A few inscriptions from the Kṛṣṇa and the Guntur districts furnish us with further information about the later activities of this community. Two inscriptions from the Bhāvanārayana temple at Bāpaṭḷa of the years A.D. 1163 and A.D. 1164, register a gift of gold for lamp by members of Teliki Thousand.¹⁰ Two other inscriptions, one undated from the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādenḍḷa¹¹ in Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur District, and the other of the year A.D. 1409 from Bezwada itself record the donations of the community as a whole. The former records a gift of sheep to Mūlasthānēśvara at Nādenḍḷa while the other records an endowment to the Mallēśvara Dēva shrine at Bezwada. The inscriptions recording the endowments of the community may be taken to indicate the flourishing state of the community during these centuries. They also show that the community acquired so high a status that they adopted a 'praśasti' of their own, after the fashion of other industrial and mercantile communities of the time.

The 'praśasti' of the Telikis, given in their records, cited above, describes them in glowing terms, with a string of epithets. Bent upon observing 'yama', 'niyama' and 'dharma' they became illustrious for maintaining truth and the purity of the rituals

10. S.I.I. Vol. VI, I. No. 149 and No. 152.

11. S.I.I. Vol. IV, Nos. 668 and 774: It may also be noted in this connection that still another inscription from Bhṛgubandā in Guntur District records the construction of the temple of Nārāyanadēva by the members of the Teliki community, Local Records, Vol. 12, p. 259.

(Yama niyama dharma parāyaṇulu, satya śaucāra virājitulu). They were recipients of the grace from goddess Bhagavatī, the worshippers of the feet of the gurus and adepts in all śāstras (Bhagavatī labdha varaprasādulu, gurudēva pādārādhakulu, sakala śāstra viśāradulu). They sprang from the lords of the progeny of Manu, the son of Brahma (Bhama sambhava Manuvarṁsādhinātha sambhavalu). They were born in the line of Manu, descended gradually from the family of Paulastya, an offspring of Brahma (Brahma sambhava Paulastyakula Manuvarṁsōdbhavulu). They were the 'gōtrins' of the one thousand branches of families which sprang from Paulastya (Paulastyakula sahasra śākhānvaya gōtrulu). They were the lords of Kanakapura, Gajapura and the servants of the lords of Ayōdhya (Kanakapura Gajapurādhināyakulu Ayōdhyāpuravarēśvara bhṛtuyulu). Of the one thousand 'gōtras', they were the rulers of Bezwada, devoted to the lotus feet of God Mallīśvaradēva. They came to be regarded as the main support of the kingdom of Cālukyas (Sahasra śākhānvaya gōtrulu, Bezwada śāsanalu, Bezwada Mallīśvaradēvadivya śrī pāda padmārādhakulu, Cālukyarājyamūlastambhāyamānulu).

This 'praśasti' of the community, does not however add any more to the information than we already have of the community. It praises the personal virtues of the members of the community, traces their mythical origin to Manu and connects them with the kings of Ayōdhya. The title 'Cālukyarājyamūlastambhāyamānulu' which the community applies to itself, reaffirms its claim to have served the Cālukyan kings as captains and generals of the army. Finally the phrases 'Bezwada Śāsanulu' Bezwada Mallīśvaradēvadivya Śrī Pāda Padmārādhakulu, confirm the view that Bezwada was their principal seat.

How was the community organised? Did they enjoy any corporate life, functioning as a single unit, with facilities for joint action? The Telikis are described in their records as 'akhila dēśāla Teliki Vēvuru', the Teliki, one thousand, of all the regions. This word is significant as it emphasises the corporate nature of the community, their awareness of one another, no matter where they lived. A few records are also available which speak of their communal transactions. An inscription from Zuzzūru in Nandigāma Taluk of the Krishna District of the year A.D. 1202 records a gift by the Teliki Thousand to a tank constructed by themselves

(tāmu kaṭṭincina ceruvu).¹² We have epigraphical evidence to show that the Telikis had an assembly, which acted as the custodian of the interests of the members. It had jurisdiction to enquire into and settle questions of succession of property and pass rules and regulations regarding the conduct to be followed in marriages. A record from Nādenḍla refers to the transactions of such an assembly where all the 'Thousand' effected an agreement (Teliki Vēvuru cēsina samayamu).¹³ It was about the right to the jewels of a deceased wife. The assembly decided in favour of the surviving husband as against the relatives of the deceased woman. Another mutilated record from Bezvada of the year A.D. 1253, records another Samaya of the Telikis, fixing certain formalities to be followed in the course of a marriage (Vivāha maryāda).¹⁴ These two records show that the Telikis had an assembly of their own which, as a body, imposed on the members certain rules of conduct to be implicitly followed as Samaya Dharma. This would justify the assumption that a vigorous corporate life existed in the community of the Telikis of Andhra. But these records do not yield us any information about the organisation of the assembly of the Telikis. Probably as the Manuvamśa Purāṇa depicts, there was a chief called Peda Ṣeṭṭi in every important town as the head of the community. Whenever the occasion required, these chiefs might have assembled in a town and decided matters concerning the interests of the community.¹⁵

12. S.I.I. Vol. X, No. 200 of the year A.D. 1202.

13. *Ibid.*, No. 221.

14. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 797.

15. It is interesting to note that an inscription (A.R.E. 261 of 1909) from Tirukkachchūr in Chengulput District of the time of the Cōla monarīh Rājādhirāja II (A.D. 1173—A.D. 1178) acquaints us with a communal assembly of oil-mongers of Kāñchi, its suburbs and those of 24 nagaras. It is stated in the inscription that these people assembled in a local temple at Kāñchi and agreed to raise a communal cess to be paid to the temple. This decision, the members had to observe as 'Jātidharma.' The picture of the communal life presented in this epigraph is in conformity with the communal life of the Telikis of Andhra.

The Later Imperial Pratiharas: Bhoja II to Vijayapala

(A Revised Study)*

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A., D.LITT.,

University of Delhi

Bhoja II

As Bhoja II is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Mahīpāla's reign and has his feet "meditated on" by his brother Vināyaka-pāladeva, whose Bengal Asiatic Society Plate was issued in V. 988 (931 A.D.) from Mahodaya, i.e., Kannauj,¹ it is reasonable to assume that he ascended the Pratihāra throne before 931 A.D., during the interval between the reigns of Mahīpāla and Vināyaka-pāla. Mahīpāla must have had a fairly long reign; his achievements were so many and in so many different directions. If we give him about twenty years, say from 910 to 930 A.D., Bhoja II could have ruled for about one year only. And this view gets confirmed by the facts that not only we have no inscriptions for Bhoja II's reign but that he is also referred to only in one Pratihāra record, namely, the Bengal Asiatic Society Plate of his brother and immediate successor, Vināyakapāla.

Regarding Bhoja II as a contemporary of Kokkalladeva Chedi I, though this is extremely unlikely,² and then to assume on the basis of this unwarranted hypothesis that Kokkalladeva I, assisted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Indra III, intervened in the affairs of Kannauj put Bhoja II on the throne in 910 A.D., which till then had been occupied by Mahīpāla, is perhaps going a little too far

* Continued from the last instalment in the *JIH.*, 1960, p. 626.

1. *IA*, XV, p. 140.

2. See our account of Mahīpāla.
J. 12

and drawing more on one's imagination than one should as an impartial recorder of facts.³

Nor need we assume that Bhoja II and Mahīpāla were identical.⁴ The absence of the former's name in the latter's inscriptions and of Mahīpāla's name from the Bengal Asiatic Plate of Vināyakapāla, who was one of Mahīpāla's successors, can be explained better in the manner suggested above, and we can further contend that Bhoja's name cannot be had in Mahīpāla's inscriptions for the simple reason that he was the latter's successor.⁵ In Vināyakapāla's grant, it was unnecessary to mention Mahīpāla, not only because Bhoja's reign intervened between those of these two but also because there is no general rule obliging a ruler to mention all the collaterals who preceded him on the throne.⁶ "The Paramāra ruler Naravarman", as Dr D. C. Ganguly points out, "devotes a large number of verses to eulogising the merits and achievements of his elder brother, Lakṣmadeva, in his Nāgpur inscription, dated 1104 A.D. But in his Madhukargaḍh inscrip-

3. This is the position taken up by Dr. R. N. Puri in his *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp. 80-81. He assumes also that Bhoja II was removed from the throne of Kannauj by Mahīpāla with the help of Harṣadeva Chandella and presents his further reconstruction of the Pratihāra history in the following words:

"The Chandella ruler was amply rewarded for his services. The absence of Bhoja's name in the works of Rājasekhara is not surprising. The court-poet knew the real claimant to the throne, and he could hardly associate himself with the usurper. Further, as the play itself was staged before Mahīpāla, it would have been bad taste to bring in Bhoja unnecessarily, reminding the king of old and sad memories."

In our opinion all this is unnecessary theorising, because a dramatist mentions only the patron, and sometimes also the patron's father, if he be an outstanding personality. No dramatic convention of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature requires him to mention a patron's brother.

4. The identity of Mahīpāla and Bhoja II has been advocated by Dr. Nihar Ranffian Ray and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri respectively in the *IA*, 1928, pp. 230:| and *Indian Culture*, XII, pp. 199 ff

5. See our account of Mahīpāla.

6. The Bengal Asiatic Society Plate of Vināyakapāla brings the genealogy up to Mahendrapāla, then mentions Bhojadeva as his *pādānudhyāta*, and ends by speaking of Vināyakapāla as the *pādānudhyāta* of both his father, Mahendrapāla and his own brother, Bhojadeva, too, obviously because he was Vināyakapāla's immediate predecessor. The name of Mahīpāla, a collateral, who was Mahendrapāla's immediate successor, has been left out for reasons explained above.

tion, dated A.D. 1107 A.D. and Kadambapadraka Plate, dated 1100 A.D., he does not mention the name of his brother, though he takes particular care to mention the names of his father grandfather and grandfather's brother".⁷

Nothing is known of the political events of Bhoja II's reign.

Vināyakapāla I

Bhoja II was succeeded by his brother, Vināyakapāla, a son of Mahendrapāla I by Mahidevī-devī.⁸ For him we have two inscriptions, the Bengal Asiatic plate, the contents of which have been noticed above, and the Rakhetrā (Gwalior State) Tablet inscription of V. 999 and 1000, recording "apparently the construction, at a cost of 95 or 96 crores of (coins) of some water-work connected with the Orr river".⁹ He thus ruled for at least twelve years. He is mentioned also in Hariṣeṇa's *Br̥hatkathākośa* composed at Wadhwan, within Vināyakapāla's dominions, in V. 989.

Vināyakapāla's dates do not, as already stated,¹⁰ overlap those of Mahipāla. Therefore the only grounds for identifying these rulers are the equations originally proposed by Kielhorn and later on accepted by many scholars.¹¹ These equations can be represented as follows:—

<p><i>Hayapati</i> Devapāla of Yaśo-varman's Khajurāho inscription of V. 1011</p>	<p>= <i>Paramabhṭṭāraka</i> — <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> — <i>Parameśvara</i> Devapāla of the Siyadoṇī inscription.</p>
---	---

7. *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, IX, p. 196. The argument that Mahipāla could call himself Bhoja because all the Pratihāra rulers of Kānyakubja were known as Bhoja is unconvincing. No other prince of the line, excepting Bhoja I and Bhoja II, was known as Bhoja.

8. Bengal Asiatic Plate, IA, XV, p. 140.

9. *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 2110. Garde's notice of the inscription in the *ASI*, 1925, on which Bhandarkar's note is based can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. The inscription, obviously is important both as a political and economic record.

10. See the account of Mahipāla.

11. Notably by D. R. Bhandarkar, R. C. Majumdar, D. C. Ganguly, R. C. Majumdar and H. C. Ray. Dr. G. H. Ojha criticised the identification. Dr. B. N. Puri follows the lead given by Dr. Ojha. My reasons for the differentiation between these two rulers are in some respects different from those already advanced by other scholars.

- ∴ *Hayapati* Devapāla's father, = PMP Devapāla's father, PMP
 Herambapāla Kṣitipāladeva.
 Herambapāla is synonymous with Vināyakapāla.
 Kṣitipāla is synonymous with Mahipāla.
 ∴ Vināyakapāla (Herambapāla) Mahipāla (Kṣitipāla).

The large number of assumptions involved in this process of identifying Vināyakapāla with Mahipāla has always made me sceptical about its correctness. *Hayapati* Devapāla of the verse given below in the footnote¹² probably is not PMP Devapāla of the Siyadoṇi inscription, for the Pratihāra rulers, as pointed out by Dr G. H. Ojah,¹³ never called themselves *Hayapatis*. Further, as the title *aśvapati* (which is synonymous with *hayapati*) has traditionally been assigned only to rulers of North-western India, Hindu as well Muslim,¹⁴ it is probably a north-western ruler, and not one of *Madhyadeśa*, who is designated in this verse also as *hayapati*, i.e. *aśvapati*. Can he not be a *Shāhi*? Kielhorn's translation of the verse makes one think of the *Kīrarāja* as such. But the natural construction of the verse makes the word *Shāhi* a little more applicable to Herambapāla;¹⁵ and if this view of mine be regarded as correct, his son Herambapāla could, as a north-western ruler, be aptly designated as a *hayapati*. Thus we would have two absolutely different Devapālas, one a *Shāhi* of North-western India and the other, a PMP of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty.

With the rejection of this vital identification, the rest of the edifice built upon it naturally topples down to the ground like a building without any foundation. And even if we assume the correctness of the identification and also the correctness of the

12. *Kailasād=Bhoṭanāthaḥ suhṛḍiti cha tataḥ Kīrarājāḥ prapede*
Sāhis=tasmād=avāpa dvīpa-turaga-balen=ānu Herambapālaḥ
tat-sunor=Devapālāt tamatha Hayapateḥ prāpya ninye pratiṣṭhām
Vaikunṭham kunṭhitārīḥ kṣitidharatilakāḥ Śrī-Yaśovarma-rājāḥ//

13. Ojah-nibandha-saṅgraha, Part 4, p. 9.

14. It was the title of the rulers of Kekaya in the *Upaniṣadic* Period. In the *Prthvīrājaviṇaya*, X, 39, the word *hayapati* itself has been used for the ruler of Ghazni:

Marudiva diśi paśchimottarasya-
mati-balavān=adhipas=samasta eva/
Tadupari paramārtha-pauuruṣardhyā
Hayapatireva tiraskaroti sarvān//

15. See footnote 12 for the verse. The sequence of the transfers of the image is indicated by *tataḥ* in line 1, *anu* in line 2, and *atha* in line 3.

equation, Herambapāla = Vināyakapāla, there is, as already shown,¹⁶ no reason why Kṣitipāla of the prose records of Siyaḍḍṇi and Rājor should be identified with Mahīpāla of the two prose records of the years 914 and 917 A.D. In none of these can we plead that metrical exigencies required the change of Mahīpāla to Kṣitipāla and *vice versa*. We shall therefore, as already decided, treat Vināyakapāla as a ruler different from Mahīpāla, and the latter also as different from Kṣitipāla, even though that is not the generally accepted view, and put Vināyakapāla's reign-period tentatively between the years 931 and 945 A.D.^{16a}

During Vināyakapāla's reign the Pratihāra empire had once again to suffer at the hands of the Rāṣtrakūṭa raiders. At some time between 937 and 940, during the reign of Amoghavarṣa III, his Crown-Prince, Kṛṣṇa, ignoring all old family ties, attacked and defeated the Chedis¹⁷ and, advancing further to the north is said to have deprived the Pratihāras of all hopes of holding Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa.¹⁸ This might mean that the Rāṣtrakūṭas captured these strongholds. They could not, however, even if they captured them, retain them for long, on account of the quickly changing political conditions of the times. Chitrakūṭa, which is perhaps Chitor as suggested by some scholars,¹⁹ was probably recaptured by Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, who though continuing to recognise the supremacy of the Pratihāras, assumed the proud title of *Mahārājādhirāja*,²⁰ a fact indicative not only of an increase in his power but also of his comparative independence from central control. In central India, the Chedi ruler, Yuvarāja I, rallied his forces and succeeded not only in driving out the Rāṣtrakūṭas from his kingdom²¹ but also in occupying Kālañjara, though only to lose

16. See Mahīpāla's account already published in the *Journal*.

16a. We may keep in view also one of the reasons advanced by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari against the identification. Mahīpāla was known also as Kārttikeya. This should differentiate him from Vināyaka which is the name of another son of Śiva.

17. See Karhād Plates, *E.I.*, IV, p. 284.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 289, v. 30; *Ibid.*, V, p. 194, verse 25.

19. See Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri's *History of Mewar*, pp. 37-8; D. C. Ganguly, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 109.

20. *E.I.*, XIV, p. 187.

21. It is probably this Chedi success which is referred to in the Bilhari inscription, verse 24, *E.I.*, I, p. 256. This is the view also of Dr. Ganguly in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 89.

it soon; for while Yuvarāja's hostilities with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were continuing, Harsa's son and successor, Yaśovarman Chandella, swooped down upon Kālīñjara and captured it. And it had to be so, unless he was prepared to have his territories dominated by the Chedis. To the ambitious Chandellas even the Pratihāra yoke was getting irksome. To change it for the yoke of their neighbours and rivals, who had so far been no more than their equals, could hardly be to their taste. So they decided to fight against Yuvarāja I. The Chedi governor of the fort appears to have put up stiff resistance, for the Chandella records tell us not only that Yaśovarman "brought down shame on the shameful Chedis"²² but also that "free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Chedi, whose forces were countless and who put down his lotus-foot on rows of diadems of famous princes."²³

Had Vināyakapāla been a strong ruler, Yaśovarman would probably have made over the fort to the Pratihāras. But he kept it, in spite of the Pratihāra attempts to recover it. Thus not only did he bring distress to the Chedis, but proved, as he claims, a scorching fire to the Gurjaras, i.e., the Pratihāras of Kanauj,²⁴

22. *E.I.*, I, verse 23.

23. *Ibid.*, verse 28. H. C. Raychaudhuri, A. S. Altekar and R. S. Tripathi believe that Yaśovarman captured Kālāñjar from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But there is nothing in the Chandella records to indicate enmity between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Chandellas. If Yaśovarman had scored a minor victory even over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Crandella panegyrists would not have refrained from magnifying it a hundredfold. Nor can we agree with Prof. N. K. Sastri's view that Yaśovarman captured Kālāñjara with the co-operation of both the Chedis and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Kṛṣṇa III's wanton attack on the Chedis, referred to above, had made such an alliance impossible. As to the Chandellas and the Chedis the relations between the two were mostly of a hostile nature; and that they were so in Yaśovarman's reign would be obvious from the quotations from the Khajurāho inscription given above.

24. *E.I.*, I, verse 23. Though the verse ascribes the achievements detailed in the verse to Yaśovarman, without much scope for ambiguity, Dr. B. N. Puri assigns them to Harṣa (*History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p. 89). Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns the achievement to Yaśovarman but thinks that he captured the fort of Kālāñjara from a feudatory Pratihāra family, of which two records have been discovered so far, one an inscription at Chanderī, Madhya Bhārat, and the other a copper-plate now at Kalā Bhavan, Banaras. These Pratihārhas, according to him, were Viceroys from Kanauj *I.H.Q.*, XXXIV, p. 88; footnote 4. My reading of the Siyadoñī inscription, on the other hand, leaves me with the impression that the Kālāñjara-maṇḍala was

whose other territories, Mālwa, Kośala, and Kuru-pradeśa, must also have been raided by him, if there be any substance in the claims made in Khajurāho inscription II, dated V. 1011.²⁵ And a similar conclusion can, we believe, be reached, on the basis of the statements that he had made the Gaṅgā and Yamunā his pleasure lakes²⁶ and that his cavalry and elephant force had reached the Himalayas.²⁷

Another feudatory who defied Vināyakapāla's authority, though a little less openly was Vākpatirāja I²⁸ of Śākambhari who was the first in his family to assume the title of *Mahārāja* and is said to have beaten back the attack of a *tantrapāla*, i.e., (a Pratihāra) Provincial Governor. Proud of the authority that he wielded the *tantrapāla* reached the Chauhān dominions. He was fully confident of success. But Vākpati's cavalry proved more than a match for the Pratihāras' elephant force, and the *tantrapāla* had to go back thoroughly humiliated.

In Gujarāt, Mūlaraja Chaulukya laid the foundation of his kingdom by conquering land on the Sarasvati river and establishing his capital at Anahillapattana. Signs of deteriorating political conditions can be seen also in Mālwa. Perhaps influenced by the rebellious spirit in every direction, Vairisimha Paramāra, known popularly as Vajraṭa, tried to make himself the independent ruler of Dhārā.²⁹ He had some success even; and his soldiers rejoiced that he had after all succeeded in establishing himself as the inde-

ruled by a different family, some members of which are described in this record as follows:—

- (a) *Mahāpratihāra samadhigatapañchamahāśabda mahāsāmantādhipati* Undabhata (line 5), V. 960.
- (b) *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Dhūrbhata* (line 28), V. 969.
- (c) *Mahārājādhirāja Niśkalaṅka*, V. 1005, V. 1008 and V. 1025. *Kālāñjarapati* Bhīmata mentioned by Rājaśekhara as the writer of *Svapnadaśanana* and four other plays may have been Undabhata's successor.
25. E.I., I, p. 126, verse 23.
26. Ibid., p. 128, verse 39.
27. Ibid., p. 127, verse 30.
28. For his career see the writer's *Early Chauhān Dynasties*.
29. *Jatas=tasmād=Vairisimhonya-namnā*
loko brute Vajrata-svāminam yañ/
śator=vvargañ dharay=āser=nihatya
śrīmad-Dhārā sūchitā yena rajñā//
Udepur praśasti of the Kings of Mālwa, verse 11, E.I., I, p. 235.

pendent ruler of Dhārā, when he was attacked by Vināyakapāla's general, Bhāmanadeva Kalachuri, and deprived of the fruits of his victory.³⁰ Thus Mālwā, at least, was saved for the empire for some time more.

Dr. V. S. Agrawal described in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* a number of *drammas* issued by Vināyakapāla. These were found at Bhondrī in Sisendī Rāj, District Lucknow, and their weight varies from 62 to 69 grains. On the obverse they have the name of Vināyakapālaḍeva in three lines and a standing figure similar to that found on Bhoja's *Ādi-Varāha drammas*.³¹ Dr. A. S. Altekar also discovered some coins of Vināyakapāla with the boar on the obverse and the king's name on the reverse.³² In his *Dravya-parīkṣā*, Ṭhakkura Pheru describes *Vināyakī mudrās*, along with the *Vārāhī mudrās*, i.e. the coins of Ādivarāha Bhoja I, and gives the weight of silver in one hundred of them as 8 *tolās*, which is less by 2 *tolās* and 7 *māsās* than the weight of 100 *Varāhī drammas*.³³ The rest of the metal in them was copper.

Vināyakapāla died in c. 943 A.D. Putting together the numismatic as well as epigraphic evidence, for his reign we may conclude that the Pratihāra empire, in his time, was, despite some losses, moral, as well as material, respectable enough in dimensions and prestige to have a currency bearing his name, even though

As Buhler says (footnote 86), *E.I.*, I, p. 237) the verse signifies "Smiting the foe with *dhārā* (edge) of his sword the king indicated that Dhārā belonged to him."

We are putting the event in the reign of Vināyakapāla, because Vairisimha's son, Śiyaka, ruled from C. 949 to C. 972.

30. The conclusion given above, can be drawn on the basis of the verse from the Udepur *praśasti* quoted above and the description of Bhāmanadeva in the Kahlā plate as "*nīja-vijayipa(do)ddhāra-Dhārāvanīśa-(rṣya)t-senā-jaya-śrī-haṭṭaharaṇa-kalā-dhāma Bhāmanadevaḥ*", i.e., Bhāmanadeva who had by force snatched *jaya-śrī* from the army of the lord of the land of Dhārā, which had been rejoicing on his attainment of victorious status. For further discussion of the question read Miss Pratipāla's History thesis on the Paramāras.

31. *JNSI*, X, pp. 28 ff.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Verses 90-91. I am thankful to Muni Śrī-Jinavaijayaji for giving me the advance proofs of the book. Dr. Puri is mistaken in the thinking that 8 *tolas* is the weight of 100 coins. See his (*History of Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 153). This is the weight of silver in them.

this currency, was getting debased on account of the serious economic strain of wars as well as rebellions.

Mahendrapāla II

Mahendrapāla II's name is known to us from the Partābgarh inscription which describes him as a son of *Mahārāja* Vināyaka-pāladeva and Prasāadhanādevī.³⁴ He granted on the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa, V. 1003 (946 A.D.), at the request of Dhanaśūra, the village *Kharpara-padraka*³⁵ which was in the holding of *talavargika* Hariṣaḍa and situated in the vicinity of Ghonṭā-varṣikā³⁶ in the western *pathaka* of Daśapura^{36a} to the goddess Vatayakṣiṇī whose shrine was connected with the monastery of Hari-ṛṣīvara. At the end of the epigraph is the sign-manual of Śrī-Vidagdha.

The second grant recorded in the same inscription mentions *tantrapāla mahāsāmanta daṇḍanāyaka* at Ujjayinī and Śrī-Śarman, a nominee of the *balādhikṛta* Kokkaṭa as transacting work at the *maṇḍapika*.³⁷ Mādhava granted at the request of *mahāsāmanta* Indrarāja Chāhamāna³⁸ the village of Dharapadraka³⁹ for repairs and daily services at the temple of Indrādityadeva at Ghonṭā-varṣikā which had been built by the said Chāhamāna chief. The grant bears the sign-manuals of Śrī-Mādhava and Śrī-Vidagdha and purports to have been made by the former "for increase in the merit, fame and welfare in the next world of his parents and himself". It was communicated to the people who had come to the village perhaps for giving *bhoga* dues to Vidagdha.⁴⁰

34. E.I., XIV, pp. 182 ff; *Ojhā-nibandha-saṅgraha*, part 4, pp. 1-21.

35. Kharoṭ, seven miles south-east of Partābgarh.

36. Ghoṭārsī, seven miles east of Partābgarh.

36a. Mandasor.

37. Dr. Ojha equates the word with Māndū, a famous fort of Mālwa. But as Maṇḍu is never found being called Maṇḍapikā, and the nominee of a *balādhikṛta* is not big enough to be in charge of a fort, I give the word its usual sense of a "customshouse". The *Lekhapaddhati* (G.O.S.), p. 14, gives four instances of a *baladhipa* with a *pañchakula* in charge of a *maṇḍapikā*. *Balādhīpa*'s connection with *maṇḍapikā* can be seen also from the Jhamvera inscription of Kethana, v. 1219. See also the Siyadoni inscription, E.I., I, pp. 193, 175, 177 for the importance of the *maṇḍapikā*.

38. For the account of Indrarāja and the feudatory family to which he belonged see the present writer's *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 19-21.

39. Identified by Dr. G. H. Ojha with Dharyavad in Mewār.

40. The significance of the expression, "*Vidagdha-bhogāyāptaye*" is not clear. Literally it means "for having Vidagdha's *bhoga*."

Another grant included in the inscription, which is dated the 1st day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, V. 999 (942 A.D.), was made by Śrī-Bhartṛpaṭṭa, son of Śrī-Khommāna,⁴¹ and is followed by a number of minor grants of no political importance.

Dr G. H. Ojha, who edited the record, regarded Vidagdha as the name of the Governor (of Mālhwā). But considering the fact that it is Mādhava who is described as the *tantrapāla* stationed at Ujjayinī along with a *balādhikṛta*; and also the fact that it is not only the grant of the *tantrapāla* Mādhava but also the grant of Pratihāra emperor which bears Vidagdha's signature one should regard Vidagdha, I think, as a *nom de plume* of Mahendrapāla himself. Like some of his ancestors he might have been fond of patronising as well as writing good poetry, and thus entitled to the title Vidagdha.

The inscription provides incontestable proof of the Pratihāras' hold over Mālhwā, with their provincial capital at Ujjain. But the fact that the *tantrapāla* granted villages on his own from a territory near Pratābgarh shows that he wielded considerable powers; and the fact that neither in Mādhava's grant nor in the grant of Dhavalappadeva, it has been necessary to refer to Mahendrapāla II as suzerain proves that the Pratihāra control had weakened a good deal, and that the rot which had begun in Vināyakapāla's reign continued unchecked its destructive work.

Kṣitipāla

Mahendrapāla is not referred to in the Siyadoṇī inscription. But we find in it a reference to PMP Devapāladeva, son of PMP Kṣitipāladeva with *Mahānājādhirāja* Niṣkalaṅka as his feudatory there, in Māgha, V. 1005, i.e., in the beginning of 949 A.D.⁴² As we have not found it possible to equate Kṣitipāla with Vināyakapāla and Mahipāla, perhaps the best thing to do would be to put Kṣitipāla between V. 1003, the only known date of Mahendrapāla II and V. 1005, the date of Kṣitipāla's son, Devapāla. Nothing can be said about his relationship with Mahendrapāla II or of the way in which he came to the throne. Short reigns probably betoken a period of political trouble which might have been used

41. For *rommāna* see Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri's *History of Mewar*, p. 38.

42. See above footnote 24.

by ambitious rulers like Yaśovarman Chandella to increase their power still further.

Devapāla

Devapāla was on the Pratihāra throne in 949 A.D. Niṣkalaṅka of Siyadonī recognised his suzerainty. Devapāla must therefore have retained some hold over that area, even though real power had probably passed into the hands of big feudatories who styled themselves not only as *mahāsāmāntādhipatis* but also as *mahārājādhirājas*.⁴⁴ Mūlarāja who had founded the kingdom of Aṇahillapaṭṭana in V. 998 added further territories to it during Devapāla's weak reign. The Paramāra chief, Siyaka II, whose father Vairisimha had been deprived of the fruits of his earlier victory by Bhāmanadeva Kalachuri more than avenged his people's discomfiture by operating from the Ahmedabad area against chiefs like Yogarāja who continued till then to recognise the Pratihāras as their overlords.⁴⁵ As his ally Siyaka had a chief of the Kheṭaka-maṇḍala (present Kairā district), who perhaps was a descendant of Prachanda of the Brahmvāk family, the governor or feudatory put in charge of the principality by Kṛṣṇa II, after its reconquest from the Pratihāras.⁴⁶

The Pratihāra relations with the Chandellas also worsened.⁴⁷ Yaśovarman had raided Pratihāra territories and conquered Kālaṅjar. His son and successor, Dhanga, was even more aggressive. By 954 A.D., he succeeded in depriving the empire of (1) Gopagiri or Gwalior, in the conquest of which he was assisted by

43. See our account of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla. Mere synonymity should not from our point of view form the basis of any identification.

44. Niṣkalaṅka for instance is a *Mahārājādhirāja*. That the situation had become worse by 959 A.D. will be seen from our account of the Rājor inscription below.

45. See the Harsolā plates of Siyaka II, *El.*, XIX, pp. 236 ff. Avani-varman II Chālukya, for whom we have the Unā plates of V. 956 (890 A.D.) called himself Yoga. I am not sure whether Siyaka's adversary, Yogarāja, of 249 A.D. can be identified with him. Yogarāja may have been Yoga's grandson.

46. Dr. D. C. Ganguly identifies Devapāla with *Hayapati* Devapāla and, on that basis, concludes that Yaśovarman Chandella had come to terms with his overlord Devapāla (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 45). But we neither agree with the identification nor with the statement about reconciliation in view of Yaśovarman's activities detailed above.

47. See above the account of the preceding reigns.

his feudatory Vajradāman Kachchhapaghāta,⁴⁸ (2) Bhāsvat on the *Mālava-nadī*,⁴⁹ (3) the lands lying between the river Yamunā and the boundary of the Chedi kingdom and (4) probably some other territories too, intervening between Bhāsvat and Kālāñjar.⁵⁰ And having done all that he perhaps supported even the claims of a pretender to the Pratihāra throne, who called himself Vināyaka-pāla II and is described at the end of Dhaṅga's inscription of V. 1011 as "ruling the earth which was not taken possession of by enemies who had been annihilated."⁵¹ Dhaṅga, of course, being a friend did not fall within the category of enemies meriting destruction".

48. IA., XV, p. 36. For a detailed account of the relationship between Dhaṅga and Vajradāman read Dr. S. K. Mitra's paper in the *IHQ*, XXIX, pp. 88: That Vajradāman was a mere feudatory of Dhaṅga can be proved on the following grounds:—

- (a) Dhaṅga captured Gwalior in or before 954 A.D.
- (b) Its continued possession by the Chandellas is proved by the testimony of the historians of Mahmud Ghaznavi's invasion who put Gwalior within the kingdom of Vidyādhara Chandella and state that it was being ruled by Vidyādhara's *hākim* or Governor. This man might have been Kīrtirāja Kachchhapaghāta.
- (c) If during this period, the fort is described as captured also by a Kachchhapaghāta chief whose descendants are found ruling as Chandella feudatories at no distant date from the capture, it can only mean that the fort passed into the hands of the Kachchhapaghātas while they led their suzerain's, i.e., Dhaṅga's forces.

49. Bhāsvat is generally identified with Bhilsā on the Vetravati or Betwā river. But as the *Mālava-nadī* mentioned in Dhaṅga's inscription might not be Betwā but Avanti, the identification of which, according to Dr. D. C. Sircar, is uncertain, Bhāsvat might actually be a place different from Bhilsā, though not far from it. Further, as regarding the clan from which Dhaṅga captured it, I am not sure of its having been a possession of the Pargamāras in c. V. 1011, for in Vināyakapala's reign the Pratiharas had succeeded in driving away the Paramaras from Mālwa to some territory near Lāta where they lived on until the recapture of their old territories either late in the reign of Siyaka II or early in the reign of Muñja.

Ā-Kālanjaram ā-ca Mālava-nadī-tīra-sthite Bhāsvataḥ

Kālindī-saritas=taṭād=ita itopy=ā-Chedi-deśāvadheḥ/

ā-tasmād=api vismayaika-nīlayād=Gopābhīdhānād=gīrer=yaḥ

śāsti kṣitīm=āyatorjita-bhūja-vyāpāra-līlārjitam//

(E.I., I, p. 129, verse 45).

50. E.I., I, pp. 129 and 135.

51. *Ibid.* The writer of the Chaudella, inscription of Madanavarman (E.I., I, 197) represented the facts better when he wrote that Dhaṅga had secured the high imperial status by defeating the ruler of Kānyakubja, the overlord of all kings'.

Some assume even the occurrence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion on the basis of the Jūrā *praśasti* of Kṛṣṇa III, the date of the incision of which is now generally put after 947 A.D.⁵² But as the *praśasti* does not mention the Gurjaras, and the territory where it has been found might not have been within Pratihāra dominions, the assumption of the invasion of the Gurjara territory by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is not probably correct. The invasion, which resulted in the incision of this epigraph, might actually have been directed against the Chandellas who, in Yaśovarman's reign, had deprived Kṛṣṇa III of Kālāñjar and whose ruler, Dhanga, claimed having his orders listened to with respect by many rulers, including the Kuntala.⁵³

Vijayapāla

In the beginning of 960 A.D. or perhaps a little earlier Devapāla was succeeded by his brother Vijayapāla, who, however, is mentioned in the Rājor inscription not as meditating on the feet of his brother, Devapāla, but his father, Kṣitipāla, even though he was not his immediate successor. Under him, at Rājor, ruled his Gurjara-Pratihāra feudatory, MP Śrī-Mathanadeva, son of Mahārājādhirāja Sāvaṭa, who is described in the inscription as granting a village and giving various other donations for the worship of the idol and the maintenance of the temple of Lachchhukeśvara Mahādeva, a deity named after Mathanadeva's mother, Lachchhukā.⁵⁴

It was probably during Vijayapāla's reign that the Gurjara dominions were invaded once again by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, this time under the leadership of Kṛṣṇa III himself and his trusted general and feudatory, Mārasimha of Gaṅgāwādī. In the Śravaṇa-Belgola inscription of this chief we are told that he acquired the title of Gurjararāja by conquering the northern region for Kṛṣṇa III; and the Kuḍlūr Plates of Mārasimha, dated in 963 A.D., probably refer to the same invasion when stating that Kṛṣṇarāja (Kṛṣṇa III)

52. See *E.I.*, XIX, p. 88. As the *praśasti* refers to the destruction of the Chola power it has naturally to be put after the battle of Takkolam, the date of which according to Sri N. Lakshminarayan Rao is 247 A.D. The generally accepted date is 949-950 A.D.

53. *E.I.*, I, p. 145, verse 45.

54. *E.I.*, III, p. 266. The village Vyāghrapātaka, granted by Mathanadeva probably is modern Bāghor near Rājor which lies 28 miles to the south-west of Alwar.

when, starting for an expedition to the north performed the ceremony of crowning Mārasimha as the ruler of Gangāwāḍi.⁵⁵

The invasion had serious repercussions. Coming in the early years of the reign of Vijayapāla, it weakened seriously the Pratihāra hold over the outlying parts of their empire. The Chāhamāna ruler, Simharāja of Śākambharī, had after a run of success been killed in some action either with the Pratihāras directly or more probably with Pratihāra feudatories backed by the central power. But Vighararāja II, who succeeded him, took the fullest advantage of the weakened position of the Pratihāras not only to re-establish his authority within his own kingdom but also to assume imperial titles and to carry on wars with his neighbours on his own account.⁵⁶ Parts of Mālwa probably passed under the control of the Paramāra chief, Siyaka II.⁵⁷ Mūlarāja Chaulukya expanded his kingdom, conquering Broach and probably also parts of Saurāṣṭra. The Chāhamāna chief, Lakṣmaṇa, set up an independent kingdom of his own at Nādol, in V. 1024 (967 A.D.).⁵⁸ And Chandellas, no doubt, were all the time there, undermining and challenging the authority of the empire. Even their own kinsmen, the Pratihāras of the family of Nilakanṭha, probably raised their heads against the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kannauj in the second half of the tenth century.⁵⁹ The Chedi ruler, Lakṣmanarāja, claims having defeated the rulers of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kaśmīra.⁶⁰ The Guhilas of Mewār attained a position of some strength under Allāṭa; and if Dr G. H. Ojha's opinion be accepted, he proved strong enough even to kill his powerful enemy, Devapāla Pratihāra in battle.⁶¹ Vijayapāla, as a successor of Devapāla, might have been on no good terms with Allāṭa as well as his successor, Naravāhana, who probably married a

55. *E.I.*, V, pp. 151 ff., *Mysore A.R.* for 1921, pp. 17 ff. Both these references are from Sri N. Lakshminarayan Rao's introductory note on his edition of the *Jūrā praśasti* (*E.I.*, XIX, p. 289).

56. *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 29-32.

57. Miss P. Bhatia's thesis (unpublished).

58. *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 120-122.

59. See D. C. Sircar's paper, Candella Grants in Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, *IHQ.*, XXXIV, p. 88.

60. *E.I.*, IX, p. 146. The *Gurjara* referred to in this inscription, however, is believed by some to be a Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat.

61. *History of Rājapūtānā*, I, p. 428, footnote.

Chahamāna princess.⁶² On one side, only, the eastern, the Pratihāras had some respite on account of the steadily increasing weakness of the Pālas during the reigns of Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II.⁶³

Even in the areas which remained under the control of the Pratihāras and continued recognising their suzerainty, their authority underwent a serious diminution. We find *Mahārājādhirājas* at Siyadoṇī even before Vijayapāla's reign. In V. 1025 it was ruled by *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Niṣkalaṅka* who had been there in V. 1005, i.e., twenty years back also. But in V. 1025 there is no reference to an overlord, which in itself is proof enough of the diminution in the power as well as prestige of the central government. Fifteen years later, in V. 1040 (984 A.D.), Harirāja, a son of Nilakanṭha and probably a grandson of Niṣkalaṅka issued from Siyadoṇī a grant in which again there is no reference to the ruling Pratihāra sovereign.⁶⁴ At Rājor, Mathanadeva, who was a mere feudatory enjoying *Vaṁśapotaka* as an assignment from his imperial master, had in V. 1016,⁶⁵ the courage to call himself *Mahārājādhirāja-Parāmeśvara*. Obviously the day when such feudatories were to call themselves *Paramabhattāarakas* also was not far off.

If Vijayapāla had an average reign of twenty-five years, in spite of having succeeded not his father but his brother, Devapāla, he might have died in c. 984 A.D.

62. See the Āṭpur inscription.

63. See *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 122-136 (Dacca University edition).

64. See Dr. D. C. Sircar's paper in *PAIOC*, 1957, Part 1, for the reference to Harirāja's grant. Harirāja is referred to also in a Chanderī inscription (*IHQ.*, XXXIV, p. 88) and *E.I.*, I, pp. 178-9. I presume that he had some relationship with Niskalaṅka on account of the proximity of their time, identity of locality, and some similarity between the names of *Mahārājādhirāja* Niskalaṅka and Harirāja's father, Nilakanṭha.

65. Mark the expression, *svabhogāvāpta-Vaṁśapotaka-bhoga*, of the inscription.

The Early History of the Nilgiris

BY

M. AROKIASWAMI, M.A., Ph.D.,

University of Madras

It is generally supposed that the English people were the first to colonise the Nilgiris and make it habitable. Col. Munro's visit to the place in 1826 and the great pains taken by his successor as Governor of Madras, Mr. Lushington, are generally mentioned as the first serious efforts made to bring civilisation to the hills of Nilgiris. But even a cursory study of the historical remains in the district must make one understand that there were civilised people living on these hills very much earlier.

Host are the attempts made by the English themselves to discover the truth of the people who had thus lived here in early times; but somehow they have failed to strike at the real truth. Talking on the early monuments here Mr. W. Francis of the Indian Civil Service writes as follows:

"Captain B. S. Ward, whose survey memoir of 1822 appears to be the earliest paper in which the monuments are referred to and who was a most careful enquirer, said that the people told him that they 'were built by the Boopalans, predecessors of the present race of the Toduwars' or Todas. Brecks, on a consideration of all the evidence, thought it more satisfactory to assign the cairns to the Todas than to an unknown race; but if the pottery found in them was really the work of the ancestors of the present Todas these latter must have greatly degenerated in aesthetic appreciation, for nowadays their domestic utensils, which are mostly made for them by the Kotas, are of the plainest description. Perhaps, however, just as they may have given up the use of weapons, when they found defence no longer called for, they gave up yearnings after the beautiful, when they found another caste would fashion sufficiently serviceable, if ugly, utensils for them."¹

According to Mr. W. Francis, Mr. Brecks thought it better to assign the ancient relics dug up in the old burial sites to the Tōdās

1. Francis, *Gazetteer of the Nilgiris*, 97.

rather than to an unknown people and argues that, if these finds are and look much better than the implements and the vessels used by the Tōdās to-day, it would only mean that in course of time they did not find any need to use better and more useful things to which their ancestors were customed. How very unreasonable is the surmise of Mr. Francis must be obvious to any one who reads this. Life always means progress and there is no question of any retrogression as age follows age. If the Todas used potteries and implements of a fine order in ancient times we must see them using better things to-day. To the old English investigator the possibility of some other race more civilised than the Todas having occupied the hills once upon a time did not occur and at the same time the examination of these articles of the ancient people was to him more in the nature of "curiosty-hunting", as Lt. Burton wrote in 1847,² than anything else.

Hence I propose to look into these antiquities here from a historical point of view to see whether something more plausible may not be found as an explanation of these articles of ancient usage. J. W. Breeks in his classical work *Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*³ gives an almost complete account of these finds. In excavations carried out by him on July 7th, 1871 at the Egbōdi mound a figure of a low country bull with hump was found marked on the lid of a pot. Heads of perhaps sheep are also found in the cairn excavated. In two cairns dug up on the same day at Chiket-nāvaibetta near Tunāri a beautiful bronze vase with ornamentation done by hand has been found along with a bronze basin apparently on a stand now missing. In the excavation made on 24-10-1871 at the Nadubetta the pot-lid was found figuring the bullock and an animal with spots, probably a leopard. In a barrow on Hillavākunde hill west of Shālur neatly made spears and javelins, with their heads alone found, were unearthed on 19-1-1872. In many cairns dug up by Breeks a few iron bells and many clay bells have been found; and it has been properly surmised that they were bells hanging from the necks of the buffaloes. This has been clearly evidenced by the figures of buffaloes found in them always having the bells hanging from the neck.

2. M.J.L.S., XIV, 77-146.

3. Breeks. *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, London, 1873.

Mr. Breeks, as has been pointed earlier, assigns these remnants of ancient times to the Toduwars (Tōdās) in preference to some unknown race. How he did not think of the Kurumbās, acceptedly an ancient people to occupy the hills, as those to whom these remains can be assigned, passes my comprehension. Perhaps he was under the impression that they had quickly passed on to Tondamandalam, where they made history in later times. On the other hand, it is plainly on the cards that of the four well-known primitive tribes—the Tōdās, the Kōtās, the Irulās and the Kurumbās—who have admittedly occupied the Nilgiris in early times the last alone became historically famous as a pastoral people who spread from the west coast of India through the region of Mysore down to the region of Tondamandalam, which is the region of the modern district of Chingleput. The great victory attributed to a early Cōla monarch is his victory over the Kurumbās.⁴ There is a division of territory in the west coast known to this day as Kurumbanād, meaning the land of the Kurumbās. Mysore is admittedly a land of pastoral people and even more so in early time, the very name Mysore being derived from buffalo (mahishā). That the Kurumbās entered in large numbers into the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem during and even before the Śangam times, i.e., in the first centuries of the Christian era, is clear for the following reasons:

(1) We hear of the Kurumbās both in North Malabar and in the Madras region. They could not have reached the southern or the south eastern point of the peninsula except through Coimbatore and Salem, coming as they did from the west coast.

(2) If they had come into Tondamandalam from the Mysore region, even then they would have passed through Coimbatore from the Nilgris. This is further evidenced by the fact of the pig figure appearing in the pot-lid of Nadubettā cairn, already referred to, along with that of the buffalo. Not without cause *Tolkāppiyam* describes the country to the north of Coimbatore as *panrinadu* or the pig country.

(3) Numerous cairns in the Coimbatore region resemble those of the Nilgris and the cromlechs here contain engravings as in the hills. Mr. Walhouse categorically says that these Coimbatore monuments must belong to some pastoral race.⁵ So also Mr. Walter

4. See *Pattinappalai*.

5. *J.R.A.S.*, VII, p. 29.

Elliot, who stated categorically at the International Pre-historic Congress at Norwich that the Coimbatore remains of the dead are those of a great pastoral people.⁶

(4) "Close to the town of Tangala is the country of the Batoi", so wrote Ptolemy as early as the II century A.D.⁷ It has been ever after interpreted that Tangala refers to the modern town of Dindigul. Now the term *batoi* is considered to be a variant of the Tamil *aye* or *āyar*, meaning shepherd. The meaning of Ptolemy is now clear. This is a strong evidence indeed showing that Kurumbar were in the Coimbatore region in very early times. This may be roughly the period during which this race must have flourished on the Nilgiris as well.

We shall now come back to the finds of the Nilgiri region. The depiction of the bullock, the pig, the leopard and the tiger, which is being speared, the ubiquitous bell, numerous remains of which are found in the cairns as in the cromlechs, the figures of comparatively civilised human beings (ladies are with top-knots), the figures of heroes apparently going to heaven as a reward for their heroic deeds performed in defence of others all bespeak of the Kurumbās, who are the best known of all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris in early times. Mr. Breeks himself tells us that very few of the human figures resemble the Tōdās and the ladies are represented well-covered and carrying water in pitchers, which is quite unlike of what the Tōdās and their womenfolk are to-day. If it is argued that they gave up things of beauty as useless, we cannot still argue that they gave up their dress and civilised way of life as well in course of time. The sickle and the javelin remains of which are found in these Nilgiri houses of the dead, indicate that they belonged to a pastoral and warring race, which is exactly the description of the Kurumbās of early times. The figures of water-carrying maiden and the remains of bells strewn profusely in the cairns here also point to the fact that those who made them were eminently a pastoral people. A song in *Ahananuru* describes an entry of these people into the low lands by describing the cows running for water with the bells ringing from their neck. The bronze stand of the basin found in the two cairns at Chiketnāvaibetta reminds one of the basin with stand found largely in Coorg. The Kongar, another well-known pastoral tribe

6. *Ethnological Journal*, I, pp. 108 ff.

7. McCrindle; *Ptolemy*, p. 184.

said to have entered into the Coimbatore region in early times, are mentioned in *Silappadikaram* as Kudagukkongar (Kongar from Coorg). It is just possible that the kurumbar also had passed through this region or at any rate had contacts with Coorg especially when we know that they had contact with Mysore, the land of the buffalo. Mr. Breeks tells us in his book already referred to that the Nilgiri cromlechs are carved after the fashion in Mysore and Coorg.⁸ Elsewhere he tells us certain female figures found on them are naked upto the waist and wear ear-rings after the fashion in Malabar.⁹ Mr. Fraser in an article written for the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* tells us that the sepulchral tumuli in the river valleys of Coimbatore in Noyal and Bolumampatti and the base of the Analmalai hills strongly resemble those in the deep gorges of the Nilgiris.¹⁰ The choice of the river valleys is to be noted here. Further, the practice of burying the dead face down, which is noted on the Nilgiris, is the peculiar custom of the pastoral people and in Mysore.

The conclusion is obvious that the Kurumbās at some very early time entered the Nilgiris both from the West coast and through Mysore and remained there for quite a long time before their entry into the Coimbatore and Salem region on their way to Tondamandalam. They were great people who reared cattle and at the same time had fought many a good fight. They were great builders of forts (Tondamandalam was divided by them into 24 kottams (fort-areas). Now we can also explain the remains of mud forts still seen on the hills—standing unexplained to this day. Their history must form the first chapter of the early history of the Nilgiris.

Where then are the Kurumbās to-day? It may be asked that if the Tōdās are to be excluded from having any connection with the ancient finds of the Nilgiris because of the account they give of themselves now, we should expect at least the descendants of the Kurumbās giving better account of themselves. It will be accepted that these descendants are still to be found on the hills in a much better civilised state than any of the original inhabitants

8. Breeks, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

10. *M.J.L.S.*, VI (N.S.), No. XI.

of the locality. Even the Badagās, who are the most civilised people of the place who can at the same time claim to be the sons of the soil, keep a kurumbā and only a kurumba as their priest. He is known as the *Kānikurumbhu* (probably a variation of *Kānikkaikurumbhu*), to whom they submit their prayers and pay their offerings and donations. In many places in the low country, which they had once occupied, they are known to-day with the distinct honorific *Gavundan*. The Kurumbā Goundans fill the modern districts of Coimbatore, Salem, Chingleput and the two Arcots.

Sher Shah, Akbar and the Link

BY

DR. MOHAMMAD YASIN, M.A., L.L.B., PH.D.,
Assistant Professor of History, Lucknow University

Historians have ignored, rather overlooked Salim or Islam Shah, the son and successor of Sher Shah Sur, and they have failed to do him justice. He has been subjected only to a passing notice. Nirod Bhushan Roy in his "Successors of Sher Shah" concluding Islam Shah's reign pays him a glorious tribute.

Islam Shah's reign enjoys a unique position. He stands on a different footing as compared with other monarchs of Medieval India. Keeping our hands clean from the controversy regarding his character and being satisfied with the remarks of Abul Fazl, the arch enemy of Sur dynasty, when he says; "Few princes on record in military skill, in policy, justice and good government have ever equalled these two", that is, Sher Shah and Islam Shah and the contention of Erskine that "his (Islam Shah's) character, as given by historians, is not exactly what one would expect from the public transactions of his reign", are sufficient to allow him a noble portraiture of his character. His disgraceful conduct at Sambala where he ordered the Niazi women to be dishonoured and other fiendish acts are blots on his good name but it should be remembered that they belonged to the age and not to the man as every monarch, without any exceptions, in the Middle Ages had occasionally fallen into such barbarities and beastly ways of revenge.

Delhi Sultans.

In order to determine the real place of Islam Shah in Indian History, a brief survey of Delhi sultans prior to the accession of Sher Shah is the prime requisite. The Muslims came to India as early as 712 A.D., and were fully established on the Indian

soil in the thirteenth century. The native population of the country, mainly Hindus, rendered their submission and owed allegiance to a Musalman ruler only due to the fear of punishment and disaster. Muslims never identified themselves with the interest of the State nor did the Hindu subjects treat Muslim rulers as their lords according to the Indian conception of kingship. It was more or less a fearful bargain when Hindus bought their lives, happiness and freedom of conscience by paying arbitrary tributes and obedience. Hindus were out-classed from the affairs of the state. Sher Shah was the first who thought of a noble plan to govern the country in the interest of the people and based the administration on their goodwill. He realized that the loyalty of all the sections of the population could only be gained through a just and impartial government free from sectarian or religious considerations. Every person must be given full chance to develop his talents and serve the state according to his abilities. Intellect is not a monopoly of a particular person or race. Therefore he started this novel experiment and embarked upon a bold enterprise, which was almost foreign to the Hindus and the Muslims alike, and we find that he did all the spade-work, levelled the ground, and put the affairs of the state on the right lines. His reign is also remarkable for numerous institutions—their germination and growth—and the names of the few, for example, revenue, currency, commerce, roads and 'Sarais', Police and justice still herald his name with pride. He is also entitled to our praise for his army arrangements and his remodelling of the whole structure of the government from bottom upwards.

It is usual that after paying homage and tribute to the ideals and achievements of Sher Shah, historians pass on to Akbar. Sher Shah is treated as the precursor and forerunner of Akbar, a man who tried something but his ideas reached their logical conclusion and attained culmination in the reign of the other. But there is an important gap, a lacunae between the reigns of these two sovereigns. There is a straight pathway, a bridge between the two extremes. There stands one between the two shining personalities of the world, between the one who conceived and the other who achieved. The glories of these two great luminaries had eclipsed the soft and soothing glares of the moon which also deserves the same praise.

A Link

And he is Islam Shah Islam Shah is a connecting link between Sher Shah and Akbar. The space between the death of Sher Shah and the accession of Akbar—a considerable interval of course—was period of transition. It covers nearly eleven and a half years, two third of which was occupied by Islam Shah. The Civil War which followed the death of Islam Shah and the, Moghal Restoration on the throne of Hindustan practically had no effect and did not change or disturb the work done by Sher Shah and consolidated and improved by Islam Shah. In the case of the Civil War different claimants were competing, Humayun had no time and no inclination to attempt anything substantial in this direction. Islam Shah should not be treated or compared with Jahangir or Shahjahan who inherited a stable government, a full treasury and an equipped army and allowed the traditions of their "illustrious predecessor" to continue on in most respects. Islam Shah was given a dim notion, a bare outline and no one would blame him if he would have preferred a policy of complete departure. His real merit consists in realizing their utility and usefulness and his consequent adoption and adaptation of the same. If he had been reactionary like Aurangzeb, he would not have been accused of anything as he would have been reverting to the same old policy, which had become almost natural, and system of government based on military strength which was dominant note not in India alone but a characteristic feature of medieval ages.

Sacred Trust

Sher Shah, the Tiger Lord, the champion of Sur dynasty and the Morning Star of Indo-Muslim national revival, entrusted his son with a sacred trust of noble and beneficial institutions, a healthy project of the creation of an Indian nationality, a sound and just system of a administration and ground levelled for popular government to hold in trust for the "child of his age", Akbar the Great, and it is evident that Islam Shah discharged his duties well, and the preservation of the traditions of the previous rule is his greatest contribution. Islam Shah kept all the institutions of his father intact. He ordered the construction of "Sarais" in each of the intervals of the two built by his father. It is also a fact that the condition of the Hindus was never better before than

in the time of Sher Shah and Islam Shah. Like an honest trustee he removed the thorns, irregularities and defects of his trust, made it more bright and pure and caused them to be handed over to the beneficiary, in the same condition, when he assumed the reign of the government for himself. Under the Lodis the institution of sovereignty had fallen from its ideals, both Hindu and Muslim. It was nothing but a *primus inter pares*. Sher Shah though a lover of supreme authority, consulted the Afghan nobles on important matters of policy and action. It was Islam Shah who revived rather gave a clear cut interpretation to the office of kingship, which found its full scope at the hands of Akbar. If Islam Shah had not kept things in order or if he had reversed them altogether, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for Akbar to gather all the scattered links and proceed on so rapidly towards realizing the dreams of Sher Shah, and sow the seeds of new ideas and schemes of his own choice on the ground made equipped for the purpose. Therefore we may safely hold that Islam Shah, in a way, is responsible for the glories of Akbar.

Mahatma Gandhi as a Spiritualized Statesman

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,

Lucknow University

Is there any place for morality in politics? The worldly-minded politician would emphatically say, "No". He would urge that, in the materialistic world of ours, it is the end which counts, and not the means. For the realization of the end he thinks even questionable and immoral means may have to be adopted at times. But, Gandhiji's philosophy of politics was just the reverse of it. It did not recognise any contradiction between end and means. Gandhiji regarded them as convertible terms. That is why he deprecated all the artful diplomacy and manoeuvring which one associates with the conventional political life of today. As a fearless seeker after Truth, Gandhiji looked upon politics as a path of selfless service and not as a means of self-aggrandizement.

Gandhiji's politics was founded on Truth. Dishonesty or chicanery, according to him frustrated the very object of all political action. Politics could not be divorced from morality. He would not favour any wrong or immoral short cut to the end. He could not think of an improper short cut even to *Swaraj*, except through a process of self-purification and self-sacrifice. The higher moral value of nation's struggle for freedom appeared to him to be no less glorious than the end of *Swaraj* itself. *Swaraj* could not endure on foundations of untruth. So, Gandhiji believed that *Swaraj* would have to be secured honestly, truthfully and openly in the name of Truth and God. Secret or deceitful methods were of no use to him. He judged everything from the lofty stand-point of morality and considered all his political steps as so many selfless experiments with Truth. Politics based on morality might be slower, but it was bound to be surer. A delay of a few years was after all meaningless in the life of a nation.

Quest for Truth

At times, Gandhiji had to challenge or break a law in the course of his *Satyagraha*. But, in so doing he always made it clear that his action was prompted by his inner voice, which is

the call of God. He would not put up with wrong, or recognise evil or accept a state of affairs which could not be explained on the basis of Truth. He therefore refused to agree with those who stooped to questionable means in the interests of expediency. Morally viewed Gandhiji's political actions represented a form of spiritual striving which ennoble the mind and leads to the uplift of mankind. Freedom, in the eyes of Gandhiji, was not to be only a kind of political experience, but a process of self-purification which is vital to an individual, as it is to a nation.

Gandhiji came into politics not to seek power for himself. He placed himself at the head of a people's movement, because he wanted to serve the poor lowly and downtrodden. *Khadi* and the *Charkha* became the outward symbols of his movement, as they stood for the suffering and poverty no less than the ultimate redemption of the starving masses of India. As a leader, he lived in the manner of an ascetic. He did so, because he thought that an honest leader could not claim the ordinary comforts and amenities which the poverty-stricken masses could not afford. In his humble and meagre loin cloth he symbolised the life of the nation more truthfully than he could have done, if he had lived the conventional life of a leader. The stress he laid on the economic uplift of the country through *Khadi* and *Charkha* was meant not only to hasten the political emancipation of the country, but was calculated to make the poor villagers aware of their importance, and enable them to join in the freedom struggle as equal partners. Handspinning was, therefore, for Gandhiji, a kind of political education for the people.

Politics was never a matter of policy or expediency so far as Gandhiji was concerned. It was in actual fact always a quest for Truth, for God is Truth. His *Satyagraha* technique was the beacon light which reflected the Truth to him. This spiritualism of political action was a quality of the inner spirit. But, it was too deep for the average man, and so it was unintelligible to many. Still, the fact remains that Gandhiji uplifted politics to a spiritual plane in a manner in which it had never been done before. It was because his fight was on the moral level. He had no animosity or anger against the British people. He could not injure England to serve India, and refused to hate Englishmen, even though he would never bear their yoke. He led a freedom fight without rancour and malice. This was indeed unique, for the world had never seen anything like it in the past. Gandhiji proved

by his personal example that evil can be separated from the evil doer, and that moral detachment reinforces, instead of diminishing, the real efficacy of political methods.

As Gandhiji had nothing to conceal, he would never conceal even his worst mistakes. Once he realised that he had committed a grave blunder he would not hesitate to admit it freely. This open-hearted frankness was at times as irksome to his admirers, as it was perplexing to his opponents. An average leader is afraid of acknowledging his mistakes publicly, for he knows that his leadership might be jeopardised thereby. Gandhiji however, was never afraid of consequences. He would not only confess his error, but would go further and atone for it by purification and fasting in a spirit of penitence and sorrow. Politicians might regard this attitude as childish and ridiculous, but Gandhiji was fearless, and he never hesitated to own up a grievous error when he knew he had committed one. He believed that an error arises only from evil feelings, like anger, malice or greed. It is thus necessary, he thought, to fight and conquer these evil feelings which are innate in man's nature.

No Politics without Morality

Gandhiji's method of political campaigning may not be acceptable to the matter-of-fact type of politician but, like all great teachers of humanity, Gandhiji made no distinction between the secular and the spiritual, or between the political and the moral. Life was a single or integrated whole for him, and he refused to break it into watertight compartments. The mere politician would object that Gandhiji was not really political in his methodology, and that he was a saint who dabbled in politics. This objection, however, is not valid, for Gandhiji took politics seriously and tried to ennoble it. He taught *Ahimsa* in politics, and defined *Ahimsa* as a form of moral purity through non-violence in word, deed and thought. He made it clear that moral and spiritual values are as important in politics as they are in religious and spiritual matters. Moral purity was to be the necessary basis of all political action. Saintly in his private life, Gandhiji, in short, behaved as a saint even in the political sphere. His comprehensive constructive programme was as much a means to moral uplift as to political advancement.

To the query, then, as to whether morality should dominate politics, Gandhiji would reply that real politics could not be pos-

sible without morality. That is why in the last years of his life, he became increasingly disgusted with the growing immorality and corruption in political life, and he protested against the evils with all the emphasis at his command. It saddened him greatly when he saw that Indian politics was fast becoming a hunting ground for unprincipled and corrupt self-seekers. He sought to fight against the evils, and attempted to run the Congress on strictly moral lines. *Swaraj* was useless, if it brought in its train moral degradation. *Swaraj*, according to him, was of value only if it led to a better and nobler life.

Gandhiji therefore ushered in a novel trend in world affairs—a trend which possesses unknown potentialities for the world of to-morrow. This is nothing but the moral force which lies at the root of truth and non-violence. His philosophy of politics thus forms the dividing line between the attitude of realism in politics and the attitude of detachment. This philosophy was not invented by him, but was reintroduced in a field where it was previously supposed to have no place. The world of politics has become dirty and corrupt. Gandhiji at least emphasised an outlook which may yet transform politics into a form of social service.

Gandhiji was never a party leader in the strict sense of the term. He felt miserable when his followers desired him to function like a party boss. He refused to gather a faction or a clique round himself, and resolutely opposed the formation of a special group of his own. After the achievement of freedom in 1947, Gandhiji chose to break his connection with the Congress, and would not remain even a four-anna member thereof. When the political goal was reached, he lost all interest in politics, and sought to build up a new India based on communal amity and peace. He had renounced his all for the service of his country; he sacrificed his life for the Kingdom of God. A martyr's crown was an appropriate end for a man like him.

Gandhiji is a unique figure in world history. A morally elevated and humanised statesman of his kind is rarely seen in any age. He was not a saint gone astray in politics, but a spiritualised statesman who tried to become a saint. A wonderful blend of saint and statesman, Gandhiji took to politics in the same spirit in which a *sannyasi* takes to spiritual *sadhana*. If his ideal is still regarded as unachievable, it is because the spiritual transformation of man, which is essential to its success has yet to take place.

The Origin of the Hindu-Sikh Tension in the Panjab

BY

GANDA SINGH

For some time past there has been a good deal of misunderstanding about the origin of the Hindu-Sikh tension in the Panjab. It has become a fashion with some of our people to ascribe to the British or to the political policy of the British Government in India even things with which they had not the remotest connection. One such thing is the beginning of the Hindu-Sikh tension in the Panjab. The Hindu-Sikh tension, as we know, was a thing unknown during the Sikh rule up to the middle of the last century. And there were very happy relations between the two communities during the great uprising of 1857 and the following two decades. There could have been no better opportunity for the Britishers than the Mutiny days to exploit the Sikh sentiment against the Hindu Dogras and Poorbias who were mainly responsible both directly and indirectly, by secret alliances and open betrayals, for the downfall of the Sikh kingdom. Another opportunity offered itself to the British in the closing years of the eighteen sixties when a schismatic sect of the Sikhs, the Kookas, in their overflowing zeal and fanatical frenzy, pulled down a number of Hindu tombs and went about shouting: *Marhī masānī dhāi-ké kar dio madānā*, meaning 'Pull down the mausoleums and crematories and level them with the earth.' But nobody took these activities of the Kookas very seriously and they provided no pretext for anyone to create hostilities between the Hindus and the Sikhs. It is, therefore, not correct to say that "the unfilial sentiments of Sikhs towards Hinduism were the creation of the British who, true to their policy of 'divide and rule' tried to create separatism." (Suraj Bhan, the *Tribune*, Ambala, September 25, 1957.)

Historically speaking, the tension had its origin in the unhappy language used for Guru Nanak and his followers by Shri Swami Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj, in his book the *Satyarth Prakash* published in 1875, the year in which, on April 10, the first Arya Samaj was established in Bombay.

(I shall not quote extensively from the first edition of the *Satyarth Prakash* or from its later revised and enlarged editions to avoid unpleasantness.)

The word used for the Sikh Guru therein is *dhūrta*, which, according to Bate's *Dictionary of the Hindi language*, means "rogue, cheat, fraudulent, crafty, cunning, knavish, sly, dishonest, mischievous." The hymns of the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the Sikh scripture, he called *mithyā* (falsehood), and Sikhism, a *jal* (a snare) to rob and cheat simple folk of their wealth and property (*dhan ādik harné ké wāsaté*).

Two years alter, Swami Dayananda came to the Panjab and established the Arya Samaj at Lahore. In his discourses in the Panjab, he always praised the work of the Sikh Gurus. This attracted a number of Sikhs to the Arya Samaj. One of them, Bhai Jawahir Singh, later became the Secretary of the Lahore Arya Samaj and also of the D.A.V. College Managing Committee.

While Swami Dayananda was staying at Kanpur, on his return from the Panjab, Sardar Bhagat Singh, Sub-Engineer of the Ajmer Division, wrote to him in protest against his objectionable remarks in the *Satyarth Prakash* against the Sikhs and Sikhism. Swamiji wrote back saying that his opinion had undergone a change during his visit to the Panjab and that the remarks in question would be deleted from the next edition of the book. But nothing came to be done. It was, perhaps, due to the untimely death of Swamiji on October 10, 1883. The second edition of the *Satyarth Prakash* was, perhaps, then still in the press.

With the passage of time, the publication of the second edition of the *Satyarth Prakash* and the admission of some over-zealous youngmen into the Arya Samaj, the attitude of some of the leading Arya Samajists became increasingly hostile towards Sikhs and Sikhism. The columns of the *Arya Samachar* Meerut, and the *Arya Patrika*, Lahore, of those days bear witness to this.

The second edition of the *Satyarth Prakash* turned out to be more disappointing and hostile. In it the attack on the Sikh Gurus, the Sikh scripture and the Sikh people in general was more direct, more biting and more painful. Guru Nanak was given out as illiterate, self-conceited and hypocritical. The Sikh scripture was insulted and the tenets and symbols of Sikhism were ridi-

ORIGIN OF HINDU-SIKH TENSION IN PANJAB 121

culed. And the Sikhs in general were dubbed as arrogant and slaves to lust.

This naturally disillusioned such of the Sikhs as were members of the Arya Samaj or were its active supporters. They felt very much hurt and dejected. What added to the tension was the fanatical attitude of some members of the Arya Samaj who went out of their way to flash the wrongful remarks of the *Satyarth Prakash* and unnecessarily wounded the susceptibilities of the Sikhs.

There were, however, some well-meaning members of the Arya Samaj who sincerely felt that a wrong had come to be done to the Sikhs by the objectionable remarks of Swami Dayananda. They wrote apologetic and appeasing letters and notes in the *Vidya Prakashak* and other journals and newspapers. To quote only one, Lala Amolak Ram Munsif of Gujjar Khan writing to the Editor, *Akhbar-i-Am*, Lahore, on September 30, 1887, said :

Mere piāre aur mukarram Editor Akhbār-i-Ām, Kisī gumnām sāhib ne ap-ke Akhbār ke zarīye hāmāre muazziz aur fakhr-i-qaum Sikh bhāīyon ko Āryā dharm ke barkhilāf mushtaal karne ke wāste Swāmī Dayānand Surastī ke Satyārth Prakāsh se ek intkhāb shāyā kiya hai. Main sacche dil se umid kartā hūm kih yih us kī koshish-i-hasidānā bilkul rāīgān jāegī.

Āryā Samāj Dayānand Saraswatī ko sirf insān samajhtā hai. Har ek insān se ghaltī honī mumkin hai. Swami Dayānand Saraswatīji āghlabān zabān Panjābī aur halāt-i-Panjāb se Satyārth Prakāsh likhte waqt pure wāquif nā the. Main yaqīn kartā hūn kih bashart mauqā milne ke woh is rāi ko zarūr tarmīm karte, magar afsos hai kih unko mauqā nā milā. Lekin sirf unkā yih rāi zāhir karnā Āryā Samāj ko pāband nahīn kartā. Muje umīd hai kih taqrībān har ek Āryā is rāi kī ghalī kā qāyal hai. Main khud Āryā hone kā fakhar kartā hūn aur main is rāi ko ghalat samajhtā hūn. Mujhe purā yaqīn hai kih mere Singh bhāi sirf Swāmī Dayanand Saraswatī kī ek ghaltī ke bāis us ke bāqqī nihāyat umdā kām ke hargiz mukhālīf nahīn ho jāengē.

Translated into English it would read as :

My dear and respected Editor the *Akhbār-i-Aam*,

Some anonymous person has published in your paper an extract from Swami Dayananda Saraswati's *Satyarth Prakash* with the object of instigating our respected and glori-

ous Sikh brethren against the Arya *dharma*. I sincerely hope this jealous effort of his will not succeed.

The Arya Samaj considers Swami Dayananda Saraswati a human being. Every human being is liable to err. At the time of writing the *Satyārth Prakāsh*, Swamiji was probably not fully conversant with the Panjab and Panjabi language. . . . Alas . he did not get a chance, otherwise, I am sure, he would have amended this opinion. But his expression of this opinion does not bind the Arya Samaj. I hope almost every Arya is convinced of this error. I am proud of being an Arya myself, and I hold this opinion [of Swami Dayananda] to be wrong. I am sure that on this one mistake of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, my Sikh brethren will not at all turn against the rest of his very good work.

Copies of this letter were sent to some other newspapers as well.

The Sikhs were to some extent soothed by the expression of regret and goodwill by those who had reasons to be grateful to the Sikhs for the help and co-operation which they had extended to Swami Dayananda and his movement in the early days. But this did not continue for long. Instead of improving the situation, it was worsened by the fire-breathing speeches of some of the leaders of the Arya Samaj at its eleventh annual session held at Lahore on Saturday and Sunday the 24th and 25th of November, 1888.

Pandit Guru Datt, the leader of the anti-modernist section of the Arya Samaj, in his speech on the morning of Sunday the 25th of November, not only repeated the anti-Sikh remarks of the *Satyārth Prakāsh*, but also entered into odious comparisons and launched an attack on Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. The discussions of Lala Murlidhar and Swami Swatmananda on the subject added fuel to the smouldering fire which soon burst out into flames.

Pandit Guru Datt's speech was followed the same evening by that of Pandit Lekh Ram who spoke with still greater force and hostility against the Sikhs. Not only this. At one stage in the course of his speech, Pandit Lekh Ram physically insulted the holy book of the Sikhs, *Guru Granth Sahib*, which had been unceremoniously placed there on the table before him. This was more than what the Sikhs present in the meeting could tolerate.

Thus publicly insulted and ridiculed, the Sikhs were left with the only alternative of finally breaking with the Arya Samaj.

There was then a large number of Hindus as well who felt disgusted with this attitude of the leaders of the Arya Samaj. A joint protest meeting was held on the next Sunday, the 2nd of December 1888 in the Baoli Sahib, Lahore, under the presidentship of Lala Nand Gopal. Lala Ladli Prasad was the principal speaker. The other speakers were Bhai Jawahir Singh, Bhai Dit Singh and Dr. Narayan Singh. According to the report of the meeting published in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, of December 8, 1888, there was a great resentment in the city of Lahore at the ugly and unpleasant situation created by the leaders of the Arya Samaj in their eleventh annual session held in the last week of November.

This is, in brief, the factual account of how the Hindu (Arya Samaj)-Sikh tension began in the seventies and eighties of the last century, soon after the birth of the Arya Samaj.

In truth, it is a misnomer to call it Hindu-Sikh tension. It is, in fact, only Arya Samaj-Sikh tension. The new name has come to be given to it very recently. A reference to the columns of the *Arya Gazette* and the *Sat-dharm Pracharak* will show that the Arya Samajists for a long time carried on a campaign against the word *Hindu* and refused to associate themselves with it. But this is a separate topic of study.

For a more detailed study, the inquisitive reader is referred to :

The *Satyarth Prakash*, Hindi, first edition of 1875 and subsequent revised and enlarged editions and their translations into Urdu, English and Panjabi.

The *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, November and December, 1888.

The *Akhbar-i-Am*, Lahore, the *Aftab-i-Panjab*, Lahore, the *Koh-i-Noor*, Lahore, for September to December, 1888.

These and other newspapers and journals published at Lahore during the last two decades of the nineteenth century contain very valuable material on this subject.

Some Unpublished Sculptures of Baladeva from Rajasthan

BY

R. C. AGRAWALA, M.A.,
Udaipur

The depiction of Kṛishṇa and Baladeva in the sculptures of Rajasthan has been briefly discussed by me in *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta, XXX—4, Dec. 54, pp. 339-53); *Bhāratīya Vidya* (Bombay, XVI—2, 1956, pp. 79-83) and *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta, Mekhanad Saha Number, XXIII-1, 1957, pp. 63-64 and plates I-II). It is now proposed to present a brief account of some unpublished and early mediaeval (8th century A.D.) sculptures of Baladeva from this region because they have got an important bearing on the contemporary Brahmanic iconography of the country.

1. *Baladeva from Osian:—*

The famous Sun Temple at Osian (distant about 39 miles from Jodhpur) preserved an interesting image of four armed and standing Baladeva (FIG. 1) in one of the subsidiary niches on the exterior portion of the main sanctum. A canopy of serpent hoods, five in number, appears on his head above and he holds a *musala* (pestle) in the left upper hand and a *hala* (plough) in the right upper one. The left lower hand has been placed round the neck of the left wine-flask holder to the left below while the lower right one probably supported some wine cup which has been partly damaged at the present moment. Another flask bearer appears below, towards the right leg of Baladeva in an identical manner. A rope-like *Vanamālā* hangs up to the knees of the main figure, the details whereof can well be compared with somewhat identical pieces from Badoh (Madhya Pradesh; illustrated in the *Annual Report of the Dept. of Archaeology, Gwalior State*, 1933-34, *saṃvat* 1990, plate XII, fig. C.) and (*Ibid*, 1926-7, plate IV, A). The existing depiction of *Āsavapeyī* Baladeva is really very interesting in the plastic art of the country.

2. *Baladeva and Revatī from Osian:—*

It is equally interesting to find the outer niche of a subsidiary shrine of the Harihara Temple situated in a solitary condition outside the village of Osian and presenting 4 armed Baladeva who embraces (FIG. 2) his spouse Revatī with the lower left arm and even touches her left breast. His left upper hand supports a wheel (*Chakra* of Vishṇu); the upper right holds a plough whereas the lower right one has been placed on the head of a female attendant gazing at the main deity. Revatī holds a round mirror (*darpaṇa*) in her left hand while the right one touches the right shoulder of her husband. Their looks and amorous pose are extremely graceful and the existing depiction is very rare in the realm of ancient Indian art. The Rajputana Museum at Ajmer preserves one "Balarāma-Revatī" Sculpture which was discovered at Kaṭārā in Bharatpur region but therein the *ālīṅgana* pose is conspicuous by its absence. Still more interesting is the depiction of a *Chakra* (Wheel) as one of the *āyudhas* (weapons) of the male figure in the existing relief from Osian. This recalls to our mind the pilasters of the aforesaid Sun Temple of Osian bearing the figures of four armed Baladeva and like wise Vāsudeva and each seated on a Garuḍa. Here Baladeva holds a *hala* and a *musala* in the back hands, one of his front hands supports *śaṅkha* (conch) while the fourth has been placed in the *jñāna mudrā*. The canopy of the serpent-hoods appears in a traditional manner as also in the aforesaid images of the same deity (i.e. Baladeva) from Osian itself. In this connection Dr. J. N. Banerjea (*Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, XIV—1946, pp. 26-7) has remarked with sufficient justification that this sculpture of Baladeva on the pilaster of the Sun Temple at Osian "is very interesting as Balarāma on Garuḍa, with a *śaṅkha* in his hand, is an extremely rare mode of depicting him. But this may typify one way of showing *Vyūha Saṃkarshaṇa*, the other being that where he is depicted like Vāsudeva in all respects but holding *gadā*, *padma* and *Chakra* in hands. The *jñāna mudrā* in one of the hands of Baladeva typified knowledge and it was he who expounded the *sātvata vidhi*".

3. *Haladhara from Abānerī:—*

It was from Abānerī (4 miles from Bāndīkui in Jaipur region) that an interesting *Kṛishṇ-Keśī Vadha* sculpture was reproduced and described by me in the *Lalitkalā*, Nos. 1-2, pp. 131-32 and

PLATE I



Balarāma from Ābānerī

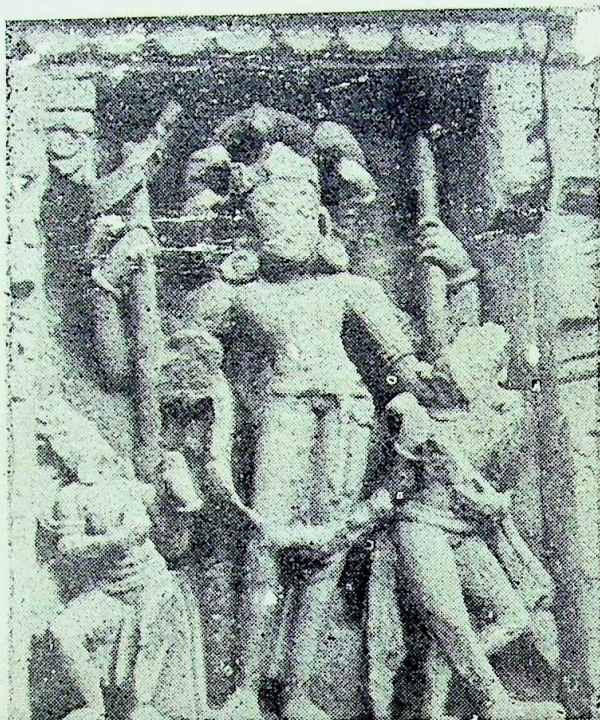


FIG. 1. Baladeva—Sun Temple, Osian

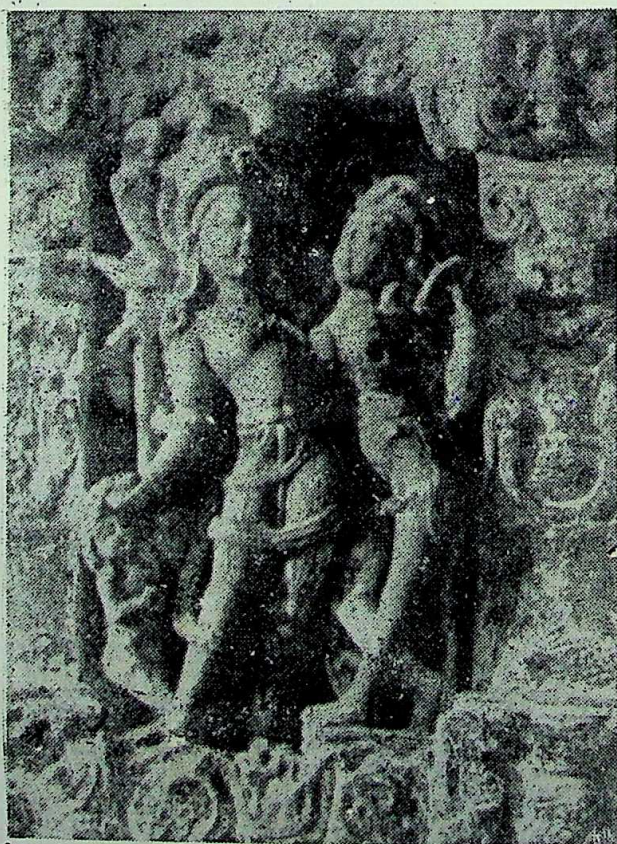
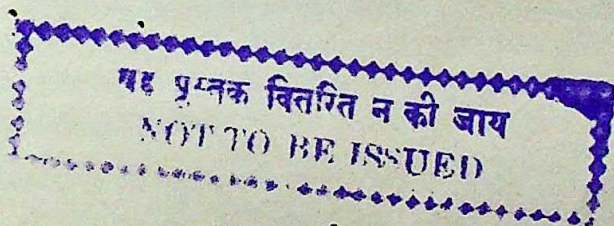


FIG. 2. Baladeva and Revati from Osian

plate LIII, Fig. 4. A broken niche of the same temple of Harṣhat-mātā from Ābānerī presents a vivid depiction of Baladeva (Fig 3). On both the sides of the deity have been carved lotus, vase and foliage motifs in an equally attractive matter. Still more noteworthy is the number (i.e., 2) of his hands and the weapons held therein i.e. a *hala* in the left and a cup on wine in the right. A female attendant holding a jar of wine appears below the plough of Baladeva. The utter absence of a canopy of serpent hoods and the depiction of a crown (*mukuta*) on the head of Baladeva are to be noted with great interest. Here he is not shown as an incarnation of Vishṇu and that enhances the importance of the relief still further. The dress and the ornaments of the main figure are equally graceful, specially the curly hair, rope-like *vanamālā* hanging below the knees etc. It is also an important relic of the eighth century A.D.



Anglo-Maratha Relations During Maratha— Mysore War (1785-1787)

BY

MISS NONDITA CHATTERJEE, M.A.

Ajmer

The treaty of Salbai of 1782 which terminated the first Anglo-Maratha War enhanced the prestige of Nana Fadnavis, for it was from Poona that the terms of the treaty were dictated. But soon after this tremendous success Nana Fadnavis, the astute minister of Poona faced the dark clouds again—it was the infuriated son of Haider Ali who raised the banner of war against the Marathas. During the First Anglo-Maratha War, the Marathas and Haider Ali were allies. But unfortunately the Marathas alienated Haider Ali by coming to terms with the British in 1782 without his knowledge. It was a breach of faith. The proud Sultan of Mysore became a bitter of the Marathas.

Before the treaty of Salbai had been finally exchanged between the contracting parties, the great Haider Ali, died of cancer on 7th December, 1782. His son and successor, Tipu, who was in full vigour of his faculties, decided to challenge the Maratha hegemony in the Deccan by devastating Nargund, a small hill-post situated between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, ruled by a Chitpavan Brahmin named Bhane.

Prior to the first Anglo-Maratha War, as the price of maintaining benevolent neutrality, Haider Ali had asked for and obtained from the Marathas the cession of all the territories between the two rivers, Krishna and Tungabhadra. He thus included Nargund in his possessions. The Desai had submitted and Haider had fixed his eyes at the same figure as those paid by him to the Peshwa. After his death Tipu wished to confiscate Nargund. Therefore he raised the tribute of Bhane, the Desai of Nargund, to a larger sum than he could possibly pay. Bhane in desperation appealed to Nana Fadnavis. Nana represented with justice to Tipu, that the transfer of the Peshwa's rights between the two

rivers left all other rights unaffected. Therefore the Desai was not bound to pay more to Tipu than he had paid to Poona. Tipu replied discourteously that from his own subjects he could levy what he chose.

In March 1785, the Maratha-Mysore war began when Tipu sent a force to reduce Nargund. Nana Fadnavis sent to the relief of Nargund a body of troops under the command of Ganeshpant Behare and Parashrambhau Patwardhan. He also ordered Tukoji Holkar to march towards Tipu's borders. So Tipu took resort to artifice and expressed himself anxious for peace. Nana was for once deceived. For Tipu again started attack on the Desai and shocked Nana by his treatment of Hindus thousands of whom committed suicide to escape conversion to Islam. Nana was aware of Tipu's strength, for he was sure that the French would come to his aid. So the Maratha statesman hesitated to attack Tipu until reinforced by English and Mughal reinforcements. The Nizam of Hyderabad promised support to the Marathas, for he was deeply offended by Tipu's recent assumption of the title of Sultan. Against Tipu Nana decided to seek military support from British, their ally since the Treaty of Salbai. But the British declined an alliance against Tipu and so there started a new phase in the Anglo-Maratha relations in 1785 which threatened the newly born Anglo-Maratha friendship.

Warren Hastings had exhausted the treasury and even the defensive services of the Company by his long and expensive wars. After him when Macpherson became the Governor-General, the Directors of the company in London decided to follow a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Indian rulers. In spite of disfavoured future expansions, the Directors aimed at securing Cuttuck¹ if possible by peaceful negotiations, so that their Indian possessions could be united. But as there was always the possibility of Cuttuck being annexed either by Tipu or the Marathas, the British motive after 1785 became not to allow any one of them to be so formidable as to threaten the British possessions and ambitions in this country. When Malet arrived at Poona as the British Resident at the court of the Peshwa, the Maratha-Mysore war had already started and so he was confronted with a very difficult situation. His work was to keep the matters safe

1. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. II, p. 27.

for the Company, to check both Tipu and the Marathas from becoming dangerously powerful and also to hinder them from entering into an alliance with any European power, for still the Company was suffering from Francho-phobia.

As soon as, Maratha-Mysore hostilities began, over the Nargund affair, the French, once more, became active in India. They were still endeavouring to gain ground against the British by giving military aid to the Indian powers. They tried to impress on Nana that the British were afraid of their strength. But Malet, with his sagacity, publicly as well privately, endeavoured his best to place the French politics in true perspective.² He contrasted the poverty, empty boasts and precarious treasures of the French with the actual deeds, wealth and established possessions of the British. Nana was also told that as there was peace between the two nations in Europe, there was no possibility of French joining either Nana or Tipu in a war against the British.³ Moreover the British Resident with his personal charm and diplomacy won the heart of the people of Poona.⁴ He at once became the most popular European in Poona by joining the Marathas in their festivals, games and merry-making. He regularly attended the Ganpati festival in the Peshwa's Palace.⁵ Consequently even though Monseieur Montigne offered aid to Poona through Mahadji Sindhia, Nana paid no heed to it. It was the diplomacy of Malet which rendered a Franco-Maratha alliance against the Company, at this juncture, impossible. Malet's diplomatic success was also due to the fact that Nana displayed undue anxiety about the projected Franco-Mysore alliance.⁶ Thus the Maratha diplomat made a serious mistake in rushing to Malet's embrace.

Before Malet's arrival at Poona Nana had thought that the English would join him against Tipu on any terms. So he made overtures to Boddam, the Governor of Bombay, offering on the part of the Peshwa to give up to the Company any two of Tipu's seaports

2. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

4. Parashis, *Poona in the Bygone Days*, p. 53.

5. Choksey, *A History of British Diplomacy at the Court of the Peshwas*, p. 23.

6. Hatakhar, *Relations between the French and the Marathas*, pp. 278-280.

on the Malabar coast on condition of being assisted by body of troops to co-operate in subduing Tipu. Nana also appealed to the Treaty of Salbai. Boddam referred Nana to the Supreme Government. Macpherson replied that the Treaty of Salbai did not stipulate that the friends and enemies should be mutual, but that they would not assist the enemies of each other.⁷ The Supreme Government at Calcutta referred the case to the Directors for instructions and the line of policy to be adopted by the British towards the Maratha-Mysore war. In their letter⁸ of July 21, 1786 the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General-in-Council the aims of the British policy in India with reference to the various powers, internal and foreign, which specially laid down the policy which the Company should adopt towards the Maratha-Mysore war of 1785-1787. The Directors laid down (1) that the Company was completely satisfied with the possessions it already had and would engage in no war for the purpose of further acquisitions. (2) that a constant watch should be kept upon the conduct of all European rivals, particularly the French. (3) that peace should be the primary policy with the British. The Company should not take advantage of the jealousies of the Indian powers of one another in order to aggrandize the British power by the depression of any one of them. (4) While the Company would pursue this pacific and neutral system, it should remain strictly jealous of every interference from any other European Nation whatever which might either disturb the peace of India or endeavour to influence the princes or inhabitants against the British.

In the same letter the Directors wrote that the treaty obligations of the great powers in India should be chiefly consonant with the general principles they had prescribed and the policy they directed should be pursued vigorously in the British possessions. If the French did not interfere with either the Marathas or Tipu, the British had no business to take any part in Maratha-Mysore war. These instructions from the Secret Committee of the court of Directors in London made it absolutely clear that the British would adhere to the Treaty of Mangalore (1784) by which they were at peace with Tipu, and should not interfere in

7. Grant Duff, *A History of the Marathas*, p. 170.

8. *Poonn Residency Correspondence*, Vol. II, pp. 27-30.

the war as long as the French did not intervene. In another letter⁹ dated September 22, 1786 the Directors asked Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General to intimate the Marathas that in the event of the French joining Tipu, they might rely on British assistance.

Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona, studied the political situation of the Indian affairs and wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis pointing out how best the British could profit by the Maratha—Mysore war.¹⁰ Malet stated the following advantages which the British might gain by joining the Marathas in the war against Tipu.

(i) The war would give an opportunity to conciliate the friendship of the mighty Maratha Empire.

(ii) It would relieve the Company of the immediate expenses of a large body of troops.

(iii) All apprehensions of the introduction of the French would be removed.

(iv) It would bring about the reduction of Tipu Sultan's powers so low as to prevent any hostile designs against the Company's territories.

In the same letter this shrewd diplomat gave the following probable evils which might come out of an Anglo Maratha cordial understanding against Tipu.

(1) The Marathas would become dangerously strong by gaining ascendancy on Tipu.

(2) Tipu might take revenge on the company.

Because of these evils Malet suggested neutrality. No where can we find such a frank confession of British interests and aims as in Malet's suggestions regarding the advantages of neutrality. Neutrality, he wrote, would enable the Company to gain time to re-establish her affairs by adopting a rigid system of economy. The war would exhaust and incapacitate those powers which the English had reason to fear. The British diplomat further added that it could also result in the Poona Ministry advancing to the French. Any Anglo-French alliance would be ruinous to the Company's interest. But to Malet it was unlikely to happen for

9. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

Nana's ancient predilection for that nation. Finally, he also thought, the Marathas not having British and the French aid might accommodate matters with Tipu, the terms of which might be hostile to the Company.

Mediation was the only other suggestion that remained to be discussed. Malet said that in case of a prolonged warfare, when both the hostile parties would be exhausted the Company could act as a mediator. He closed his report with the remark, "should the idea of assisting either party be relinquished as equally polite, the line of neutrality alone remains for adoption, and Your Lordship's will dictate the methods by which it may be most advantageously employed to the establishment of such a system both civil and military as may place us above all foreign hopes and fears".¹¹

Lord Cornwallis communicated to the diplomat at Poona to convey, to the Peshwa's Government their regret that the authorities both at home and in India had finally decided to adopt a policy of neutrality in the Maratha—Mysore War. Mr. Malet was desired to add any other expedient that might occur to him, towards smoothing the matter.¹² He was to assure Nana's Government that should any danger arise from the interference of any European power against them, the British would be ready to consider how far they could venture to take rigorous and effectual steps for Maratha support. Such was the task allotted to the British Resident at the Poona Durbar in the November of 1786.

On the evening of November 29, the astute Malet paid a visit to Nana to convey the British decision. The Brahmin expressed much surprise at the sudden turn of British politics, for before referring the case to the Directors at London, Macpherson the Governor-General and Boddam, the Governor of Bombay had agreed to send aid for the defence of Maratha territory against Tipu.¹³ In reply Malet explained that the former offer was made on the presumption of the ascendancy of Tipu's power and the probability of an introduction of French force to Tipu's army. The change in politics was due to the change of circumstances and

11. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

12. Choksey, *A History of British Diplomacy at the Court of the Peshwas*, p. 38.

13. Grant Duff, *A History of the Marathas*, p. 172.

the necessity of a faithful observance of treaties. When the sound arguments failed, the wily diplomat turned his appeal to emotions. In spite of all this balm to soothe Nana's feelings the Resident could see that the arguments gave him the greatest anxiety and chagrin. After these points were discussed, Malet mentioned the Governor-General's intention of sending the largest and smallest elephant as a proof of his regard for the Peshwa. He begged, an early day might be fixed for his audience so that he might make the assurance of friendship.¹⁴ Thus Malet won a perfect diplomatic triumph. We can little imagine the feelings of the unhappy Nana. His main purpose of inviting a British Resident at the court of the Peshwas was for a time completely lost.

Four days after Malet's audience with Nana on 12th December 1786 Tipu surprised the Maratha camp at night and plundered the bazars and the baggage. Discontent spread in Maratha army due to bad payment and great arrears. By the end of the year 1786 discontent spread in Tipu's camp as well. The Sultan had lost from 15 to 20,000 men by desertion since his march from Srirangapatam. Tipu also apprehended that the English were about to take part in the war against him. Mr. Malet had joined Nana at Badame¹⁵ which to Tipu meant a very intimate connection. Moreover Cornwallis, who had come to India in September 1786 wanted to improve the military efficiency of all Presidencies. It created a bustle and apparent preparation convinced Tipu that the designs of the English were decidedly hostile.¹⁶

By January 10, 1787 it was rumoured that Tipu's agent was expected in Poona to negotiate peace. The Marathas too became anxious for peace. Holkar and Scindia were appointed arbitrators and in February 1787 the Treaty of Gagendragad was signed between the Peshwa and Tipu.

The Treaty of Gagendragad marks an epoch in Malet's mission to Poona. The diplomat had successfully carried out the wishes of both the Courts of Directors at home and Lord Corn-

14. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. II, p. 78.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

16. Grant Duff, *A History of the Marathas*, p. 178.

wallis in India. Under his guidance and care British politics steered clear of a critical crisis in their relation with the Poona Durbar. What with the French intrigues and Nana's diplomacy to play one European power against the other, Malet faced the situation with a perfect insight into Maratha polity. Defeating French diplomacy he continued to maintain that harmony and friendly feeling with the Maratha's which he had been requested to do so by the Supreme Government. After the success of the British diplomacy at the court of the Peshwas on March 4, 1787, Lord Cornwallis wrote to the Secret Committee of the Directors, "However disappointed the Peshwa's Ministers may have been at our declaration of neutrality, there is no appearance from Mr. Malet's correspondence—of an intention on the part of those ministers to interrupt the former friendly intercourse between the two Governments.¹⁷ Even though the British greatly disappointed Nana Fadnavis the Marathas continued to remain an ally of the Company and helped Lord Cornwallis against Tipu by becoming a signatory to the famous Triple Alliance in 1790.

17. Ross, *Correspondence of Cornwallis*, Vol. 1, p. 281.

The Younghusband Expedition, an Interpretation—II*

BY

P. L. MEHRA, PH.D. (Johns Hopkins),
Chandigarh

VI

The Russian attitude was a study in contrast. Though her frontiers then, as indeed now, do not touch Tibet directly, yet neither in Mongolia nor yet in bordering Sinkiang has Russian influence been negligible.⁸⁹ Again to the Buriat Mongols—Russian subjects since the middle of the 18th century Lhasa has always remained the acme of human ambition to round off training, and education, in Lama Buddhism. It is among this group of Buriat monks that Russia has often discovered convenient tools whom she has employed without scruple to subserve her ends. And since territorial expansion at Tibet's expense has never been—indeed scarcely can be—a Russian goal, the Buriats have rarely been suspect in Tibetan eyes.

Towards the closing years of the 19th century one of these Buriat monks in Lhasa was Aguan Dorjieff. Dorjieff—his name has many variants viz., Dorji, Dorshieff, Dorzhiev, Dogiew, Dorjew—was by birth a Buriat of Choris skaia, in the province of Verchnyudinsk.⁹⁰ Well-versed in Tibetan theology he came to

*The first part of this article appeared in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXIII, Part II, August 1955.

89. Professor Lattimore contends that a change has lately come about in the position both of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. No longer "buffers" they have become instead "zones" through which communication between China and Russia is now imperatively necessary. See his "New Political Geography of Inner Asia," *Geographical Journal*, (London), CXIX, March 1953, pp. 17-32.

For the early period see Mihel N. Pavlovsky, "*Chinese-Russian Relations*," (New York, 1949).

90. The lack of any authoritative account of Dorjieff who played so important a part in Russian-Tibetan relations, and the events leading to the British Military expedition to Lhasa is indeed pathetic. The well-known Russian Tibetologue, Dr Badmeyer, wrote some biographical details of him in the Russian press at the time of Dorjieff's visits, in 1900 and 1901. How

Lhasa in 1880, where he entered the famous Drepung monastery, and soon won a theological degree. His reputation as a scholar earned him the rare distinction of being appointed a tutor to the young Dalai Lama.⁹¹ Another version of the Dorjief story maintains that the Buriat was an employee of the Russian Foreign Office, and Intelligence Service, as early as 1885. While under training he is said to have visited all the capitals of Europe and become an accomplished diplomat. We are further informed that when the 13th Dalai assumed power "it was contrived" that the Buriat should become his tutor.⁹²

Close to the faith and person of the Dalai, and an ardent Russian at heart Dorjief appears to have told the Lama that because of their close contact with Mongolia more and more Russians were taking to Tibetan Buddhism and that it was not unlikely that even the Tsar might embrace the faith. One can picture the young Dalai afire with the vision of the all-powerful White Tsar standing by his side—a convert to Tibet's great religion! And how vivid and sharp the contrast must have appeared to him between a ruler who was moving close to his faith, and another that seemed intent on destroying it.

Dorjief, it must be stressed, did not talk of trade or of opening up the country. And though the British protested time and

far these could be relied upon is, however, doubtful for Count Lamsdorff regarded Badmeyer as "an eccentric character". Bell's mention of him is intriguingly brief. See "Portrait", pp. 61-2. More details are in William Filcher, "Sturm über Asien," (Berlin, 1926) and A. Popov in "Russia and Tibet," *Novyi-Vostok*, (Moscow), No. 18, (1927), pp. 101-19. According to Professor W. A. Unkrig, who teaches Mongol and Tibetan in Frankfurt am Main in Western Germany, the correct spelling for Dorjief's name is Nag-dhan Dorje, the gifted orator, thunderbolt. (From a personal letter dated March 25, 1954). The variants used in the text for his name are from the Russian press in 1900-1901. See *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, pp. 113-18. Panikkar's reference to him as the "dispenser of wisdom at Fontainebleau" is somewhat misleading. K. M. Panikkar, "Asia and Western Dominance", (London, 1953), p. 162.

91. Bell, "Portrait," pp. 61-2.

92. William Filchner, *op. cit.*, In two articles under the title, "A Story of Struggle and Intrigue in Central Asia," the *JRCAS*, XIV, (1927), pp. 359-68, and XV, (1928), pp. 89-103, summed up Filchner's book. Apart from a friend who translated parts of the book for the writer, these two articles have been drawn upon.

over again that their main objective was commercial intercourse, the Dalai was convinced that this was only a clever ruse behind which lay hidden their ulterior motives, that in fact under the guise of establishing trade relations they were "merely trying to over-reach us".⁹³ Meanwhile it had been widely accepted, thanks to Dorjjeff's advocacy, that the country of north Shambha whose Buddhist King—according to a Tibetan prophecy—was to break the Muhammadan power and re-establish the faith, was none other than Russia.⁹⁴ Was not the Tsar then the monarch who was to aid and succour lama Buddhism? Set against this background one need hardly wonder that while Lord Curzon's letters were returned unopened, the Dalai sent diplomatic missions of goodwill to the all—White Tsar and that it was to the latter that he looked for saving him from the intense attentions which his southern neighbour was bestowing on him.

There were two of these missions, one in October 1900 and the other in 1901. On the first occasion the official Russian journal described Dorjjeff as the "first transit Hamba to the Dalai Lama of Tibet."⁹⁵ It was the Buriat's second mission, however, which was to attract much greater attention. Described as "extraordinary" observers pointedly stressed its "diplomatic" character.⁹⁶ As regards its purpose emphasis was laid on the fact that it was intended "further to cement" the already existing friendly relations with Russia, that although Tibet was quite accessible to the Russians, the Mission's aim was to make it even more so. It was pointed out that as a result of Dorjjeff's first visit the Dalai had been confirmed in his belief that he must contract the friendliest relations with Russia for she was the only power that could counteract British intrigues in his domain—intrigues which had persisted for so long and were even then awaiting an opportunity to force an entrance into the country.⁹⁷

Dorjjeff's second mission which occasioned all this comment comprised eight Tibetans with himself as its leader. Officially des-

93. Quoted in Bell, "Portrait," p. 62.

94. Kawaguchi, "Three Years in Tibet," (London, 1909) p. 499.

95. Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, No. 31, p. 113.

96. See extracts from "Odsskia Novosti" of June 12, 1901. Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, No. 31, pp. 113-4, and the interview with Dr. Badmeyerff, published in the St. Petersburg Gazette, *Ibid.*, Encl., No. 34, pp. 114-5.

97. See "Novoe Vremya," of June 17, 1901, *Ibid.*, Encl. in No. 34, p. 115.

cribed as "the Envoys Extraordinary of the Dalai Lama of Tibet" it was received among others by the Emperor, the Empress, the Foreign Minister (Count Lamsdorff) and the Finance Minister (Count Sergei Witte).⁹⁸ Despite all the publicity which it evoked—and the British were not the only power whose worst fears had been aroused—the Russian Foreign Minister was emphatic that the Mission had no significance whatsoever. He tried to allay British fears by suggesting that Dorjief's visits for the purpose of collecting funds for his religious order from the numerous Buddhist subjects of the Emperor and that in fact his visit had no official character.⁹⁹ On a subsequent occasion when further pressed on the matter Lamsdorff emphatically asserted that the Buriat's mission had "no political or diplomatic character", that at best it could be compared to the Pope's goodwill missions to his faithful in many distant lands. While it was true, he told the British Ambassador, that the Dalai had sent him an autographed letter, in reality it was no more than an exchange of innocuous courtesies.¹⁰⁰

The British may have been extremely sceptical about these bland assurances but preoccupied as they were with the war in South Africa the best they sought was to pin the Russians down to their words, with an occasional warning appropriately thrown in. Thus their response to the Russians was to remind the Tsar's Government that "HMG could not regard with indifference" any proceedings that might tend "to alter or disturb" the status of Tibet.¹⁰¹ To Lord Curzon, however, Dorjief's activities came as a godsend. We have already noticed¹⁰² that early in 1901 he had been pressing the authorities in London for an "altered" policy. Now (middle of 1902) his warnings were to assume greater urgency: if Russian moves in Tibet's direction became per-

98. *Ibid.*, Nos. 36 and 43, pp. 117 and 125.

99. *Ibid.*, No. 35, p. 116.

100. *Ibid.*, No. 36, p. 117. A British writer's comment on Lamsdorff's "assurance", was: "We were asked to believe that these lamas travelled many thousand miles to convey a letter that expressed the hope that the Russian Foreign Minister was in good health and prosperous, and informed him that the Dalai Lama was happy to be able to say that he himself enjoyed excellent health." Edmund Candler, *The Unveiling of Lhasa*, (London, 1905), pp. 12-3.

101. *Tibet Papers*, *op. cit.*, No. 39, p. 124.

102. See *supra* footnotes 64, 65 and 66, pp. 220-21, *Journal of Indian History*, XXXIII, Part II, (August 1955).

sistent, he informed the Secretary of State, "my answer... would be very simple. Without the slightest hesitation I would put a British army into Lhasa."¹⁰³

Confused as the situation was it became further confounded when, towards the fall of 1902, there spread rumours of a Sino-Russian agreement on Tibet. The pivotal provision of this 12-clause Agreement was said to be a complete renunciation by China of all her interests in Tibet, in return for a Russian guarantee for her territorial integrity.¹⁰⁴ Coming in the wake of the Tibetan missions it thoroughly alarmed the British and they warned the Chinese that in the event of any such agreement HMG would take steps "for protecting the interests of Great Britain," and that on the Tibet-Sikkim frontier they "propose to make effective our treaty rights."¹⁰⁵ It is thus evident that Dorjief's two missions, in spite of Russian protests that these had no significance, aided by the tall talk that Russia had "taken over" Chinese interests in Tibet had led to a considerable hardening of the British stand. Again it is noticeable that despite the yawning chasm that separated the Home Government from the views of their pro-consul in India—and to which a reference has been made earlier¹⁰⁶—the former had gradually veered round to the latter's policy of "enforcing" the agreements of 1890 and 1893, and thus of facing the consequences of any precipitate action that might ensue. It is no less plain that Russia—despite the carryings on with Dorjief face to face with the British demand to define her position was prepared to hold the most categorical assurances that she was not a party to any surreptitious deal on Tibet. China's stand was no less emphatic; she denied all secret "deals" with Russia.¹⁰⁷ The absorbing, if intriguing, developments whereby these respective positions harden, shift, and harden again will be the concern of the pages that follow.

103. Letter to Secretary of State, May 28, 1902. Ronaldshay, *Life*, II, p. 207.

104. The rumours were first mentioned in a despatch from Sir E. Satow, in Peking, dated August 2, 1902. Three days later Satow sent a cutting from the "China Times" of July 18, 1902 giving the text of the "Agreement." Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, Nos. 48 and 49, pp. 140-1.

105. *ibid.*, No. 55, p. 143.

106. See *supra*, JIH, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-22. JIH is being used for the Journal of Indian History, as an abbreviation.

107. Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, No. 55, p. 143.

VII

Symbolic of the stiffened tone of the British towards Tibet was their acceptance of the Viceroy's proposal, referred to earlier, that the Political Officer in Sikkim should undertake a tour along the Tibet-Sikkim frontier.¹⁰⁸ Accompanied by an armed escort Mr. Claude White was to assert "our rights in respect of the boundary," to demarcate it, and to remove "all Tibetan guards and officials," from this side of the frontier. This "assertion of authority" was deemed necessary by Lord Curzon for he had been left singularly unimpressed by Russian, or indeed Chinese, protests that there was no secret deal on Tibet, nor had Lamadorff's assurances that Dorjief's interests were religio-geographic in character carried much conviction with him.¹⁰⁹ And as for the post-Boxer Rebellion China her end appeared to be so imminent that flat denials of the "sale" of Tibet to the Colossus from the north seemed only to confirm the suspicions that had been aroused.

Another development in 1902 whose import for Tibet was not inconsiderable, albeit indirect, was the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Hailed as a historic event which marked an important milestone in the rise of Japan as a world power, the alliance did at the same time put England in a better position to watch her Indian frontiers, for by making a Russo-Japanese conflict well-nigh inevitable it thereby severely limited Russia's ability to influence events in that direction.¹¹⁰

Meantime the Wai-Wu-Pai (the Chinese Foreign Office) was showing a keener interest in settling the problem of the undemarcated Indo-Tibetan border. Thus early in December 1902 the appointment of a new Chinese Resident in Lhasa was announced, the new incumbent being instructed to proceed post-haste to his

108. See *supra*, Footnote No. 72, JIH, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

109. Among other duties assigned to Mr. White were: to make, as far as possible, a scientific survey of the frontier on both sides; to take a complete set of photographs; and to add to "our present knowledge of the natural history of the region." Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, Annexure 3, Enclo. 16, in No. 66, pp. 170-72. The apocryphal text of the published agreement, the Chinese Minister in St. Petersburg assured the British ambassador, "indeed its very form and wording," showed that it could not be of Chinese origin. *Ibid.*, No. 57, p. 145.

110. Wee Kuo Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

assignment as to negotiate with Mr. White "in an amicable spirit."¹¹¹ The Secretary of State who viewed the announcement as an "implicit" acceptance of China's responsibility for the affairs of Tibet asked the Viceroy for his views as to whether "trade and general relations" should be included among the subjects for negotiations, and whether a Tibetan representative should be associated with these discussions.¹¹² It was in response to this query that the Viceroy penned his rather well-known despatch of January 8, 1903, outlining in considerable detail his views on the Tibetan problem. Since the despatch marks the opening of an important phase in our narrative it deserves close scrutiny.¹¹³

For the major part it was a historical review, and the Viceroy took his story back to the middle of 1901 when the second attempt to open a direct contact with Lhasa had failed. Even the third, through Kazi U-gyen, had borne no fruit and Lord Curzon had thereupon suggested some "more practical measures" which in turn had been over-ruled by the Secretary of State. Next in sequence had come the tour of the Political Officer in Sikkim. This tour, the Viceroy now reported, had been concluded in the previous summer "with expedition and success" and in fact it was an aftermath thereof that news came of the Chinese sending a new Amban to discuss frontier matters. What was to be their course of action?

Before defining his attitude the Viceroy made two points: firstly, that the main advantage of Mr. White's tour had been the fear engendered among the Tibetans that it was only a prelude to some further movement. Was it not important then that this advantage should not be lightly thrown away? Evidently this could be achieved only "if we are prepared to assume a minatory tone and to threaten Tibet with a further advance." Secondly, that "some sort of relationship" existed between Russia and Tibet. This, in the opinion of the Viceroy, was bound to invest the projected negotiations with considerable importance for they would

111. For the new Amban's appointment see Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, No. 59, p. 146, for his instructions *Ibid.*, No. 60, pp. 146-47.

112. *Ibid.*, No. 61, p. 148.

113. *Ibid.*, No. 66, pp. 150-56. The enclosures and annexures accompanying it cover pp. 157-77.

involve not only "the question of our entire future political relations" with Tibet, but also "the degree to which we can permit the influence of another great Power" to be exercised in that country's affairs. Tibet's relations in the past, Lord Curzon argued, had been with China, the suzerain power, or Nepal, or the British in India and Tibetan exclusion had been tolerated because it had carried with it "no element of political or military danger."

Taking these factors into account the Viceroy now proposed that the Chinese invitation to a conference should be accepted subject to two provisos: that the meeting be held at Lhasa and that a representative of the Tibetan Government should be associated with the discussions. Thus alone, the Viceroy thought, could the "wall of Tibetan impassivity and obstruction" be broken.

The rest of this closely reasoned despatch—and it ran into six long pages of small print, with 23 enclosures and 19 annexures—was designed to convince the Home authorities that there was "nothing revolutionary" about these proposals, similar ones had been made as early as 1874, and in fact revived in 1885. Elaborating some of his points the Viceroy suggested that the commercial mission was to be accompanied by an armed escort, "to overcome opposition" on the way and to ensure the missions safety while it was in the Tibetan capital. To allay fears the Chinese and the Tibetans were to be assured that "our objective" was merely to establish "those amicable and friendly relations and means of commerce" that ought to subsist between neighbours. With Nepal a policy of the closest collaboration was to be followed.

In winding up the Viceroy was not averse from holding out some veiled threats. He reminded the Home authorities that any government or country in the Empire had a right to protect its own interests and that if these were imperilled seriously "as we hold ours to be" the Government of India, by the fundamental law of survival, "would have to take steps to avert these dangers." And should his warnings go unheeded the situation "might attain to menacing proportions."

Critics have charged Lord Curzon with inconsistency and rhetoric.¹¹⁴ A closer analysis would, however, seem to suggest

114. Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

that the real accusation against the baron of Kedleston was the brazen-facedness and the ill-concealed contempt with which he seemed to treat both China and Tibet. And here why should Lord Curzon alone be singled out? Have the fifty years that separate these events from our own day made any difference? Did not Tibet enjoy the privilege of being bordered by a "Great" and "civilised" Power? Had she not proved stupidly obstinate in refusing that Power's hand for "amicable and friendly relations—and means of commerce?" Indeed once we accept Lord Curzon's fundamental premise his whole case stands thoroughly irrefutable.

The arrival of Lord Curzon's despatch at India House (January 24) synchronised with the presentation of a Russian memorandum to the British Foreign Office. The Memorandum made mention of a British military expedition having reached Khomba-Ovaleka, in Tibet, and on its way to the valley of Tchumbi. Russia looked upon such an expedition, it was pointed out, as producing a situation of "considerable gravity," and it might in turn compel her "to protect her interests" in those regions.¹¹⁵ The contents of the note filled the British with the utmost indignation. Maintaining that the information in the Russian memorandum was "without the smallest foundation," Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Secretary, told the Ambassador that the language of the note was unusual, and indeed minatory in tone; that the Russian complaint was gratuitous; that it surprised him that the Russian Government evinced such interest in a matter which was "within our undoubted rights."¹¹⁶ A few days later Lansdowne returned to the subject—and with far greater vehemence. "Any sudden display of Russian interest or activity," he warned Count Benckendorff, "would have a disturbing effect" on regions, which hitherto had been regarded as altoge-

115. For the text of the Memorandum, in French, see Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, Enclo. in No. 68, p. 178. Tchumbi is a rendering for the more familiar Chumbi, but Khamba-Ovalko though hard to unravel, could be none other than Khamba Jong. A student of both Russian and Tibetan languages has suggested that Ovaleko is more Russian than Tibetan, that it may be an adjectival form from *val*, "an embankment," (fortification), thus equivalent to the Tibetan jong; perhaps an incorrect adjectival form used by someone who did not speak Russian perfectly (Dorjjeff) and hence mistaken by Russians for a Tibetan word.

116. *Ibid.*, No. 72, p. 180.

ther outside of Russia's sphere of influence. Such interest, or activity, would entail on the part of HMG a display of activity not only equivalent to "but exceeding that made by Russia." In other words should Russia send an expedition the British would do the same, "but in greater strength." The Ambassador was further warned that the British Government had information that Russia had concluded agreements for establishing a protectorate over Tibet and that she had, or intended to have, agents or consular offices in Lhasa. Could the Ambassador state categorically that these rumours were without foundation?¹¹⁷

Count Benckendorff while sure that the rumours were without substance undertook to make specific inquiries from his Government. The Russian reply when it came was unambiguous and categorical. The Ambassador was able to say, without qualification, that there was "no convention about Tibet, either with Tibet herself, or with China, or with anyone else", nor had the Russian Government any agents in that country, "nor any intention of sending agents or missions there." And yet although the Russians had no designs on Tibet as such, they could not remain indifferent to any disturbance of the status quo there. Should, however, a change in status come about they might be obliged to "safeguard their interests in Asia." Again, though their policy in regard to Tibet was summed up in the words "ne viserait le Tibet en aucun cas," yet they did regard her as forming a part of the Chinese Empire in the integrity of which they took an interest.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile as London wrestled with the Russian indiscretions, in India Lord Curzon was getting impatient—urging "immediate action" and asking for permission "to make preparations for the proposed mission."¹¹⁹ When finally driven to take a stand on the question the Secretary of State was not prepared to commit himself to a policy that might precipitate a crisis.¹²⁰ After

117. *Ibid.*, No. 73, pp. 181-82.

118. *Ibid.*, No. 83, p. 187.

119. The Viceroy's despatch of January 8 had reached London on January 24. In two subsequent despatches, on February 6 and 11, Lord Curzon urged action on it. It seems not unlikely that the Viceroy's urgency in demanding action sprang from his anxiety to get the troops across the passes into Tibet that very summer. See *Ibid.*, Nos. 70 and 71, p. 179.

120. *Ibid.*, No. 74, p. 182 and No. 78, pp. 183-5.

Count Benckendorff's categorical assurances the Secretary of State again asked the Viceroy for his views on the scope of the negotiations with China and Tibet, and the means necessary "to ensure that conditions that may be arrived at are observed."¹²¹ It was in reply to this query that the Government of India modifying its earlier proposals put forth the suggestion for the Young-husband Mission.

In his despatch Lord Curzon stepped extremely warily. Faced with reluctant authorities in London he now informed India House that the Chinese delegates, whom Amban Yu had appointed for the talks, had suggested to him that the conference be held at Yatung—"or indeed, at any place acceptable to us." For the venue, therefore, he suggested Khamba Jong which, in the words of the despatch, "is the nearest inhabited place to the frontier in dispute, near Giaogong."¹²² Actually it lay between 20 to 30 miles from the frontier, and over 70 miles north of Yatung. The British representative—the Amban was to be asked to associate proper Tibetan delegates with the Chinese deputies—was to proceed to Khamba, accompanied by an armed escort of 200 men and, "if the Chinese or the Tibetans failed to appear, they were to move forward to Shigatse or Gyantse "in order that the arrival of the delegation from Lhasa might be accelerated."¹²³ In a subsequent communication the Viceroy elaborated his views on the scope of the negotiations.¹²⁴ He wanted not only the disputed frontier and trading rights to be discussed but also "general and trade relations" as between India and Tibet. Special mention was to be made of the duty on tea, and of the ten percent tax levied at P'hari on all goods in transit. Again since Yatung had been found to be unfavourable as a trade mart P'hari, or indeed any other place in the Chumbi valley, was to be opened up. The Viceroy also thought it to be important that a British Agent be established at Gyantse—an important trading centre on the main route to Shigatse and Lhasa. "The best security, of course," Lord Curzon wrote, "was to have a British representative at

121. *Ibid.*, No. 85, p. 188.

122. Khamba Jong is rendered as Kampa Dzong in Bell, *Tibet*, p. 66. "Dzong" (or Jong) is a fort, the headquarters of a Tibetan district.

123. *Tibet Papers*, *op. cit.*, No. 86, p. 189.

124. *Ibid.*, No. 89, p. 190.

Lhasa, but Gyantse would be a "suitable alternative." However, if the Tibetans did not deal directly with him, "it will be necessary to resort to the alternative of moving him (the British Agent) forward to Lhasa."

The head of the Mission, the Viceroy suggested, should be Major Younghusband, then Resident at Indore, "for I can safely rely on his judgment and discretion, and he has great Asiatic experience." Mr. White was to be Joint Commissioner and a member of the British Consular Service, in China, was to be associated with the two of them.

HMG accepted some of the Viceroy's suggestions: the site for the talks, the choice of Major Younghusband, and the proposition of the accompanying armed escort. Others, however, more crucial from Calcutta's point of view, were over-ruled. Thus the Mission was not to advance beyond Khamba without previous reference to London, and "even in the event of the failure of the Chinese and Tibetan parties to meet" with them. Again the Agent would entail "difficulties and responsibilities incommensurate with any benefits which....could be gained." And as Russia had denied any political interest negotiations "should be restricted" to questions concerning "trade relations, the frontier and grazing rights."¹²⁵

A word may be said here about Major Younghusband, the man chosen to lead the Mission.¹²⁶ In his younger days Young-

125. *Ibid.*, No. 95, p. 193.

126. Born at Murree, in the Punjab (Pakistan), in 1863, Younghusband's upbringing had been Victorian in the best sense of the term, viz., regular daily prayers, inculcation of filial piety, and the veritable Sunday School. At 13 he went to Clifton College—then a semi-army training School—and at 17 to Sandhurst where Allenby and Herbert Lawrence (later Lord Haig's Chief of Staff) were his contemporaries. At 19 he joined the 1st Royal Dragoon Guards, then stationed at Meerut, in India, as a subaltern. His "*Relief of Chitral*" was published in 1895, the "*Heart of a Continent*," in 1896, and "*South Africa To-day*," in 1897—all in London. His Tibet expedition is described in "*India and Tibet*," (London, 1910). In later life Younghusband was to turn increasingly towards mysticism—his works in this field are indeed numerous—and the fag-end of his life was spent in founding a World Fellowship of Faith. He died in 1942. Of a score or so of his works on the mystical themes the better known are: "*The Heart of Nature, or the Quest for Natural Beauty*," (London, 1921), "*Life in the Stars*," an exposition of the view that on some planets of some stars exist beings higher

THE YOUNGHUSBAND EXPEDITION

149

husband had passed through Clifton and Sandhurst and while Curzon was globe-trotting, and drinking deep at the fount of the Empire, Younghusband, then in his early twenties, was busy exploring the Asian continent "to see how far the Chinese would resist any encroachments by the Russians towards the Indian Empire, from which they were only separated by the outlying province of Chinese Turkestan."¹²⁷ Curzon started his first journey around the world in 1888—Younghusband by 1887 had explored Manchuria and made his famous Peking to India overland journey across the open steppes of Mongolia the great desert of Gobi, and up the mighty Himalayas. By 1890 Curzon had completed his "*Russia in Central Asia*", and warned his countrymen "of the gravity of the menace which Russian ambitions constituted to the Imperial position of Great Britain in the East."¹²⁸ A few years previously Younghusband had concluded that "the Chinese were quite unable to assume the offensive against the Russians, and in Turkestan would not even be able to hold their own, the Russians would have little trouble in conquering the whole of Turkestan."¹²⁹ In mental-make up thus the resemblance between the two men is quite striking, and while Curzon had written of the irresistible march of the Russians towards the frontiers of India, to the heart of Persia, and to the warm waters of the Bosphorus; Younghusband had likened her southward drive to that of a glacier which under the inevitable pull of gravitation moves from the higher to the lower regions.¹³⁰

Apart from his early explorations—he was not yet 24—through Manchuria, the Gobi and Chinese Turkestan—, Younghusband had also undertaken some semi-military, semi-political missions to the northern frontier. Thus in June 1899 he had

than ourselves, and on one a world leader, the supreme embodiment of the eternal spirit which animates life." (London, 1927), "*The Living Universe*," (London, 1933), and "*The Sum of Things*," (London, 1939). Apart from stray sketches no "Life" of Younghusband has been written, his own, "*The Light of Experience*," (London, 1927), is partly autobiographical. A recent study is George Seaver, "*Francis Younghusband*," (London, 1952).

127. Younghusband, "*The Heart of a Continent*," op. cit., 2nd Edition, (London, 1937), Introduction.

128. Ronaldshay, *Life*, II, pp. 142-43.

129. Younghusband, "*The Light of Experience*," op. cit., p. 40.

130. Younghusband, "*The Heart of a Continent*," op. cit., Introduction.

crossed the Shimshal pass and progressed through the Pamirs "to examine what passes there might be into Hunza from there."¹³¹ In the summer of 1890 he was sent to the Pamirs again—this time to ascertain the Chinese and Afghan claims to the Roof of the World."¹³² Between his Pamir adventures and the Mission to Tibet Younghusband had acted as Political Agent in Chitral, where later he was to spearhead a gallant relief to a worn-out group of beleaguered officers, and to act as the *London Times'* correspondent both there and in South Africa.¹³³ Before his appointment as head of the Mission Younghusband had known Lord Curzon fairly intimately: they had met K in London in 1892, in Chitral in 1894, and again in Simla in 1903. On this last occasion Curzon had asked the Younghusbands to stay with him, and had enjoined upon them "not to look upon him as Viceroy, but as an old friend and fellow-traveller."¹³⁴

On June 3, (1903) the Government of India officially notified Younghusband of his appointment, and briefed him on his "mission."¹³⁵ The briefing, in terms of the scope of the negotiations as finally defined by the Secretary of State, had been preceded by a long talk between the Viceroy and the Commissioner, and the former had confided to him how "mercilessly" he had been overruled by the Home authorities. Younghusband's feelings were somewhat mixed:

"I was proud indeed to have been selected....The whole enterprise was risky. His own party (Lord Curzon's) was very lukewarm over it....Disasters were sure to come.... He (Lord Curzon) was risking much in selecting me. I had never seen a Tibetan, nor served on the North-Eastern frontier.... I might make a hideous mess of it with the Tibetans.... I quite saw the risks that Lord Curzon was taking, and this made me all the keener to justify his choice."¹³⁶

131. Younghusband, *The Light of Experience*, op. cit., p. 45.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

133. Younghusband's "Relief of Chitral," op. cit., has been regarded as "a model of military history within the limits of a minor campaign." Seaver, op. cit., p. 167.

134. Quoted in Seaver, op. cit., p. 198. The source, not indicated, appears to be some private correspondence.

135. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, Enclo. 6 in No. 99, pp. 198-200.

136. Younghusband, "The Light of Experience," op. cit., pp. 81-2.

VIII

To set matters in perspective it might be useful to review these developments from the Chinese-Tibetan side as well. It has already been noticed that originally it were the Chinese who awakened to all the ugly possibilities inherent in Mr. White's tour (July 1902) had suggested negotiations. The Manchu Amban at Lhasa had been in communication with the Viceroy, but owing to his "illness" and later "important special business" at Lhasa his representative had not been able to meet the Political Officer during his tour. Later, in November 1902, His Excellency Yu had written to his opposite number, Baron Curzon, asking that negotiations be resumed and "matters...thus amicably arranged".¹³⁷ On January 21, 1903, Mr. Ho, the Amban's representative had himself addressed Mr. White asking him "to come to Yatung for a few days...and discuss frontier and other matters in a friendly manner".¹³⁸ Tiring of—a response he had, on February 8, addressed another letter in which in an unguarded moment he had used these words:

"...and fearing that the suggestions contained in Mr. Ho's letter of the 21st January, 1903, to you that you might find it convenient to discuss matters at Yatung had not proved acceptable, we (Mr. Ho and Captain Parr) therefore hasten to assure you....quite prepared to proceed to such place as may seem to....the Viceroy more desirable".¹³⁹

Lord Curzon seized upon the words. Could he not have named Lhasa as the venue? But he chose to be merciful and named only Khamba Jong! In naming this site the Viceroy was

137. Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, Annexure 1, Enclo. 22, in No. 66, p. 176.

138. *Ibid.*, Annexure 2, in No. 66, pp. 176-77.

139. *Ibid.*, Annexure 2, in No. 99, pp. 195-6. A word may be added here regarding Captain Parr, an Englishman who was a member of the Chinese Imperial Customs Service, which for nearly a quarter century was run by Sir Robert Hart, its British Inspector General. Parr's designation was Chinese Commissioner of Customs at Yatung, and he was decorated with His Imperial Majesty's Order of the Double Dragon, 3rd Class. It is not unlikely that his appointment at Yatung may have been made in anticipation of the negotiations with the British. Younghusband, later, found him "extremely helpful"—at the time of the Mission's advance over the Jelapla, in December, 1903, to Gyantse. (Younghusband, *"India and Tibet,"* p. 155). A vital question concerning him remains unanswered: was he appointed at the suggestion of the British Minister in Peking, or was it on the initiative of the Chinese?

being deliberately oblivious of the terms of the Convention of 1890, and the Trade Regulations of 1893, whereby Yatung was the only place "open" to the British.¹⁴⁰ Was not Lord Curzon's manner, therefore, high-handed and his hoodwinking of the authorities in London deliberate? As for the Amban, the Viceroy left him little choice in the matter: "Khamba Jong," he wrote to him on June 3, and the meeting was scheduled for July 7, "is the nearest inhabited place to the frontier in question, where such a meeting can take place".¹⁴¹

On July 6 Younghusband—he had been temporarily promoted a full Colonel—accompanied by Captain (latter Sir William Frederick) O'Connor and Mr. White, with a full escort to boot, rode into Tibet. The frontier had been crossed in the face of repeated protests from the Chinese Commissioners who pointed out that Khamba "being on Tibetan side of the frontier is an unsuitable rendezvous".¹⁴² Earlier, on July 5, two Lhasa officials had met Mr. White at the border, at Giaogong and asked him to discuss matters, but had been informed that "any discussions must be held up until arrival at Khamba Jong". How earnest the Tibetans were in dissuading the British from crossing into their country is apparent from the following passage in Captain O'Connor's diary:

"They pressed forward on foot, and, catching hold of Mr. White's bridle, importuned him to dismount and to repair to their tents. At the same time their servants pressed round our horses, and seizing our reins endeavoured to lead us away.... The Khamba Jongpon, one of the Tibetan officials, afterwards followed us, and repeated efforts to induce me to halt.... He was in a very excited and agitated state.... He said, 'You may flick a dog once or twice without his biting, but if you tread on his tail, even if he had no teeth, he will turn and try to bite you....'"¹⁴³

It was against this background that Khamba was reached and "negotiations" started there.

140. A Maccalum Scott, *"The Truth About Tibet,"* (London, 1905), p. 30.

141. Tibet Papers, *op. cit.*, Enclo. 7, in No. 99, pp. 200-1.

142. *Ibid.*, Annexure 1, Enclo. 5, in No. 129, p. 223.

143. *Ibid.*, Enclo. 15, in No. 129, p. 226. O'Connor's "Diary", inevitably detailed, makes very interesting reading. Jongpen or Dzong-pon is "Governor of Fort," the Tibetan official incharge of a district. In some districts a single Dzonpon holds charge, in others two of them exercise joint control.

There had been a fear that the Tibetan representatives would not arrive for the tripartite talks that had been envisaged. To forestall this the British Foreign Office, early in May, had urged their Minister in Peking "to lay stress on the necessity for associating a properly accredited Tibetan representative", alongside the Chinese Commissioners.¹⁴⁴ This, however, had not come to pass despite the Amban's exhortations to the Tibetan "barbarians" to discuss matters "on the basis of reason".¹⁴⁵ Thus on the eve of the talks at Khamba no Tibetan representatives were present. We have already noticed that the Khamba Jongpen—the Tibetan district official—had protested against the crossing of the border. Soon enough a further difficulty arose in the shape of the "discovery" that the Chinese representatives were of very low rank, that in fact the Assistant Amban, and the members of the Tibetan Council, should have been sent.¹⁴⁶ On July 22, however, the British Commissioner condescended to meet the "low rank" delegates. To his long and laboriously prepared peroration, which he confessed to his Government was meant "not for the benefit of these petty representatives here... but to reach the ears of the Tibetan Government at Lhasa", the Tibetans raised two preliminary objections. Firstly, the negotiations should not have been held at Khamba, but at Giaogong; and secondly, the armed escort which the Commissioner had brought with him was redundant and should be sent back.¹⁴⁷ Younghusband's attempt to persuade the Tibetan official to transmit a copy of his speech to Lhasa proved of little avail: "he (the Lhasa official) could not have got rid of a viper with greater haste than he got rid of that paper". The Commissioner was indeed driven to the end of his tether, and he warned his government at the end of this first meeting about "the possible necessity for coercion" before the negotiations could be successfully terminated.¹⁴⁸

This first meeting was also to prove the last. For the next three months that the British remained at Khamba there were

144. *Ibid.*, No. 90, p. 191.

145. These words occur in an extract from the "Peking Gazette", of May 23, 1903 under "Supplementary Memorial from Yu Kang", and purports to be an address made by the Amban, Yu Kang, to the Tibetan bKa-blons (Councillors of State). For the text see.

146. *Ibid.*, Enclo. 11 and 28, in No. 129, p. 243.

147. *Ibid.*, Annexure, Enclo. 21, in No. 129, pp. 232-34.

148. *Ldc. cit.*

Hardly any negotiations for the presence of the British troops made the Tibetans suspicious, ill at ease and unwilling to talk. In fact it is amazing that in the face of an almost unanimous demand both from the Tibetans and the Chinese that Younghusband should withdraw to the frontier the Commercial Mission—eager to enforce treaty obligations!—found itself at the end of two months not indeed prepared to leave, but “entrenched in the open with maxims trained and ready”.¹⁴⁹ As a matter of fact the response to the withdrawal was to be a further advance into the heart of the country.

The story of this advance from Khamba to Gyantse—and beyond to Lhasa—was one of clever, adroit planning by the Viceroy and a hesitant, halting acquiescence by the Home Government, while the Tibetans and the Chinese played consciously-unconsciously into the hands of the unscrupulous Lord Curzon. In a brief survey like this only a bare outline at least can be attempted. As early as August 25 (1903)—Younghusband had met the Tibetans and the Chinese on July 22—the Viceroy had informed the Amban at Lhasa that he himself, or the Associate Amban, accompanied by a Councillor of the Dalai Lama and a high member of their National Assembly should proceed post-haste to Khamba, or else “my Commissioners” would choose “some other place in Tibet” to pass the winter.¹⁵⁰ A few weeks later (September 16) he appraised the authorities in London of the hostile actions of the Tibetans: they had “definitely” decided upon war, troops had been collected from all quarters in the country, two British subjects had been arrested—and suggested the occupation of the Chumbi valley and the advance of the Mission to Gyantse!¹⁵¹ HMG however viewed this move with “grave misgiving”.¹⁵² Sooner than he realised the Viceroy found his hands further strengthened by the growing conviction of the British Minister in Peking that even the new Chinese Amban at Lhasa was not likely to pull much weight with the “obstinate and stupid Tibetan barbarians”.¹⁵³

149. *Ibid.*, Enclo. 54, in No. 129, p. 267.

150. *Ibid.*, Enclo. 36, in No. 129, pp 250-1.

151. *Ibid.*, No. 112, p. 209.

152. *Ibid.*, No. 113, p. 210.

153. In this context a despatch of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Peking, to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, bears quotation: “.... I am disposed to think that the Chinese Government are really

Could the Baron of Kedleston be right after all? On October 1, the Home authorities permitted the advance, "if it can be done with safety" and "if complete rupture of negotiations proves inevitable".¹⁵⁴

Lord Curzon's aim now was to prove to the satisfaction of his masters that both the conditions they had stipulated were in fact satisfied. Following Younghusband's visit to Simla, where he had been summoned for 'personal consultations', the Viceroy telegraphed a long despatch to London on October 26 detailing reasons why a further advance into Tibet had become "indispensable".¹⁵⁵ He repeated the old arguments: inadequate and inferior Chinese and Tibetan representation, the non-arrival of the new Chinese Amban, the Tibetans' preparations for 'war'. "They mistake our patience", Lord Curzon wrote, "for weakness, reject our overtures with scorn, and despise our strength", and asked whether "in these circumstances", there was any alternative except the one to advance? And the advance must be to Gyantse—for the Tibetans did not regard the Chumbi valley as a part of Tibet proper, and would view its occupation as a "retrograde step"! Two fresh arguments were pressed into service: Younghusband thought it was extremely important that the Mission should come into contact with the Tibetan people, "who are quite friendly and prepared to enter into relations with us", and as the British were pressing for a trade mart at Gyantse it would be best to go there quickly. As for the logistics part of it, no difficulties were anticipated.

In the meantime in London a change had come over India House with Lord George Hamilton giving place to the Hon'ble Henry St. John Brodrick, later Earl of Midelton. The new Secretary of State's close ties with his old Eton-Balliol friend in India were well-known and Lord Curzon had anticipated no difficulties with his proposals on Tibet, and of course in regard to his other policies in general. Mr. Brodrick, however, had not been long in

desirous of seeing the matter brought to a satisfactory conclusion between India and Tibet, but from Prince Ch'ing's (Chinese Foreign Minister) repeated allusions to the obstinate temper of the Tibetans and the difficulty the Resident (the Imperial Resident, or Amban at Lhasa) experiences in dealing with them, they are not sanguine as to the likelihood of Yu tai's (the newly appointed Amban) being "able to expedite the negotiations." Tibet Papers, op. cit., pp. 211-12.

office before he discovered that the Viceroy not only looked upon him "as his representative at the Court of St. James" but had hoped "from our intimacy I would....carry for him points of policy of which he had utterly failed to convince my predecessor....or the Cabinet". And since he did not always oblige, "from the first his view of me was that I was an unprofitable servant".¹⁵⁶ This growing lack of confidence between London and Calcutta is a key factor to a proper understanding and appreciation of the Tibetan problem in the months that lay ahead.

To the new Secretary in London the Viceroy pointed out again that a rupture in the negotiations at Khamba was not only inevitable, but that, in fact, it had already taken place.¹⁵⁷ A few days later he peremptorily reported an overt act of hostility: Tibetan troops had attacked some Nepalese yaks on the frontier, and carried off many of them.¹⁵⁸ With this unceasing, relentless pressure applied from Calcutta, HMG finally sanctioned the advance to Gyantse on November 6. The sanction, however, was hedged in by all possible limitations: this step was not to lead to "occupation or permanent intervention" in Tibetan affairs in any form, as soon as reparation was obtained, a withdrawal was to be effected, there was to be no permanent mission stationed in Tibet.¹⁵⁹ The Viceroy, however, was singularly indifferent to the ultimate shape of things, with the advance to Gyantse sanctioned his immediate objective had been attained.

It remained for the Government in London to justify their action to the Chinese and the Russians. As if to forestall any move on the Viceroy's part, the Chinese had intimated that the new Amban had been ordered to reach Lhasa by "forced marches",

154. *Ibid.*, No. 120, p. 213.

155. *Ibid.*, No. 123, pp. 214-15.

156. Midelton, Earl of (Henry St. John Brodrick), "Records and Reactions," (London, 1939), pp. 200-1.

157. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, No. 126, pp. 216-18.

158. *Ibid.*, No. 127, p. 218. The actual details of how "four mounted Tibetan officers" and some 60 to 80 Tibetans "with swords and knives" had "rushed" among some Nepalese yaks "terrifying and dispersing them in all direction" looks very different from the "overt act of hostility" by Tibetan troops that the Viceroy sought to represent. See also *Ibid.*, No. 130, p. 292.

159. *Ibid.*, No. 132, p. 294.

that the Resident then in the capital had been asked "to proceed at once" to meet Younghusband and "arrange matters", and that they were ready to exact obedience from the Government of Tibet to the Imperial commands to forthwith resume negotiations.¹⁶⁰ These pleas, however, were of no avail. The British stand was that they could not remain inactive; nor yet could they agree to "postpone" measures which the conduct of the Tibetans had "constrained" them to adopt—in fact, it was impossible to desist from what had already been sanctioned.¹⁶¹

The Russians' were a harder nut to crack. Their ambassador in London pointed out to HMG that "this present invasion" was calculated to involve "a grave disturbance" of the situation in Central Asia, and that it was likely to create mistrust in Anglo-Russian relations. Lord Lansdowne expressed considerable surprise at the Russian "excitement" and reminded them of encroachments in Manchuria, Turkestan and Persia. In the end they were persuaded to accept the construction which the British put on events: the "advance" had been undertaken with considerable reluctance, that it had been made inevitable by circumstances, and that its sole object was to obtain satisfaction.¹⁶²

IX

In the progress of the Mission from Khamba to Gyantse the major obstacle was not the physical prowess of the ill-equipped—they were armed with spears and the fanatical monks that lay athwart their routes, but the difficult nature of the country and the bitter, biting winter. Another fear that constantly preyed on Younghusband's men was the possibility of Russian intrigue: dread of Russian—trained and equipped soldiers, if not indeed the Cossacks themselves!

The winter had been severe and it claimed a large number of victims, particularly among the rank and file.¹⁶³ From Khamba

160. *Ibid.*, No. 143, pp. 299-300.

161. *Ibid.*, Nos. 145 and 148, pp. 301 and 302.

162. *Ibid.*, No. 141, pp. 298-99.

163. Apart from "war" casualties the number of deaths, upto June 10, 1904, were listed thus: British officers 2, men 1, native officers 1, native warrant officer 1, native rank and file 63, followers 116. It will be remembered that the period covered was the one of advance from Khamba to Gyantse, but not to Lhasa. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 2370, No. 60, p. 20.

where the Mission had been encamped all this while Gyantse lay about 200 miles farther to the north-east—the route lying through the Jelap-la, Yatung and P'hari. The crossing of the snow-laden passes in the bitterest of the blizzards was by no means an easy task. The Commission proceeded by stages: the original advance was to be made over the Jelep la, yet the reinforcements were to utilise the Natu la route through Gangtok and Gnatong over into the valley of Chumbi.

Some opposition had been expected at the summit of the Jelep-la (14,400 feet), none, however, was offered.¹⁶⁴ The Tibetans did indeed construct a wall at Yatung, but it was easily bypassed. On January 6, the entire force reached P'hari with no opposition, as yet, from man through much from nature, for the cold now was terrible: "piercing winds swept down the valley, and discomfort was eextreme."¹⁶⁵ A day later they encamped at the foot of the Lang-la (15,200 feet) for the march to Tuna, a small village about 19 miles from P'hari across the Tang la, which was to serve as their base for a further advance into Gyantse. On January 12 three Tibetan monks from the Lhasa monasteries and a General, who had earlier met the Commission at P'hari, asked O'Connor again that the Mission withdraw to Yatung. Later they are reported to have agreed to discuss matters at Tuna itself.¹⁶⁶ Next day, however, they built themselves a wall at that place exactly where the open plain was narrowed by a large frozen lake and an outlying spur of one of the ranges. They, indeed, "ran it up in a night, it was their equivalent for a full-stop."¹⁶⁷

To the Commissioner the presence of the Lhasa monks, in fact their whole demeanour, was suspect for they had behaved "in a most unfriendly manner" at P'hari. The wall, and the organisation of supply and transport along the lines of communication, entailed three months of weary waiting at Tuna. It was felt that a very large number of stores must be accumulated in the Chumbi

164. Younghusband, in a telegram to the Viceroy on December 9, had given the information that the Tibetans were relying on Russian support and that Russian arms had entered Tibet: whence the pposition that was expected. *Tibet Papers*, No. 1920, No. 158, p. 306.

165. Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, op. cit., p. 159.

166. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, No. 173, p. 312.

valley before any advance to Gyantse was possible. Meanwhile the Tibetans had gathered at Guru, a place some nine miles away on the road to Gyantse. Here on March 31 took place the first armed encounter between the peaceful Commercial Mission and their adversaries in the latter's attempt to resist the advance. It may not be possible, in this short compass, to go into the details of how the shooting started. In the final analysis when completely surrounded by the armed escort, advancing in attack formations the Tibetans were asked to lay down their arms. On their refusing to do so an attempt was made to disarm them forcibly. In the excitement thus engendered the Lhasa general fired a shot. This proved to be the signal for the melee that ensued.¹⁶⁸ Edmund Candler, the (London) "Daily Mail's" correspondent, who was an eye-witness and was himself seriously injured in the fighting called it, "not a battle but a shambles, not a stand-up fight, but a massacre." For, "into the dense mass of the Tibetans" packed together on barely an acre of ground was fired volley after volley of fire from the surrounding troops extending in a scientific firing line. The Tibetans lost 700 men, dead and wounded, the British casualties numbered two wounded, one of them being Candler himself.¹⁶⁹

Younghusband himself described the fighting as a disaster, "a terrible and ghastly business" and, writing years later, wondered if it could possibly have been avoided.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps, apart from other factors, need was felt to boost the British prestige then "astonishingly low on the Sikkim frontier". The "Daily Mail" correspondent, referred to above, noted for instance: "There was no hope of them (the Tibetans) regarding the British as a formidable power and a force to be reckoned with, until we killed several

167. Pousse-Cailloux, "A Foot-note," *Blackwoods Magazine*, No. MCCCLX, vol. CCXXV, February 1929, pp. 147-76. "Foot-note" has a double entendre. Literally Pousse-Cailloux, is "pebble-pusher", French equivalent of the English, "foot-slogger." The writer, Lt.-Col. L. A. Bethel, was then a Lieutenant in the Gurkhas.

168. For details see *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 2054, No. 9, p. 5; No. 10, pp. 5-6; No. 11, p. 6 and No. 12, p. 6.

169. Edmund Candler, *op. cit.*, p. 109. In a subsequent passage he called it "an inglorious victory" and expressed the opinion that the officers "who did their duty so thoroughly, had no heart in the business at all." *Ibid.*, p. 111.

170. Younghusband, "India and Tibet," p. 178.

thousand of their men."¹⁷¹ Contrary to popular belief that the killing might deter them, the Tibetan resistance to the British advance—however futile it may have appeared—never actually ceased. In fact most of the fighting yet lay ahead, and only two weeks after the action at Guru Macdonald found his further progress barred¹⁷²—another 190 Tibetan corpses were to mark the trail of the advance to Gyantse.¹⁷³

The fighting—at Guru, and subsequently at Tsamdang George—had for once put an end to the embarrassments of the Indian Government. The Tibetan aggression being established the term "Tibetans" was replaced by the expression "the enemy" in all official correspondence. Diplomacy indeed was at a discount, and for long "military operations" were to dominate the situations.¹⁷⁴

And yet the facade of negotiations was kept up. Thus between the date of the arrival of the Mission at Gyantse, April 11, and its departure for Lhasa, July 15, there was considerable acti-

171. Edmund Candler, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

In a despatch to the Government of India on January 11, 1903, Younghusband noted :

"We have, in fact not one ounce of prestige on this frontier. I have nothing to work with in making a settlement Rather than being afraid of us, the Tibetans here in Tibet think we ought to be afraid of them." *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 2054, Part II, No. 37, p. 18.

172. With the decision to advance to Gyantse the total force necessary to accompany the Mission was considerably increased. It was to comprise one battalion of Gurkhas and two of Pioneers, two companies of Sappers and Miners, two mountain battery guns, two maxims and two seven-pounders. The command of this force was entrusted to Brigadier-General J. R. L. Macdonald of the Royal Engineers. General Macdonald was, however, subject—for decisions concerning the active employment of the force or otherwise—to Col. Younghusband, who was the leader of the entire Mission. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, No. 150, pp. 303-4. This position was pretty odd. The Commissioner, chosen by the Viceroy, though senior in status was junior in rank to his military adjutant who had been selected, not by the Viceroy, but by his Commander-in-Chief, in this case Lord Kitchner. This "dual control was from the outset an anomaly and an embarrassment." Seaver, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

173. *Ibid.*, No. 25, p. 10. The encounter took place at Tsamdang Gorge. Besides 190 dead, "many" were wounded and 70 taken prisoners.

174. A. Maccallum Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

vity on the diplomatic front. The new Chinese Amban who had arrived in Lhasa in the previous December had written to Younghusband, very early in April, that he intended to come and meet the Commissioner, but that the obstinacy of the Tibetans was making it hard for him.¹⁷⁵ Earlier, on April 4, a certain General Ma had arrived at Guru as the Amban's delegate in place of "Ho, Chao and Li," and information had also been received that four Tibetan delegates were on their way.¹⁷⁶

To hasten their pace, and some fighting had already taken place in and around Gyantse, the Viceroy suggested to the Secretary of State the setting of a time-limit by which "proper" representatives of both the Chinese and the Tibetan Governments, "invested with full powers", were required to arrive.¹⁷⁷ Within a few days a tentative date, June 25, for the advance to Lhasa was being discussed.¹⁷⁸ Finally, on May 14, the Secretary of State agreed to an ultimatum being sent both to the Dalai and to the Amban. This was to be further reinforced by a direct communication from London to the Chinese Government.¹⁷⁹

The "ultimatums" were not without their effect. On June 25, being the last day for the negotiations to commence, Younghusband reported that Tibetan delegates were on their way and requested that the earlier time-limit be advanced by five days.¹⁸⁰ On the afternoon of July 1 the Ta Lama arrived at Gyantse, and along with the six representatives of the three Lhasa monasteries met Younghusband.¹⁸¹ Serious negotiations, however, could not start because the Commissioner insisted that as a necessary preliminary the Gyantse Jong must be evacuated "so that there may be no risk of further attack on the Commission." And as the Tibetans did not comply, the Jong was assaulted and taken. Thereafter, for some days Younghusband's efforts to get in touch with the Ta Lama proved futile.¹⁸²

175. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 2054, Part I, No. 14, p. 7.

176. *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 7.

177. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 2370, Part I, No. 7, pp. 3-4.

178. *Ibid.*, No. 13, p. 6 and No. 18, p. 8.

179. *Ibid.*, No. 56, p. 19.

180. *Ibid.*, No. 63, p. 21.

181. *Ibid.*, No. 72, p. 24.

182. *Ibid.*, No. 83, p. 28.

On July 14 the Mission began its march to Lhasa. Two days later Younghusband received a letter, through the Bhutane-
nese envoy, from the Dalai Lama and the Ta Lama indicating a
readiness to negotiate.¹⁸³ On July 20 the Tibetan envoys—the
Ta Lama the Yatok Shape, and the Grand Secretary met the
British Commissioner at Nagartse and requested him to return to
Gyantse for negotiations. Younghusband repeated "for the fiftieth
time", that he had waited long and patiently, and as for any fur-
ther negotiations he had the Viceroy's orders "to go to Lhasa, and
go there I must."¹⁸⁴ That, in fact, was to become his constant
refrain until the Mission arrived at Lhasa. For both at the Chak-
sam ferry where the Tibetan National Assembly promised nego-
tiations, and asked the Mission not to proceed to Lhasa or again
at Camp Tolung where apart from the Ta Lama, the Tsarong
Shape, and an abbot in private attendance upon the Dalai Lama
alongwith representatives of the three Lhasa monasteries met him,
and asked the British Commissioner to refrain from advancing,
his reply was the same: "We must go there."¹⁸⁵

And thus it came about that early in August (1904) the
"Commercial" Mission that had arrived at Khamba on July 7,
1903, found itself at the gates of the Potala. Its initial purpose,
in the words of Lord George Hamilton, was to negotiate on "trade
relations, frontier and grazing rights." What was to be its ultimate
achievement?

(To be concluded)

183. *Ibid.*, No. 95, p. 32.

184. *Ibid.*, Part II, Enclo. 252, p. 211.

185. *Ibid.*, Part I, No. 118, pp. 48-9, and Part II, Enclo. No. 256, p. 217.

Lord Curzon and The Problem of European Racialism in India

BY

DR. M. N. DAS, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON),

Orissa

Speaking in October 1907 Gopal Krishna Gokhale said that when Lord Curzon announced at the Delhi Durbar that the whole of India was loyal he was stating a fact, but since then his policy of centralisation, his openly expressed contempt for the Indian standards of morality, his whittling down of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and the measures carried out by him against the wish of the people—the Partition of Bengal in particular—had all contributed to alienate a very large majority of thinking men in India,¹ Curzon's unpopularity in India is never doubted; his rule was greatly responsible for the Indian unrest that followed. But be it said to the credit of that Viceroy that it was he who launched a vigorous campaign against the European racialism in India. The White man was in the habit of feeling superior to his Indian subjects for long. His arrogance, insolence and misbehaviour had almost continued from the time of the establishment of his political authority in the East. But the continuance of this racial hatred into the twentieth century was rich in consequences. The general awakening in the Eastern world, especially the national consciousness in India, could not accommodate any longer the doctrine of racial superiority as upheld by the foreign rulers. Lord Curzon became aware of the harm which the European Community did to the British Indian Empire.

Shortly after his arrival he came to understand that if a European knocked down an Indian, and the latter died of the blow, there was not the slightest chance of his being convicted by any European Jury. The Viceroy engaged himself in investigating, with

1. 'Morley Papers, Minto to Morley, Vol. VII, Vide Note from Dunlop Smith, 29 October 1907.

Mackworth Young, a sample case which occurred in the Punjab early in 1900. It was of the most patent and indisputable character, but, nevertheless, the Jury unanimously acquitted the defendant, who was an Irish, not merely on the charge of murder, but even upon that of having committed grievous hurt. "Such cases", said Curzon, "do more harm to the cause of British Administration in India than years of patient and upright labour do good."² To him, the fact that in analogous circumstances an Indian Jury would probably acquit an Indian defendant was really no excuse for the British, since the latter considered themselves the parents of the Jury system in India, and they could hardly blame the Indian for following an example which the English were increasingly setting him from day to day.

If the justice of the White man based itself on such racial discriminations, the British Civil Servants in India made the matter worse. Much of the strained relation which existed between Europeans and Indians was due to 'the low sense of duty' which animated a certain section of the Civil Servants. Theodore Morison, in his little book entitled 'Imperial Rule in India' described the system of administration as *the rule not so much of the British Government as of the British race*: and hence its unpopularity. The most favourable specimens of that race did not always come to India; and, in proportion as they lacked moral and intellectual qualities, so did they endeavour to assert themselves by roughness and harsh treatment of those under them.³

The worst however was coming from the military people. Curzon was sorry to feel that, in the whole of his campaign on the subject of so-called 'accidents and collisions', he met with nothing but tacit discouragement and sublatent antagonism from the soldiers. They were banded together throughout India in a compact body, animated by the fiercest *esprit de corps*. They winked at things done by a fellow-soldier, which they denounced if committed by a civilian. The moment one was censured, all the rest were up in arms. Curzon described:

"They cannot see why the poor soldier should not be allowed to go out, and shoot and harry at his own sweet will;

2. Curzon to Hamilton, Vol. XVI, 15 February 1900.

3. Vide Hamilton to Curzon, Vol. II, 18 April 1900.

PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN RACIALISM IN INDIA 165

and if in the course of the excursion a Native is killed, their attitude was that of a very fast bowler at cricket whom I once met, and who, having killed a man by the ball jumping up and striking him on the temple, said to me, 'Why did the d—d fool get his head in the way?' Nothing to me since I came to India has been more surprising or more disappointing than the attitude and capacities of the leading members of the Military Service. There are a certain number of good resolute men, not always known to fame, but conscientious and dutiful. But the majority that I meet impress me neither with character nor with ability."⁴

The bitter feeling of the European against the Indian got expression in quite peculiar ways. A soldier would go out on hunting, but instead of killing a game would shoot down an innocent man. The master would beat the servant or a traveller would knock down a coolie in a railway platform. In such cases the law did not protect the weak; more so, the law worked in a perverted way. Curzon could trace out a few of the many such glaring abuses of law. In the Fort William case, which occurred during his time, a European soldier murdered an Indian tailor against whom he bore grudge. The soldier confessed to the deed, all was going naturally; the evidence was overwhelming; the Commanding Officer of the Regiment testified to the man's sanity; when suddenly, on the third day of the enquiry before the Magistrate, the Counsel for the prisoner put forward the plea of insanity, and the man himself, who the day before was perfectly *compos mentis*, forgot his name and played the part of a besotted lunatic. When the case came before the High Court, three Calcutta doctors, who had seen and examined him for a few hours, and who were general practitioners, and not experts in mental physiology, but whom he had successfully befooled with his replies to their questions, testified that he was not in a state of mind to conduct his defence, and he was accordingly remitted to jail. As the Viceroy felt it, it was an amazing escape from the gallows. In another case, a soldier without any provocation, hurled a rock at an Indian boy, and 'hit him on the leg.' The Viceroy thought the phrase in the military report a little suspicious, and made further enquiries. "True the leg was *hit*, but it was also broken." Curzon did not want to incur the personal

4. Curzon to Hamilton, Vol. XVIII, 17 September 1900.

unpopularity and odium of inaugurating what might be misrepresented as a crusade against the British soldier. He knew that the soldier had not a very easy time in India, and the Viceroy had to sympathise with his drawbacks, but he felt certain that "if these collisions, and the temper that they indicate, proceed unchecked, the British soldier will come to be regarded as a scourge by the Native population; and no amount of unpopularity shall deter me from the effort to prevent this deplorable sequel."⁵

In another case in which a soldier shot an Indian dead, the usual explanation came up that the gun went "off by accident. But it was almost evident that 'somewhere some almost criminal evasion of responsibility, or conspiracy to screen' took place. In another instance, Lord Ampthill's A.D.C. at Delhi kicked a coolie and the latter forthwith died. Of course the coolie had a big liver or a big spleen: and equally of course the kick was represented as a 'push with the foot'—the phrase which became 'an Indian classic'. The Delhi Magistrate fined the A.D.C. rupees one hundred, and the whole affair was hushed up. Even, the Indian Press could not get hold of the news. In the case of the 9th Lancers, the two troopers in the regiment murdered the cook, and it became known. But the evidence against them, consisting of their own confessions to their comrades, was not sufficient to take them into a Court of Law. Curzon commented: "this is a curious commentary upon Sir B. Blood's egregious attempt to prove that, whoever was guilty, it could not possibly be the 9th Lancers."⁶

The more painful aspect of all such incidents was that the racial feeling inspired the Europeans in India to tacitly approve of such crimes. When it became known all over India that the Viceroy took a strong view of the European attitude towards the Indian, and that he meant to hunt down the guilty parties, there was a reaction against him in the European Community. Of course, Curzon was not capable of interfering with the Law Courts. All he wanted to do was to diminish the number of racial collisions arising out of the arrogance of one community. In this noble adventure, the Viceroy could not enjoy the sympathy of even the best among the Englishmen in India. He wrote:

5. *Ibid.*

6. Curzon to Hamilton, Vol. XXIV, 5 November 1902.

PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN RACIALISM IN INDIA 157

"I grieve to say that, since I came to India, I have not found a single man among 'the better class', to whose feelings you think that we might safely appeal, who either shares my views, or could be relied upon to back them, at the cost of clamour or unpopularity. They all admit privately that the occurrence of these incidents is regrettable, and that any failure of justice is shocking. But they think the collisions inevitable and normal; they, almost to a man, contend that the blame rests with the Natives (which I certainly, in my experience, have not found to be the case); and as for the judicial scandals — well, they shrug their shoulders and smile."⁷

The English newspapers were not with the Viceroy in his crusade against the so-called shooting incidents. Instead, the *Pioneer* was continually publishing anonymous letters from people who argued that the White man was invariably provoked by the insolence of the native. The *Englishman* did the same thing. Magistrates, District Judges, Juries, and Court-martials, all failed when it was a question of sentencing a European for an injury to a native. Even the High Court of Calcutta was not exempt. There occurred in Assam a case of the most gross and aggravated assault, by an Englishman in a Tea Plantation, upon one of his coolies. The District Magistrate who tried it sentenced the culprit to a fine only of Rs. 50. The Local Government in great anger at this utterly inadequate sentence took the case to the High Court, on a motion for enhancement. The two judges who tried the case rejected the appeal on the flimsiest grounds, which could scarcely impose upon any one. One of their number was the individual before whom was tried at Calcutta the soldier who successfully feigned madness in order to escape the consequences of his murderous deed.

At the end of Curzon's five years' rule, he had not only become unpopular with the Indian people for one reason or the other, but had become unpopular with his own community for his policy on racial questions. While away from India during the summer of 1904, his subordinates in administration apprehended that his return would not be welcomed by many sections of the community, and that unless he was very careful he would arouse an outburst of

7. Curzon to Hamilton, Vol. XVIII, 25 September 1900.

malevolence even worse than that which was raging at that moment. When a man claimed to rule and control and supervise everything and made vast strides in the centralisation of authority, it was natural for him to expect to be saddled with the responsibility of everything that was done. Curzon's personality had dominated everything in the Government of India during the past five years, and as it was said, there had never been such a personal rule so that while he got credit for the things that were popular, he also got the blame for everything that was unpopular. Like his most other works, his racial policy also marked him out as a lone crusader without followers or supporters, fighting against his own community. In July 1904, Ampthill said to Arthur Godley:

"The soldiers say that they are now 'cheeked' by even the lowest class of Natives in an intolerable way, and as they no longer dare to use or to threaten a good thrashing they are quite helpless. It is said that when a European raises his stick to chastise an insolent Native the latter frequently threatens to 'tell the Lord Sahib'! When Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was in India the thing which struck him most was the growing 'cheek' of the Native, and if this is apparent to the casual globe-trotter it is pretty certain that the change of attitude is a considerable one."⁸

Curzon's campaign ultimately ended in failure. The racial bitterness was increasing more and more. The European Community which did not even pretend to change its attitude for good, had to realise at length that the national movement in India which took so vigorous a turn soon after the departure of Curzon could not for the time rise above the feeling of racial antipathy towards the White men. The activities of the Indian terrorists which became a prominent feature of the post-Curzon era, no doubt were motivated mainly by political reasons; yet, there worked a spirit of retaliation against the insolent behaviour of the European towards the people of India.

8. Ampthill Correspondence, Ampthill to Arthur Godley, 27 July, 1904.

Reviews

BIHAR THROUGH THE AGES* by Professor Radhakrishna Choudhary, Ganesdatta College, Begusarai (Bihar).

The dawn of independence has brought in its train a series of cultural renaissance in different aspects of our life and it is in that very series that the rewriting of regional histories in recent times has been undertaken. Without paying due attention to the intensive and extensive studies of regional histories, we cannot rewrite in a scientific manner a comprehensive history of India. Though very good regional histories of different parts of India have been successfully written or edited, there was none till 1922 when for the first time "*History of Tirhut*" covering north Bihar was written and published by S. N. Singh. In 1956, came another learned volume on the same region, on a more scientific basis, the "*History of Mithila*" by Upendra Thakur. In the same year was published "*Bihar, the homeland of Buddhism*" by me relating to Buddhism and Bihar and in a way supplement to my previous book "*Siddhartha*" (in Hindi). In 1958 for the first time a complete and connected account of the history of Bihar was presented by me in my "*History of Bihar*" and "*Inscriptions of Bihar*". For a state like ours all these works were like drops in the ocean and we all looked forward for a much publicised volume to be known as "*Bihar through the Ages*", written by eminent scholars, "*some of international repute*" and edited by the Governor of Bihar, Sri R. R. Diwakar, already wellknown for his scholarly publications. It is correct to hold that the rebuilding of a growing nation depends on a clear and correct understanding of the past, but here it should be borne in mind that the past must be correctly and scientifically presented without any bias whatsoever and with full responsibility in respect of the facts of history and their presentation in correct perspective. Bihar has not only not filled the considerable portion of the canvas of our general history but it was once the cradle of Indian history. History of Magadha was

* Being a Review of "*Bihar through the Ages*"—General Editor—R. R. Diwakar, Orient Longmans, Calcutta, 1959; Royal Size, pp. I—XXVIII; 1-891; One Map; 36 plates. Price Rs. 20/- only.

the history of India and Chandragupta was the first ruler to have of Indian unity and made it a reality. It is a pity that we had no written history and even today we are lagging far behind other states in this respect.

Bihar was the homeland of a number of cultures. Bihar was the first state in ancient India to pronounce the idea of Indian nationhood and idea of republican government. Bihar was well acquainted with the most scientific technique of diplomacy much ahead of our European thinkers. It was Bihar which first pronounced the ideals of *Panchasila* and *concord*. If under Magadha India was united under the canvas of an umbrella, it was under the hegemony of the different schools of thought of Mithila, that India, nay the whole of the then civilised world, could get an inkling of real spiritual thinking. It is a rare occasion for any land to have a ruler like Janaka Videha, legislator like Yajnavalkya and a meditator like Gautama (Gautama, the Buddha and Gotama, the logician. Upto 1000 A.D., Bihar, to a great extent demonstrated the scene of Indian history and culture. Between 1097 and 1325 A.D., a great portion of North Bihar remained comparatively free from Muslim onslaughts, though this area was one of the greatest centres of the Sufi saints of India. While Buddhist Palas tolerated different sects with due respect the Sufis of north Bihar flourished without any hindrance to their spiritual enlightenment. Sectarianism had no place in the general scheme of ancient Bihari life and our contention stands well attested by the account of Dharmaswami, the Tibetan Buddhist traveller, who was offered the post of a royal chaplain by an orthodox Hindu king Ramasimhaddeva of Mithila. Contact between Hindus and the Muslims was growing daily and that is evident from the writings of Jyotirishwara. Under Shershah, Bihar again attained all India importance. Bihar did not prove to be a bed of roses for the Mughals. The Afgans and the Karranis held their own till a pretty long time and the Mughals had to feel their weight quite heavily. Bihar again came into prominence during the period of the later Mughals and in the early days of the East India Company. It was in Bihar that Mahatma Gandhi had his first experiment with truth. Bihar has given India the first President after independence. Such an important state like ours rightly deserved a special treatment. Bihar is yet the homeland of objects of antiquarian and historical interests. What Athens was to the Hellas, Nalanda was to India and it was

in the fitness of thing that the glory of Nalanda has again been revived and international cultural contact is being revived in the same old spirit of ours.

In view of these facts when the idea of "*Bihar through the Ages*" was mooted in the year 1954, it was hailed as a happy venture in all corners. The then Governor of Bihar, Sri R. R. Diwakar, took upon himself the arduous task of editing of such a voluminous work consisting of ancient, medieval and modern periods. Since some scholars of international repute were associated with this venture, high hopes were bound to be raised. It was nothing but "a labour of love" (as our revered Prime Minister puts it) for Sri Diwakar to have undertaken such a venture. Sri Diwakar claims to present every bit of information about Bihar in outline and in his *Note*, he claims to "attend to uniformity of language, to proper proportion and length of articles according to importance of the subjects" (General Editor's Note). This claim, to my mind, is wholly unjustified if one only carefully goes through this voluminous book. The following discussion would show the hollowness of above claim. Since some of the contributors are personally known to me I contacted them for clarification on certain points but they dissociated themselves from the findings in the book on the ground that they were not aware of the specific chapters to which their responsibility might be fixed. They have been mentioned simply as contributors and the readers are at a loss to decide as to their actual contribution and it is reasonable to presume at this stage that the entire responsibility regarding conclusions should lie with the General Editor. Since the work is a result of the co-operative efforts of scholars, it is desirable that the chapters along with their authors should have been specifically mentioned in order to enable the readers to contact them for clarification. As that has not been done the General Editor should assume all responsibilities regarding the lapses that are there in the book. The non-mention of the names of the contributors smacks of gross egoism and short of intellectual dishonesty. It does little credit to the General Editor as the mention of the names of the contributors would have saved him from unnecessary criticism. For such a big venture, one can not even think of assuming the responsibility of even a part of it as Editor but in this case the General Editor has thought himself sufficiently qualified to edit all periods of the *History of Bihar*, a work which could not be done

by such eminent historians like Sir J. N. Sarkar and Dr. R. C. Majumdar in similar circumstances in connection with the History of Bengal. The two Volumes on the History of Bengal published by the Dacca University are yet the best in the field and should be taken as models in the preparation of other regional histories.

All aspects of Bihar have, no doubt, been compressed into a single volume of 818 pages. To these have been added valuable appendices, glossary, index and plates etc. Real interest has been stimulated and an attempt has been made to make the dry bones of history alive. The credit for all these goes to the contributors of the various chapters whose names unfortunately do not appear. These contributors have produced a fairly exhaustive story of stirring events and bewildering changes with utmost care, which, but for General Editors's scraping, would have been quite alright. Needless to say that for this arduous and stupendous task of editing such a big volume, in addition to his heavy official duties, one can not withhold one's admiration for General Editor's "labour of love". In spite of its being a very good contribution to the regional history, it falls short of our expectations. The work, no doubt, shall be the basis of a future gazetteer of the State of Bihar and shall elicit praise on that account. For a state which had no written history till recently, it shall continue to be one such but the general impression is bound to be created that the work, under review, is not only uneven in quality but also in the way of treatment. The so-called "Proper proportion" has been thoroughly disproportionate, the claim of the "uniformity of language" is a myth and other hyperbolic claims are totally baseless. The claim of "somewhat exhaustive bibliography" is not only baseless but confusing as well. In support of our above statement we shall cite below some specimens from the book.

Section B of chapter II dealing with the historical geography of Bihar, is full of confusing statements. It is not correct to state that Wideha "corresponds mostly with the modern Tirhut Division" (p. 51). Did Wideha consist of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran and Saran? Evidences regarding Karusha and Pundra are inconclusive. When and how did Anga "extend upto the confluence of the Sarayu and the Ganga at Chapra" (p. 52)? When and where the book named "*Political Dictionary of ancient and mediæval India*" by H. P. Shastri was published? (pp. 455). There is no mention of Anguttarap at all. Can we think of the ancient

geographical divisions of ancient Bihar without Anguttara, said to have been visited by Buddha? The *Saktisangamatantra* gives an account of 56 countries not 66 (p. 55). How the "southern part of the district was directly ruled by the Mughal governors (p. 57) "When southern Bihar was governed by Malik Bir Afgan? From where did the Mughal governors come during the reign of Firuz Tughluq? According to modern researches, Kikata is not to be identified with Magadha as has been done here (pp. 93-94). There are only scanty references to the Vratyas and even that that is full of contradictory statements on pp. 6, 94, 121, 129 and 297 etc. Even books not directly dealing with the history of Bihar have devoted more attention to the problem of the Vratyas while here, when the book exclusively deals with the history of Bihar, the problem has been summarily touched and scantily treated. Sasanka has been discussed in three pages (pp. 265-268) while North Bihar has been summarily rejected in few paragraphs (cf. p. 326). Any average reader is bound to arrive at the conclusion that North Bihar has not got its share in the so-called "proper proportion" scheme of this work. On page 317 it has been said that the Nepali Era began in 978-979 (?). The Nepali era actually started in 879-880. Lack of coherence in language is evident from the first six lines on p. 318. Without any *Pre-or Post-enunciation* of facts the paragraph abruptly ends with the sentence—"Therefore this Gangeyadeva is the son of Nanyadeva" (p. 318). There is no evidence to show that Vijayasena made Nanyadeva his feudatory as has been shown here (p. 324). Has the General Editor attended to the uniformity of language or to the proper proportion?

The Navya-Nyaya philosophy has been dealt with in two pages (p. 336-337) and without saying anything on the philosophy of Navya-Nyaya, the author (whose name is not known fortunately) simply states the names of philosophers and their works. The same list appears again on pp. 413-13 and 440-41. I wish the General Editor would have taken pains to cast a glance on S. N. Singh's *History of Tirhut* (Appendix) and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), Vol. XI of 1915 to see if the List has not been copied verbatim without even a line of comment on any one of them Navya-Nyaya philosophy does not simply consist in the enumeration of the written by its propounder. The reviewer wishes if the writer of the chapter and the General Editor could consult the *History of Navya-Nyaya* by D. C. Bhatta-

charya and see what Navya-Nyaya is? While Navya-Nyaya is summarily rejected, the philosophy of Pandit Ramavatar Sarma is fully discussed because the writer seems to have specialised in the latter and the reviewer is more than certain in his assertion that this article on Pandit Ramavatar Sarma's philosophy is the same as was published in the *Indian Nation* (a Patna daily) few years ago. I want to make my position clear lest I might be misunderstood that I am one of the strongest admirers of Pandit Ramavatar Sarma. What I want to emphasise here is that the so-called claim of proper proportion is hollow. The Navya-Nyaya has not been treated with the seriousness it deserves. Same is the case with the *Mimamsa* philosophy though there is a very good book on the subject by the late Sir Ganganath Jha. Ganganath Jha's book does not even find mention in the Bibliography. *Mimamsa* gets hardly two pages (338-39) though it deserved more. No explanation has been given about the book "*Padarthachandra*" by Lachimadevi. It has been simply mentioned (p. 414). The most curious thing is that under the heading, the philosophy of Navya-Nyaya, the following names are given-Lakhima, wife of Sivasimha and Chandraṅkala. Were they Navya-Nyaya philosophers? So far as our information goes Lakhima was a writer of creties and some such writings of Lakhima have been collected and published by the late Sir George Abraham Grierson.

Coming down to the description of Maithili, there are confusing and contradictory statements. Even without rejecting certain misstatement of facts, I should like to draw the attention of the editor and the writer to some glaring contradictions:—At one place *Varnanratnakara* of Jyotiriswara Thakur is placed at 1324 A.D. but on page 351, the same work is said to be a product of the thirteenth century A.D. while on page 442, Jyotiriswara is placed in the 12-13th century, A.D. There are other misstatements about the *Varnanaratnakara*. And what about the most well-known poet Vidyapati? At one place he is made a contemporary of Umapati (p. 86) and placed in the 15th-century A.D., at another he is placed in the 14th century (p. 434) and the most remarkable piece of research done in connection with Vidyapati is brought out when he is placed in the 13th century A.D. This is how the coherence has been maintained. The conception about the *Likhanavali* of Vidyapati is misleading. No critical or literary appraisal of Vidyapati as a poet has been done even in few sentences which

a master mind of his eminence rightly deserved. And what about Umapati? At one place he is made a contemporary of Vidyapati (P. 86) at another he is called the author of the *Parijatamangala* (?) (P. 447) & again on page 550 he is called the author of *Parijataharana*. No date has been given here but he has been placed between 1527 and 1707. It seems that no care was taken to identify and locate him, a work done by Grierson about fortyfive years ago. On page 447 the following lines are dubious..... "use of Brajabuli in Bihar in the work of the famous poet Umapati entitled *Parijatamangala* (?), a poetic drama, in which songs have been definitely written in Brajabuli containing Hindi and Maithili forms simultaneously". On page 440, The *Dandaviveka* of Vardhamana has been mentioned as Danaviveka. The name of Taranatha has been wrongly written in diacritical marks. In the section dealing with the art there is absolutely no mention of Saran, Belwa, Naulagarh, Jayamanglagarh, Bheet-Bhagwanpur and other finds. The *Panchobh copper plate Inscription* does not find mention anywhere in the book. It is one of the major slips. Even the Bangaon copper-plate finds a casual mention. The assumption on page 380 that—"there were hardly any independent kingdoms in the region and seldom any assumption of independence"—does not hold good. The *Maheswara inscription* (discovered and edited by me in the *ABORI—XXXVI*) has been mentioned as Mahadwara and is said to have been found "on the banks of a river in the Begusarai district" (P. 389). Begusarai is not a district and the inscription was found on the bank of the river, Gandak. On p. 471, in connection with the same inscription it has been observed—"the inscriptional stone of the *Hisu-i-Haseen* has been recently recovered from the Ganges" (it should be "Gandak"). Mahmud Shah Mahmud Sharuqui's expedition to "Jayanagar in Tirhut" yet remains to be proved (P. 394). There are many more lapses of serious nature and the paucity of space deters me from going into greater details. Chapter XIII B (i) are full of contradictory statements.

Instances of carelessness are not few and far between. The following examples are sufficient to show that carelessness is writ large in this work of "proper proportion".

(i) P. 411—JBRS—neither volume, nor page or year mentioned.

(ii) JBRS—1938—In 1938 it was JBORS.

(iii) P. 415—JBORS—1942—No page, volume or part mentioned.

(iv) P. 416—JBRS—No year, no volume, no page.

(v) P. 418—JBRS of 1936—It should be JBORS—No page or volume mentioned.

(vi) P. 428—Chandreswara has been written for the correct form Chandeswara (cf. pp. 442, 846, etc.).

(vii) Karnata Period has been placed between 1160 and 1395. The correct position should be 1097-1324/25 (Cf.—my article *The Karnatas of Mithila*—in the *ABORI*—XXXV—pp. 90-121; Upendra Thakur—*History of Mithila*—Chap. V). No light has been thrown on the *Oinwaras of Mithila* (1325-1526) (Cf. my article—*The Oinwaras of Mithila*—in the *JBRS* of 1954; Upendra Thakur—*op. cit.*, Chapter VI).

Mithila Tattva Vimarsa (correct) has been incorrectly written as *Mithila Tatto Vimash*.

(viii) P. 841—Under the head "Philosophy", the following books are mentioned:

- (a) Foster—Travels in India.
- (b) Grierson—Bihar Peasant Life.
- (c) John Marshall—Travels in India.
- (d) Tavernier—Travels in India.

(ix) Dharmaswami's account is placed between 1334-1336. It should have been 1234-36.

(x) Subhadra Jha's *Songs of Vidyapati* has been written as *Vidyapati thakur*.

(xi) There is no such as *History of Bengal*, three volumes, by R. C. Majumdar as has been mentioned here on P. 839. Volume II of the *Cambridge History of India* is not yet out. Sir J. N. Sarkar is not the *author* but the editor of the *History of Bengal*, Vol. II.

Names have been misspelt. Rambriksha Benipuri has been written as Ramkrishna (P. 746). On page 497, Bharez has been written for Bahroj; on page 520, Kuleswara has been written for Kuseswara and on page 734 Chaturkavi has been written for Faturkavi. There are many more such instances.

To cite only a few printing errors:

Correct	Printed incorrectly
regnal	reignal (97)
Tarñ	Taru (201, 843)
Viṣayapati	Bisayapati (330)
Jagaddala	Jagandala (351)
Vasal	Vaisali (268)
Review	Revue (840)

The following important books have not been mentioned in the bibliography —

- K. P. Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*.
 D. C. Sircar—*Select Inscriptions of India*.
 A. L. Basham—*The Ajivikas, and the Glory that was Ind.*
 A. K. Narayana—*The Indo-Greeks*.
 S. K. Maity—*Economic Condition of India during the Gupta Period*.
 Upendra Thakur—*History of Mithila*.

The Bibliography instead of being exhaustive is thoroughly incomplete and unscientific. Important Journals like the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* and others are not mentioned. The Bibliography can be scanned more critically but the want of space deters me from going into the details. Readers of these pages are requested to consult the *Bibliography on the history of Bihar* given in my book of the same name in about forty printed pages.

Even a casual reader will be able to see that not a single claim of the general Editor has been satisfactorily established. A bit of carefulness either on the part of the writer or the Editor would have enabled him to avoid pitfalls. Contradiction of views is already there. Careless proof reading and confusing statement of facts and unscientific bibliography have landed this pioneer work into a quixotic quagmire. The publication does little credit to the publisher and stands in contrast to one published by the same firm, viz. *The Comprehensive History of India* (Vol. II—for the Indian History Congress). It seems that the work under review had none

to look after since the departure of the general Editor from Bihar. No uniformity in respect of diacritical mark has been maintained. Little attention has been paid to the study of social history. A full critical review of the work would mean an exhaustive treatment and I leave it for others to do the job.

In spite of all these defects, one is compelled to admit that the Government of Bihar may well feel proud of its achievement in the sense that it has succeeded in filling up a conspicuous void in the realm of regional histories of India. We congratulate the General Editor for this big venture though it has not appeared as we would have wished it in spite of the immense resources at his disposal.

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

ILLUSTRATED INCOME-TAX LAW by B. D. Nagpal. Kitab Mahal. Price Rs. 7.50.

The Income-tax has assumed increasing significance in recent years not only as a method of collecting vast revenue but also as a device for moderating the gross inequalities in income. With the introduction of the wealth-tax, the expenditure tax, the capital gains tax and the gifts tax the traditional Income-tax has imbibed a new complexion. Unfortunately however the structure and the nature of the Indian Income-tax remain a puzzle to the common man. The observation of Professor Kaldor that "the company taxation provisions of India are..... a perfect maze of unnecessary complications, the accretion of years of futile endeavour to reconcile fundamentally contradictory objections" is as valid to-day as it was when he made it.

The effort made by the author "to illustrate in easy and simple language every complicated point for clear understanding by an average student" is therefore welcome. Sri Nagpal has achieved fair success in explaining lucidly the content of taxable income, exemptions, method of accounting, computation and assessment. The short chapters on allied and new taxes are useful and instructive. So too is the addendum relating to the 1958 Finance Act. The book is written in a readable style and is well got up.

K. S. LAKSHMANA PANIKKAR

ELEMENTS OF LIFE INSURANCE by O. P. Bajpai, Kitab Mahal.
Price Rs. 5.00.

"This book" the author claims "aims to meet the requirements of B.Com. and M.Com. students". Life Insurance has long had great fascination for the more prudent and provident section of society. The potentialities of insurance for mobilising funds for economic development however have been realised adequately only in recent times.

Life insurance now touches but the fringe of the insurable population in India. Any attempt to propagate the value of insurance is therefore welcome.

Sri Bajpai has succeeded in giving a clear exposition of the principles of life insurance. The author has given a satisfying account of the various types of policies and the development of life insurance in India. He has also discussed in a competent manner such topics as selection of risk, premium computation, insurance finance, insurance contract and valuation. The book is useful to students and field-workers alike.

K. S. LAKSHMANA PANIKKAR

SRI SIDDHESWARA CHARITRAMU: (Kakatiya Rajulu Charitra-Pratapa Charitra) by Kase Sarvappa. Edited by Lakshmiranjanam and published by The Andhra Writers' Association, Hyderabad, pp. CV, 175+12. Price Rs. 6/.

This edition of the *Siddhesvara Charitramu* by Kase Sarvappa (sixteenth century) is based on a paper manuscript of the work at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The work which is in Telugu deals with the history of the Kakatiyas of Warangal who brought successfully under one sceptre the whole of Andhra Desa after the Satavahanas and furnishes useful hints for the reconstruction of the political and cultural history of the Telugu country from about A.D. 1200. The last part of the work was presumably done by another writer to complete the scheme of Sarvappa.

The Preface by Dr. P. Srinivasachar and the lengthy introduction by the Editor preceding the text are scholarly and informative. Part I of the introduction is devoted almost exclusively to Sarvappa himself—giving an account of his life and times the

nature and quality of his poetry and the historical value of his work. This is followed by a discussion of the Kakatiya history relying mainly on the *Siddheswara Charitramu*. The reigns of Prola II, Rudradeva, Ganapatideva Rudramadevi and Pratapa Rudra II are given special treatment as they deserve. An interesting account of economic and literary conditions is also furnished. The portion of the work dealing with the earlier period of the Kakatiya history is of course more legendary than historical but still it will be of value to the student of Telugu literature. The printing errors that one finds not infrequently might have been avoided by careful proof reading. Even to one who does not know Telugu the publication will certainly be of interest and value because of the running summary and the scholarly discussion of the contents of the work that he gets in the introduction.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

LITERARY AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN GUJARAT UNDER THE KHALJIS AND THE SULTANATE: Muhammad Ibrahim Dar: Edited and published by Dr. Z. H. Madani for the Bazm-i-Ishaat; Ismail Yusuf College, Bombay; pp. 62. Price Rs. 2/-.

This is a collection of three papers dealing with the history of Gujarat by the late Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Dar. The first entitled *Early Muslim Settlers in Gujarat* is of particular interest because it reveals certain facts which are not popularly known. It shows that after the Arab invasion of Sind and before Alauddin Khalji's conquest of Gujarat in 1297-98 Islamic missionaries and merchants from abroad had come and settled down in Gujarat when it was under Hindu rulers. The Arab inscription, in the tomb of Baba Arjun Shah at Petlad dated 1236 shows that religious tolerance was extended to Muslim divines by the Hindu rulers. The next paper entitled *Cultural and Literary Activities under the Sultans of Gujarat* is scholarly and bears evidence of the author's study of the sources. It reveals that numerous Sultans of Gujarat extended patronage to Islamic scholars and that even from Persia and other foreign countries scholars came to their court. The third paper on *Gujarat under the Khaljis and the Tughlaks* is a review of its political history. It starts with Alauddin's conquest at the end of the 13th century and closes

with the establishment of the Sultanate in 1403. The author's interest is primarily cultural. Still the political history of Gujarat that he gives is authoritative. An interesting introduction by the Editor and a foreword by Professor M. S. Commissariat are special features of this small volume. Such studies on the history of particular regions during specific periods paying sufficient attention to various cultural movements and providing a useful political background are certainly to be welcomed.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

JUSTICE AND POLICE IN BENGAL: 1765-1793. A study of the Nizamat in Decline by N. Majumdar. Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 6/1 A, Banchchazan Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12.

Dr. (Miss) Majumdar attempts in this interesting book a detailed and systematic study of the system of criminal justice and police in Bengal in the latter half of the eighteenth century—a study of Mughal justice in decline from the accession of Najmud Daulah to the death of Mubarak Ud Daulah—just the period of the evolution of British sovereignty in Bengal. The book is divided into nine chapters. The first introduces the reader to the political condition of Bengal in 1765. Nandakumar who occupied the most prominent position in the state in the days of Mir Jafar owed no allegiance to the English and even sought foreign aid to reduce the Company's power. Therefore he had to be replaced by Rezakhan, a Persian domiciled in Bengal who would be favourable to the Company much to the disgust of the Nawab, an unnecessary intrusion into the already complicated politics of the state and justified by no canons of justice and fair play.

The British not only forced upon the Nawab the treaty relating to the appointment of Rezakhan but even went to the extent of asserting that 'everything must be done as we think proper'. [p. 7] Both in formulating and executing policies the Company was rather harsh and found little difficulty in enforcing it upon a tottering political seat. The succeeding chapter is a discussion of the frame work and functioning of the indigenous system of criminal administration about 1765. An exhaustive treatment of criminal administration in Bengal, the main theme of the work,

then follows. The period taken for study is divided into six divisions: 1766-1772, 1773-1775, 1775-1782, 1782-1787, 1787-1790 and 1791-1793; and each of them is discussed in separate chapters. The Faujdari jurisdiction which remained as the solitary vestige of the Nawab's authority had to disappear in 1770. The influence of the Diwani destroyed the efficacy of the Nizamat. The British system of criminal justice had to supersede the Mughal justice as the powerlessness of the Nizamat became thus a fact. The concluding chapter points to the several legal enactments made by the British which ultimately destroyed the Nizamat. Eight appendices, particularly the penultimate one referring to a few Benares cases illustrating how the inconsistency of Muslim penal law to natural justice was not overlooked by the British Administrators, are of interest.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

THE ANNEXATION OF UPPER BURMA: D. P. Singhal:
Eastern University Press, Singapore: 1960; pp. 129.

Burma which neglected for a long time international contacts was unaware of the world situation for all practical purposes till the advent of the British. Perhaps the first significant contact worth mentioning came only with the three Anglo-Burmese wars in little more than a half a century. The present work by D. P. Singhal endeavours to analyse the third and the final clash between Burma and the British. Besides giving an account of the diplomatic relations of British India with Burma, it also tries to examine the considerations and events leading to the conquest of Upper Burma.

The book is divided into five chapters. A historical background is furnished to place the main theme of the work in its proper setting. The author argues that the annexation of Upper Burma did not come as a sudden act but was a deliberate and preplanned one, and thinks that the British fear of the danger of French intrigues at the Court of Ava and the politics prevailing in contemporary Burma were not well founded. He suggests that long before the danger, if any, of the French intrigues at Mandalay became a consideration in the British policy in Burma, Lytton and his government had been constantly pressing London for the

annexation of Upper Burma" (p. 88). It was her commitments in the Afghan and Zulu wars that delayed Britain from annexing Burma immediately.

The discussion is stimulating as the approach to the subject is objective. The author's statements and conclusions are correct and logical and he bases them all on evidences supplied by official papers both published and unpublished. Six appendices, all of them historical records, a bibliography at the end and a map to illustrate the account are useful.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

WHERE THE LION TROD: By Gordon Shepher: Macmillan & Co., London; 1960: pp. 177.

This is an assessment by a western journalist of the discernible paw marks of the British lion on the culture and everyday life of India. A subject of absorbing interest there is a prolific literature on it; but here the author's approach is entirely new and sympathetic, and is characterised by polished and subdued humour. The author's purpose is more to entertain than to educate and hence the value and interest of the work lies more in the manner in which it is written than in the matter it contains. In the 'Hindi-English tug-of-War' he throws himself on the latter's side. His accounts of the Anglo-Indian community in post-independent India and the spell of Britain on such varied fields ranging from politics to sports and clubs constitute interesting reading. He hints also at the problem of student indiscipline (p. 81), the spectacle of true and false parliamentary spirit side by side (p. 135) etc. The author is wrong in his statement that January 26, 1947 was India's Independence Day (p. 175). The book which contains a number of typical drawings will on the whole interest and entertain more a railway traveller on a holiday than a serious scholar.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

AKOTA BRONZES, by Dr. Uma Kant P. Shah, *Archaeological Series, No. 1*, published by the Department of Archaeology, Bombay, 1959, pp. 78 with 80 Plates.

We welcome this first publication of the Department of Archaeology of the Bombay Government and the State Board of

Historical Records and Ancient Monuments. It is a neat volume and its author as well as Dr. P. M. Joshi, the General Editor of the Series, and scholars (such as Dr. Motichandra) who have helped the author with suggestions, etc., deserve our congratulations.

The bronzes were discovered in 1949 at Ākoṭā (Ancient Ānikoṭṭaka) situated to the west of Baroda, and the author gives the story of their discovery along with some other information in a short Introduction (pp. 1-5). This is followed by four sections, viz. I. Historical Background (pp. 6-12); II. North Indian Metal Images (pp. 13-25); III. Images of the Akota Hoard (pp. 26-62), and IV. Conclusion (pp. 63-74). There is also an index (pp. 75-78). The treatment of the subject may be regarded as exhaustive. The printing of the Plates is satisfactory.

In the author's learned discussions on the various topics, there are certain statements and suggestions which we find it difficult to follow and with which we feel inclined to disagree. Thus the masson marks (consisting of some Brāhmī *aksharas*) found on stones in the temple of Bhīmanātha lying to the north of the Ākoṭā area are assigned to the second century B.C. "on account of their close similarity with Bhattiprolu and Junagarh scripts" (pp. 2-3). Apart from the fact that we do not assign the Bhatti-are certain statements and suggestions which we find it difficult to understand what this Junagarh script of the same age could be. Probably Dr. Shah means the alphabet of the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman, which however belongs to the second century A.D. and not to the second century B.C. It is again very difficult for us to believe in the possibility of close resemblance between the characters of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions with those of the contemporary or later epigraphic records of Gujarat. Among the learned author's suggestions, we cannot accept the conjecture that the geographical name *Anikoṭṭaka* may have something to do with the name of the Indo-Greek king Antiochus (cf. p. 3, note 1).

But more important than such points of difference of opinion is the fact that, in most of the cases, we are inclined to disagree with the learned author in the dating of the images either on the grounds of style or of the palaeography of the epigraphs they bear. In our opinion, the images ascribed to the Gupta age—to 460-500 A.D., 500 A.D., middle sixth century and late

sixth century (pp. 26 ff.)—cannot be assigned to any date earlier than the seventh century. An object assigned to the early seventh century (pp. 31-33) before another ascribed to 600 A.D. (p. 33) appears to have been placed in the "Gupta Period" (before those assigned to the "Seventh Century" at pp. 33 ff.) through oversight.

As we are inclined to disagree with Dr. Shah in regard to the dating, reading and interpretation of most of the inscriptions on the Ākoṭā bronzes, a few such points of disagreement may be noted here.

The letter 1 in Plate 13-a, Plate 74-a and Plate 74-g, all of which have been assigned by Dr. Shah to the sixth century A.D. (cf. pp. 29, 30 and 32) suggests a date not earlier than the eighth century. His ascription of Plate 75-c, etc., to a date later than that of the above inscriptions (cf. 35 ff.) is wrong in our opinion.

In Plate 75-d, Dr. Shah reads a female name as *Śagabharjikā* and regards her as "a Śaka lady, Bharjikā by name, or a nun (*arjikā*) of the Śaka community" (p. 37). But the use of the word *arjikā* (Sanskrit *āryikā*) meaning 'a nun' in a number of records on the Ākoṭā bronzes show beyond doubt that the name should be regarded as *Śagabh-arjikā* so that there is no mention here of a 'Śaka' lady or a nun of the 'Śaka' community.

In Plate 75-e, the learned author reads *Viyaharakuleyo Guṇa* and finds a reference in it to Guṇa[bhadra] of the Vidyādhara-kula (p. 38). But the reading is apparently *Viyahara-kule Yobhu[na]*. In Plate 77-b, the personal name read as *Regaṭa* (pp. 53-54) is really *Jhoṭa*. The reading 897 in Plate 77-f and its interpretation as the Vikrama or Śaka year 897 (p. 56) are both quite impossible in our opinion.

D. C. SIRCAR.

INDIAN HISTORY—A STUDY IN DYNAMICS, by Yashavant Anant Raikar, M.A.; published by Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Baroda, 1960; pages 52 with 5 illustrations; price Rs. 5/.

This interesting essay contains the author's study of the operation of change and continuity in Time and Space, throughout Indian History or of the principles underlying the process of

change', the operation being called 'the Dynamics of Indian History'. It is stated that the meaning of Indian history was not intelligible to him before he noticed Dr. B. Subba Rao's approach in the following sentence in the *Personality of India*: "Indian history, in one sense, may be defined as a struggle between centripetal and centrifugal forces engendered by geography." Mr. Raikar briefly analyses the general course of Indian history from the said angle of vision, the details being admittedly summarised from the works of various authors.

There are three chapters of which Chapter I (Introduction, pp. 1-10) discusses the meaning of Dynamics and the author's approach and method. Chapter II (Indian History through the Ages, pp. 11-39) contains a brief survey of the political history of India since the earliest times, while Chapter III (Epilogue, pp. 40-47) summarises the author's conclusion. There is an Index and some useful illustrations. We congratulate the learned author for the clear presentation of his case.

Since Mr. Raikar admits that facts of history summarily presented by him are not based on a scrutiny of primary sources but are borrowed from other authors, it is probably unnecessary to point to the facts (especially relating to the ancient period of Indian history) which we consider to be wrong. By way of illustration, however, it may be pointed out that we do not think it correct to refer to the Gurjara-Pratihāras before 936 A.D. as 'the Pratihāras of Malwa' (p. 25). We also do not agree with the generally accepted view that the aim of the so-called tripartite struggle (p. 30) among the Pālas, Pratihāras and Rāshtrakūṭas (the participation of the Āyudha kings of Kanauj in it being usually forgotten) was the occupation of the city of Kanauj which, a matter of fact, had no extraordinary political importance at the time when the struggle began.

Besides the above minor points, we are inclined to draw the attention of the learned author to a few facts which he may consider while revising the monograph for a second edition. In the first place, earlier authors who have dwelt on the topic may be mentioned. Thus the late Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India* (latest ed., pp. 184-86) contains a section entitled "Local Autonomy and Imperial Unity" in which we find the following statements: "The chief interest of the political

history of the post-Bimbisarian Age lies in the interplay of two opposing forces, one centrifugal, the other centripetal, viz., the love of local (*jānapada*) autonomy and the aspiration for imperial unity The predilection for local self-rule was in part fostered by geographical conditions The imperial ideal had to contend with the centrifugal tendencies of *jānapada* (provincial and tribal) autonomy. The two forces operated in successive epochs almost with the regularity of the swing of a pendulum."

Secondly, the conception of the political unity of India cannot be divorced from the ancient Indian idea of the *Chakravarti-kshetra* or the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler. It is well known that originally one *Chakravarti-kshetra* was conceived as covering the whole of India bounded by the Himalayas in the north, the Indian Ocean in the south, the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Arabian sea in the west, though the conception of two *Chakravarti-kshetras*, one covering Northern and the other Southern India, gradually developed. This northern *Chakravarti-kshetra* was regarded as bounded by the Himalayas in the north, the Vindhyas in the south, the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west, while the southern *Chakravarti-kshetra* covered the rest of India lying to the south of the above territory. For a discussion on this topic, see *Sarūpa-Bhārati* (Dr. Lakshman Sarup Memorial Volume), edited by Agrawal and Shastri, Hoshiarpur, 1954, pp. 315-25 (cf also Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 1-16).

D. C. SIRCAR

REPORT ON KUMRAHAR EXCAVATIONS 1951-55, by A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., and Vijayakanta Mishra, M.A.; published by K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1959; pages 142 with 42 figures and 82 plates; price Rs. 40/-.

This is Volume III of the Historical Research Series of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, published under the patronage of the Government of Bihar and the authors have to be congratulated for the speedy publication of this comprehensive Report on the excavations conducted by them during the period 1951-55. Generally, reports on excavations take a long time to appear. It is, however, a matter of great regret that the late

lamented Prof. A. S. Altekar, who wrote the Preface to the volume on the 1st of November 1959, breathed his last shortly after that date.

The work is divided into ten chapters, the first two of which are introductory. Chapter II contains an interesting account of what we know of the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra, the modern representative of which is Patna. Chapters III-IV give us respectively the summary of the results of the excavations recently conducted at Kumrahar and an account of the excavations as well as their stratigraphy. The remaining chapters (Chapters V-X) contain details of the excavated finds such as potsherds, coins, terracotta objects, minor antiquities and stone and iron objects. The treatment of the subjects is exhaustive; but the printing of the Plates is unsatisfactory.

D. B. Spooner excavated the Kumrahar site in 1912-14 and exposed a pillared hall which he regarded as a Mauryan palace that was burnt in the post-Gupta age according to that scholar. On the basis of their excavations, the authors of the book under review suggest that the said hall was not a palace but a monastic structure and that it was destroyed in the age of the Śuṅgas who succeeded the Mauryas. This is one of the notable contributions of these excavations and, if it is true, we may think that the Indo-Bactrian Greeks who occupied Pāṭaliputra about the end of Maurya rule may have been responsible for the destruction.

Among the interesting objects discovered, we attach considerable importance to the two copper coins of Indragupta discussed under the head 'Gupta Coins' along with the copper coins of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II (p. 100, Nos. 1 and 3). These coins exhibit the bust of king to left on the obverse and Garuḍa above the legend *Indragupta* on the reverse. There is, however, no evidence as yet to show that king Indragupta who issued these coins belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha. We have another king of the latter part of the fifth century A.D., who not only imitated a Gupta coin type and had name ending with the word *Gupta*, but seems to have claimed to be born in the Gupta lineage. He is *Mahārāja* Harigupta whose copper coin copied from the Chhatra type of the gold coins of Chandragupta II has been recently published (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 95-98). Another type of Harigupta's copper coins has the *pūrṇa-kumbha*

on the reverse (Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 19, Plate II, No. 6) and this reminds us of *Mahārāja* Devagupta whose coin with the same reverse device and the legend *Mahārāja-Devaguptasya* was discovered by Cunningham in 1874 (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 378). Copper coins of a ruler named Rāmagupta, found in the Malwa region, are now well known (*JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 103 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 128 ff.). In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to assign such rulers, viz., Indragupta, Harigupta, Devagupta and Rāmagupta, to the Imperial Gupta house.

D. C. SIRCAR

INDIAN ARMED FORCES YEAR BOOK 1959-60. Ed. Jaswant Singh. Maneckji Wadia Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay-1, pages 908. Price Rs. 10/-.

This consolidated reference book is now in the fifth year of its publication and bound to be welcomed by all persons interested in the defence and security problems of our country, internal and external. It is profusely illustrated by photographs of the defence personnel and diagrams of the formations of all the three arms of the defence forces. The book is conceived on broad lines and readers will find much valuable and authentic information not only on the facts of the current situation but on many allied historical topics like the evolution of armies, arms, navies, air forces, atomic power and so on. The chapters are clearly and simply written with a view to interest the lay reader. There are quite a number of telling quotations from leading authorities. Considering the mass of information it provides and the size of the book, the price named should be held very cheap; it is excellent value for ten rupees.

The book is divided into eight unequal parts. It opens with a short editorial of four pages entitled 'War Clouds', which draws sharp attention to the immediate needs of our defence and lays stress on the dangers from the infiltration and indoctrination from communist sources, particularly China. This is again heavily underlined at the end of the book in Appendix II on Communist China and India (900-903). Part I, the longest section of the book (5-358), is general, and comprises five divisions on war today, war

on land, sea and air, and push button war with nuclear weapons and rockets and missiles. Part II (361-538) traces the history and development of Indian warfare and armed forces from the Vedic times to the period of post-war free India. Part III (539-642) deals with the organization and administration of the Indian Armed Forces. Part IV (643-752) is devoted to the second line of our defence—citizen's armed forces, cadet corps, merchant navy, civil aviation and red cross. Part V (753-800) is on Training Institutions. Part VI (801-826) details the Honours and Awards open to the forces. Part VII (827-861) is a diary of events from January 1959 to June 1960 and the last part is Who's Who in the Indian Armed Forces (862-896). The military significance of the satellites is dealt with in Appendix I, while Appendix III reviews some recent books and publications, K. M. Panikkar's 'Problems of Indian Defence' coming in for appreciation as the first serious contribution to the important question as also for sharp criticism for the manner in which it is held to underrate the danger from Chinese aggression. Altogether an excellent and handy compilation which will doubtless be improved and expanded in future issues. Jaswant Singh is doing an essential service and his effort should be supported by public patronage of the book on an extensive scale.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

INDIAN HISTORY — A REVIEW, by Dr. Baij Nath Puri, Lucknow University, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960, pp. xii and 120; 2 plates (4 figures). Price Rs. 6.50; sh. 10½; \$ 2.70.

Dr. Baij Nath Puri is well known as the author of several books in English and in Hindi on various aspects of Indian History and Culture. In the slender volume before us issued by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, he attempts the difficult task of reviewing the long history of our country in some 120 pages. The task of selection and the distribution of stress in such an enterprise is bound to be highly subjective and vary with each author. All that the reader can expect from such a book is to gain a fair idea of the movements and trends of culture through the ages in the different parts of our vast subcontinent, and this, I think, Dr. Puri has eminently succeeded in putting across.

It is not surprising that the author of another survey of Indian History, Sri K. M. Panikkar, who has accepted Dr. Puri's invitation to write a Foreword, finds himself constrained to write: 'with many of his (Dr. Puri's) judgments I frankly confess I am not in agreement', and to deprecate dogmatic assertion on doubtful questions of which he has found instances in the book. For instance, Sri Panikkar objects to the categorical statement that Chandragupta Maurya was a Kshatriya, while Hindu literary tradition makes him a Śūdra and even partisan works favourable to him call him a Vrishala; Dr. Puri in his preface has replied that he has followed the Pāli sources. Doubtless if Panikkar had cited other instances, Dr. Puri would have cited evidence in favour of his findings. Croce and Collingwood have taught how highly subjective all historical writing necessarily has to be.

Dr. Puri states his objective in the book in the following words: 'In this short survey an attempt has been made to focus the attention of the readers on the grand conception of unity in diversity and universal brotherhood. The eclectic element in Indian culture was responsible for the assimilation of the foreigners, and the expansion of this culture beyond India was remarkably fruitful. It did not aim at colonialism, but at Asian solidarity, and the grand monuments of Indo-China and Indonesia are an eloquent tribute to that spirit of India'. Another idea stressed is that of what Freeman called 'the unity of history'. But the present reviewer is not convinced that 'Asian solidarity' was a conscious aim of the emigrants who carried Hindu culture across the seas — and mountains.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE FINANCES OF THE MYSORE STATE, 1799-1831, by M. H. Gopal. Orient Longmans, 1960, pp. xii and 267, Rs. 15.00.

'This book', says Mr. Gopal in his preface, 'is part of an attempt at re-writing and re-assessing one aspect of the history of the Mysore State. The period planned to be covered extends over nearly a century and three quarters—1782-1951. The first seventeen years—1782-1799, relating to independent Mysore under Tipu Sultan, have been studied under the title: *Tipu's Mysore—an Economic Study*. The present work deals with 1799

to 1831 when the Mahārāja ruled either through a regent or by himself. The third volume covers the next fifty years, from the time of the sequestration of the administration in 1831, because of misgovernment, to the 'Rendition' in 1881, when after a period of fifty years of direct rule, the British government handed back to the ruler a prosperous state with an efficient administration. The next volume will tell the story of the next fifty years (1881-1931) while the final one will continue the story till the new constitution of India came into effect in 1951'.

The material for the period prior to 1832 has been drawn primarily from 2500 volumes of manuscript records in the British Museum and the India Office at London. If there is perhaps another side to the financial history reconstructed here from these records, to be found in Indian records, the author's attempts to get at them have proved futile.

The narrative part of the book is divided into six chapters. The three first deal with Purnaiya's stewardship and end with a critical estimate of his administration, discussing in particular detail the question how far Purnaiya's efficiency in revenue collection led to the impoverishment of the ryots and created difficulties for his successors in the government. Chapter IV deals with Rama Rao's Diwanship (1811-14); V with the Maharaja's personal administration (1814-25) and the consequent changes; and VI with the attempt at reform and the final crash ending in insurrection and sequestration (1825-31). It is altogether a sorry tale of corruption and oppression, of extravagance and favouritism on the part of the Mahārāja punctuated by occasional remorse and promises of reform, very soon forgotten, and the helplessness on the part of Residents who were enjoined by their superiors not to 'interfere' in the day to day administration. Only once during Munro's visit in 1825 was any serious attempt made to bring the Mahārāja to his senses by a stern warning; but perhaps by then it was too late, for the British government had too long neglected to exercise their powers of control under the Treaty as both the Insurrection Committee in 1833 and the Mahārāja himself in 1865 pointed out. For fifteen long years since the Mahārāja assumed the administration at the age of 16 till he was 31 in 1825, mismanagement and misgovernment had been tolerated, if not encouraged. There seems to be little room to doubt that if a more

detailed and steadier control in some detail had been exercised from the beginning, both the insurrection and the sequestration might have been avoided, and we must hold that Mr. Gopal is fully justified in his view put forward in the concluding chapter VII: The moral responsibility for the mismanagement in Mysore rests as much on Purnaiya and the British government as on the Mahārāja himself (p. 198).

The text of the book is full of statistics and a lot more of it is reviewed in Appendix B (211-39). A glossary, Bibliography and index furnish welcome aids. We hope Mr. Gopal will complete his study and bring out the remaining volumes according to plan.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE ORDEAL OF CAPTAIN ROEDER: Translated and edited by Helen Roeder. London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1960, pp. 248. Four half-tone plates (containing five illustrations), six line drawings and three maps. 25s. net.

This is a skilfully edited translation of extracts from the diary of Captain Franz Roeder of the first battalion of Hessian Lifeguards during Napoleon's ill fated Moscow campaign of 1812-13. As a girl Miss Helen Roeder lived with her grandmother at Darmstadt for a short period. There she first heard about Captain Franz Roeder, her great great grand-father; but she gained access to his diary only when she visited her uncle in Bavaria after the war. She immediately recognized the originality and historical value of the diary which had lain for nearly 150 years among the papers of the family; few of his descendants were prepared to struggle with his beautiful but difficult German handwriting. In a Prelude of less than ten pages Miss Helen Roeder provides a brief introduction to the diary, giving a sketch of the Captain's life and experiences, and explaining the difficulty of following the diary and understanding its author. 'It is not easy', she says, 'to drag out the man himself from the torrent of words, facts and moral reflections which make up the greater part of his diary. Only when you have fought him every inch of the way does he begin to emerge'. No wonder, Miss Roeder has not attempted to give out the whole diary, but only telling extracts from it, which are made easy to follow by a well-written narrative commentary of

her own furnishing the necessary connecting links. In the form in which it has been presented, the informal day to day diary of the Captain gives ample proof of his ability to bring to life the rigours of the campaign and his unhappiness at the long separation from his adored family. Altogether, it is one of most vivid and immediate accounts of the sufferings of the Napoleonic army, of which the captain certainly got much more than an ordinary share.

The book, however, is far more than a description of the campaign, and attains high value as the story of a man of extraordinary character. Intelligent, eccentric, impetuous, he had frequent clashes with his superiors, particularly because he was determined to see justice done both to his men and to the population of the countries through which he passed; he could stand none of the arbitrary self-centredness of the usual run of military men. The Captain had also great charm, a caustic wit, and enduring vitality; it was his passionate longing for reunion with his family that alone enabled him to survive the horrors of the retreat. Miss Roeder has given us at once an impelling personal story and a very readable document of outstanding historical interest.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE KARĀVA OF CEYLON: SOCIETY AND CULTURE, by M. D. Raghavan, with a foreword by Christopher von Fürer Haimendorf, K. G. De Silva and Sons, Colombo, 1961, pages xx and 216, Twenty plates (nine in colour). Bibliography, Index, Rs. 20/-.

Dr. M. D. Raghavan conducted the Ethnological survey of Ceylon from 1946 till recently. His work, like that of others, was then generally confined to the study of minor and tribal groups and their cultures. Now he has brought his developed powers of observation, analysis and description, to the study of a major community which plays a prominent role in the economy and polity of Ceylon—the Karāva. Besides personal observation, Dr. Raghavan has made use of several written sources, Portuguese, Dutch and Sinhalese and the appendices and bibliography give the reader a very good idea of these. We have thus before us an authoritative study which seeks to describe the essentials

of Karāva culture before they change out of recognition under the impact of the rapidly changing conditions created by modern science and technology.

Karāva tradition, true to their name, claims that they are descendants of the Kurus who dispersed after the Great Battle of Kurukshetra between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. But the many references to Kurukalarājas or Kurukalattaraiyans in the mediaeval Tamil inscriptions of South India, and the prevalence of the title *paṭṭabandige* (Cf. *paṭṭangatti* of Tamil records) give us the real clue to their true origin from S. India. The opening chapter in Dr. Raghavan's book is the longest and traces the history of the community with the aid of the documents mentioned above from mediaeval to modern times. Living mostly in the coastal districts they came early into contact with the Portuguese and the Dutch, some of them accepting the Catholic faith, and after the establishment of British power rose to great prosperity by developing the coconut industry and a wide field of wholesale and retail activities. From the beginning fishing was one of their chief occupations and they made good use of the outrigger canoe (the *oru*) for deep sea fishing, and Dr. Raghavan discusses the technique of these boats and their use in chapter VI; he does not seem to have noticed the earlier study of the subject by Hornell.

The caste group of the Karāvas has an extraordinarily wide range and includes speakers of Sinhalese and Tamil, Buddhists as well as Roman Catholics, simple fishermen and eminent intellectuals. Side by side with sections of the caste largely westernized in style of living are others that have retained extremely ancient ideas and folkways. The average Karāva villager may be said to profess simultaneously two distinct religions, namely Theravāda Buddhism and the cult of Yakka and local deities. He is evidently not conscious of any inconsistency in his practising the two different creeds together; Buddhist worship concerns the fate of man in his next life, whereas the far more elaborate propitiation of deities and demons aims at securing immediate benefits in this life.

The Karāva caste has somehow escaped the pronounced feature of the Indian caste system viz. a tendency to divide into endogamous sub-castes. Both Dr. Raghavan and Prof. Haimendorf

discuss this noteworthy feature: Raghavan ascribes it to the fact that different sections came to Ceylon at different times and developed 'nuclear' cultures in different centres and as these cultures lacked a religious basis the tendency to sub-divide on a hierarchical basis did not arise. This seems hardly to explain much, and Haimendorf puts forward the suggestion that the fundamentally egalitarian nature of Theravāda Buddhism furnishes the real explanation.

All the chapters in the book bear ample evidence of S. Indian influences at work among the Karāva through the centuries. The discussion of the Ge names roughly corresponding to surnames of European society and the psychological significance of the symbols and flags in use forms a striking contribution to our understanding the Karāva outlook and social organization. Of special interest is the collection of caste flags cherished in the remote Hindu Tamil village of Manampitiya near Polonnaruwa; 'whatever be the circumstances that led to the establishment of this far flung outpost of Karāva culture', says Dr. Raghavan, 'here today is seen the traditional Hindu Culture of the Karāva, preserved for posterity, with the flags and banners of the group in the hands of these humble peasants and cultivators'. (p. 66).

At p. 58 1.3 from the foot of the page, the word 'prototype' is used where 'replica' seems to be meant.

The book is exceedingly well produced and forms a welcome addition to the ethnological literature on Ceylon.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA
(11th and 12th centuries) by Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar,
M.A. Ph.D. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960
pages xxiv and 418, price Rs. 20/-.

The book is a thesis approved for the Ph.D. Degree of the Patna University. It seeks to interpret the working of the social and economic forces which shaped the political destiny of Northern India in the period between Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (1030 A.D.) and the final conquest of Ajmer by Qutb-ud-din Aibak from Hari-
raja, the brother of Prithiviraja III (1194 A.D.). It thus con-

stitutes a detailed study of a decadent period which seeks to probe the causes of the pathetic indifference of the people to the paramount problem of defending the country against the foreign invasion and conquest. It makes full use of the epigraphic and literary sources, idigenous and foreign, Hindu and Muslim; the law books and digests, the semi-historical chronicles and ballads naturally come in handy. The result is a well documented description in fifteen chapters of the feudal, military, and economic organization of the country and its merits and weaknesses, the latter preponderating. The final chapters on the Daily Life of the people, Festivals, Tirthas and pilgrimages, and Standard of morality lay stress on the unsocial, superstitious and deleterious aspects of religion due to the growth of Tantrism and an unhealthy preoccupation with sex. The author just sets forth the details the cumulative effect of which is sometimes overwhelming. He wisely guards himself against wide or sweeping generalizations which may not bear scrutiny. There is naturally nothing notably new or original in such a work, but it is not the less welcome as a systematic study of a rather neglected period.

* Nevertheless it is necessary to make a few reservations. It is a question how far it is proper to use Deccani and South Indian literary sources in a study of North India; Somadevasuri, Somesvara's *Manasollasa* and Apararka are drawn freely upon, and at times even southern epigraphs like the Malkapuram inscription of the Andhra country (158). Opinion is gaining ground of late that the *Sukramitisara* is really not a work of any considerable antiquity, but a nineteenth century compilation of the time when many historical and pseudo historical works were produced to satisfy the demands of curious antiquarians like Col. Colin Mackenzie, and there is much in the contents of the work to support such a view; but no blame can attach to the author of the book under review for not having become aware of this new point of view and for his having drawn rather extensively upon the alleged work of Sukra. There is a good Index, but the errata cannot be said to be exhaustive. The book is generally well got up.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES—"Fort William—India House Correspondence", Vol. IX. Public Series 1782-5. General Editor: K. D. Bhargava. Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi, for the National Archives of India. 1959—Price Rs. 20 50 nP. or 31sh. 6d.

This is the third volume of the Fort William—India House Correspondence Series, published by the National Archives under scheme I of its publication programme. Of this series, Volume I was brought out in April 1959 and Volume XIII in June 1959. The volume under review (Vol. IX), edited by Dr. B. A. Salatore, now Professor of History, Karnataka University, is the third of the series published in the course of 1959.

The letters reproduced in this volume cover the period extending from 1782 to 1785. Thus they deal with the last three years of the administration of Warren Hastings and with the opening year of Sir John Macpherson's administration. The letters do not provide a mere catalogue of political events; they form a storehouse of information bearing on the varied activities of the East India Company during the period 1782 to 1785. They contain plenty of data pertaining to maritime and naval matters, judicial and military administration, education and public health, agriculture and famine relief, which indicate that the Government of Fort William had already begun to concern itself with the welfare of people under its control.

In respect of political events the despatches throw light on the relation of the English East India Company with the contemporary powers like the Dutch, French and the Spaniards in India and with the native rulers like those of the Carnatic, Tanjore, Mysore, the Deccan, Gwalior, Oudh, Benares, Lucknow, the Punjab and Nepal and the leaders of the notorious band known as the Sanyasis.

Regarding the administrative history, the correspondence between the Governor-General and the Court of Directors sheds light on the consequences of the vague provisions of the Regulating Act and the serious difficulties which Warren Hastings had to face. The differences which frequently arose between the Court of Directors and the Councillors at Fort William the anomalous position which the Judiciary occupied at Calcutta and the disputes

between the Council at Fort William and Fort St. George are all found reflected in the correspondence.

We are able to get an insight into the character and personality of Warren Hastings, whose dealings have been the subject of acute controversy among historians. No doubt, he committed mistakes, but his difficulties should not be underrated. His unswerving devotion to the cause of the Company is well borne out by the despatches; and the Directors, too, ultimately in their Resolution of 20 October 1784 testified to their appreciation of the ability and sincerity of Warren Hastings and of the Council. The members of the Supreme Council at Fort William, too, despite their earlier differences with the Governor-General reveal their high esteem for him in their letter dated 22 February 1785 in which they record that few men had the 'talents the vigour of mind or command of temper' which Warren Hastings possessed.

In respect of civil administration the letters indicate the general policy of the Company towards the princes and the people as well as the measures adopted to improve the tone of the administration and the welfare of the common people. Corruption was rampant. Many civil servants had come to India with the object of amassing millions within a few years. No wonder that embezzlement and corruption were common. The Governor-General in Council adopted certain measures for checking these evils, and though some success was achieved, much more remained to be accomplished before the atmosphere was purified.

The letters which constitute the basic part of the volume are classified into two divisions: (1) those which proceeded from the Court and (2) those which were received by the Court. Certain letters which were not primarily addressed to or by the Court and miscellaneous papers which pertain to the period are given as Appendices.

Besides an Introduction and a list of the persons who occupied the high position in the administration, both in India and in England, several illustrations are provided including photographs of persons like Warren Hastings, Eyre Coote, Lord Macartney, Raja Chait Singh and Muhammad Ali Nawab Walajah of Arcot. Notes explaining the references to personages and events figuring in the letters are furnished. A select bibliography and an Index are pro-

vided. The volume is a welcome addition to those engaged in research on the period.

K. K. PILLAY.

MAIN CURRENTS IN THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF GUJARAT:

by Dr. B. A. Saletore. Published by Professor C. M. Shukla, Dean, Faculty of Arts, the M. S. University, Baroda. Price Rs. 3/-.

This booklet contains the reprint of two lectures delivered by Dr. B. A. Saletore, at the invitation of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. In these lectures the author examines some of the principal currents of the ancient history of Gujarat. In his view these currents centre around the following: (1) the pre-historic times (2) the epic period (3) the age of the Mauryas (4) the rule of the Bactrians in Gujarat-Saurashtra (5) the epoch when the Sakas, Parthians and the Western Kshatrapas had contact with Gujarat Saurashtra (6) the invasions and rule of the Minhirs or white Huns and (7) the intrusion of the Dravidians represented by the early Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas. The intimate connection of Gujarat-Saurashtras, with the South in the political and cultural fields receives special attention at the hands of the lecturer.

Each one of these 'currents' deserves an intensive study; but within a limited compass the author has stressed certain features of the problems connected with them. Some of the issues raised are controversial in character and the last word has not been said on them on account of paucity of sources and liability for different deductions from the available sources.

Dr. B. A. Saletore, however, seems to be too venturesome in advancing the view that the two illustrious men of Modern India, Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhai Patel who belonged to Gujarat-Saurashtra, embody in themselves the traditional characteristics of the Gujarati people. While few deny the sterling qualities of these two great heroes, particularly the tolerance of Gandhiji and the practical ingenuity of Sirdar Patel, it seems too sweeping to state that these two leaders are products of the age-long traits of the Gujaratis alone. It may be mentioned in this connection that in a certain measure, the appearance of 'the great

'man' at a particular time and place is a matter of chance. Moreover, the course of events sometimes provides the scope for the rise and growth of 'the great man.' It is true that the influence of heredity and environment can not be ruled out. But the author's statement is at best only a partial truth.

Full notes and an index are provided. But there are many typographical errors in addition to those shown in the Errata.

K. K. PILLAY.

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE,
VOL. VI. "THE DELHI SULTANATE"—Published by the
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupati Road, Bombay-7. Price
Rs. 35/-

This volume, which forms the sixth of the series in the History and Culture of the Indian People, purports to deal comprehensively with the history of India in the age of the Delhi Sultanate; in other words, it is concerned with the history of the period ranging from about the beginning of the 14th century down to A.D. 1526. The General Editor rightly points out that the apparent impression that during this period the Delhi Sultanate established its sway over the whole or major part of India, is erroneous. In fact, during the entire period under survey in this volume, there were but two spells when any thing like an all-India imperial position was attained. They were, in the first place, the epoch of the Khalji empire which had an extensive sway for a brief span of twenty years (A.D. 1300-1320), and secondly the empire of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak (A.D. 1325 to about 1335). Even during these two short periods there remained certain regions outside the authority of the Delhi Sultanate. For the rest of the age, the Sultanate had its sway over a considerable portion of North and Central India, the extent of the empire varying from time to time. For the major part, and especially after the disintegration of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak's empire, India remained divided into a congeries of states, both big and small. Among the bigger states which rose to prominence after the Tughlak empire, six were notably powerful. Three of them, viz., Bengal in the east, Gujarat in the west and the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan were under the sway of Muslims, while their respective neighbours and rivals, Orissa on the eastern

coast, Mewar in Rajputana and Vijayanagar in South India were ruled by Hindu monarchs. Wars between these powers aided by their neighbouring small states constitute the dominant feature of the political history of the period.

During the age under survey two invasions occurred which brought about far-reaching consequences. The first was the invasion of Timur, the Turkish autocrat who aimed at 'destroying the infidels (Kafir) and at plundering the 'fabulous wealth and valuables of the infidels'. Timur's terrible massacres and ravages shook the tottering Delhi Sultanate and spread havoc and misery over a part of Northern India. His cruel actions are best known from Timur's own account which is made full use of in Chapter VII of this volume. There is little doubt that the rude shake which his invasion gave to the Delhi Sultanate made the position easy for the Mughals to establish their empire in India.

Nearly a century afterwards there occurred the landing of Vasco da Gama in Calicut. The Portuguese were the pioneers among the Western powers which tried their fortune at empire building, beginning no doubt as traders at the outset. The Portuguese, however, never had any thing like an Indian Empire at any period of their contact with India, although there were epochs when their political ambition reached a considerable height. There is no doubt that the motive of proselytisation was operative in respect of both the Portuguese and of the followers of Timur. But it seems to be beside the mark to suggest a close parallelism between Timur and Vasco da Gama. Though the religious motive was dominant in both the cases, the commercial aim, too, was pronounced in respect of Vasco da Gama. To state that 'Timur and Vasco da Gama were instrumental in establishing the supremacy, respectively, of the Mughals and the British in India' (p. xxv) is to read a little too much into accidental circumstances. Several other factors, too, were responsible for the establishment of the Mughal and British supremacy respectively. In fact Vasco da Gama's exploration of the sea-route to the east helped at the outset the Dutch and French, no less than the British.

In respect of political history a few topics have failed to receive the attention which they deserve. For instance, a fuller treatment of the history of the Pandyas of the age, than what has been provided, is desirable. Regarding Malabar again, the account

is sketchy; the history of Malabar as well as of Cochin and Venad needs adequate treatment. There is for instance no reference in this volume to Ravivarman Kulasekhara, the valiant general whose operations in the Pandyan country deserve notice. As mentioned earlier, the volume under review is not concerned only with the history of the Delhi Sultanate but with that of India as a whole during that age. Therefore, important events and personalities in all parts of the sub-continent have to find their proper places in this comprehensive history.

In assessing the nature and effects of the religious activities of personages like Timur and Sikandar Lodi and also the consequences of the impact of Islam on Hindu society, the General Editor rightly reprimands the tendency on the part of certain politicians and historians to white-wash the facts of history by minimising or denying the social antipathy and intolerance between the two communities. "Political necessities of the Indians during the last phase of British rule underlined the importance of alliance between the two communities and this was sought to be smoothly brought about by glossing over the differences and creating an imaginary history of the past in order to depict the relations between the two in a much more favourable light than it actually was". This attempt at importing political motives into the reading of history is an undesirable tendency, which in actual practice is unfortunately none too rare. History is an objective record of the past, and 'wishful thinking' should never be allowed to ignore the truth, however unpalatable it might be to the parties concerned. 'The real and effective means of solving a problem is to know and understand the facts that give rise to it, and not to ignore them by hiding the head, ostrich-like, into sands of fiction'. (p. xxix). It is idle to deny that there was religious persecution in India during the period under survey.

Nor can it be denied that as a consequence of the invasions and settlement of the Muslims, the two distinct communities, the Hindu and the Muslim, stood face to face with each other, possessing markedly different customs and cultures. This phenomenon of division into two major camps appeared for the first time now in the history of India. The earlier invaders like the Sakas and Kushans had all become absorbed into the Hindu community, but the position was radically different with the Muslims.

To be alive to this is not to deny the mutual influences that the two communities exerted on each other. 'Islam touched Hindu life and was itself touched by Hinduism at many points'. The mutual influences are not clearly discernible in respect of all details of social life because there was perpetual action and reaction, with the result that the intermingling became very intricate.

The interaction of one religion upon the other led to fruitful results, which were seen at their best in the rise of mystic saints like Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak. These broad minded leaders absorbed in their own way the features of both the religions and laid stress on true devotion disregarding formal nomenclature. They were responsible for ushering in a catholic spirit in religion and for the rise of several schools of thought which laid stress on true devotion. In fact broadly speaking their teachings form a continuation of the spirit of the Bhakti movement which had its prominent development in South India during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

This volume, like the earlier ones of the series, deals with not only the political, social, economic and religious history, but also with the history of literature and art. Generally the advent of the Muslim power witnessed a setback in the development of Sanskrit literature and Hindu culture, although there were exceptional cases as those of Hussain Shah and his son in Bengal, who patronised Hindu culture. But in such of the Hindu kingdoms like those of Vijayanagar and Orissa which flourished during this age there was a remarkable patronage of the traditional literature and culture of the Hindus. Some admirable works appeared during this age both in Sanskrit and in the regional languages.

In the field of fine arts it must be observed that many temples which were treasures of art were destroyed by the iconoclastic zeal of the Muslims. But after the Muslims settled down firmly they tried to introduce their own style of art importing builders and craftsmen from the West, mainly from Persia. But the indigenous architectural traditions influenced the newcomers in no small measure and therefore a new and distinct style of Islamic architecture appeared, which was at once Islamic and Indian in their features. This Indo-Islamic style had a splendid development during this age both in the Imperial city and in the provincial capitals, though some of its best specimens appeared later under the Mughals. At the same time, the Hindu style, though

generally on its decline, was preserved and developed in some of the states like Vijayanagar and Rajputana.

In on respect the matter dealt with in this volume stands on a different footing as compared with that of the earlier volumes. The sources of information assume a remarkable definiteness. There is no doubt that with advent of the Muslims the original sources of information regarding history become precise and fairly reliable. The Muslim historians provide a detailed account not only of the Delhi Sultanate but also of many of the succession states which emerged out of its ruins. The difficulties that confront the historians thenceforth arise not so much on account of the dearth of materials as on account of their discrepancy and divergence. For the first time the historian of India is in a position to avail himself of materials 'which would not suffer in comparison with those on which the history of contemporary Europe and other Asiatic countries is based'.

But at the same time their limitations cannot be ignored. They were primarily court histories, and therefore, the greatest attention is paid to the history of kings and generals, wars and treaties. Moreover, like all court histories, they could not always take an impartial or unprejudiced view. It is almost a common characteristic of the authors of these histories 'to omit, minimise or explain away the grave crimes of their patron kings and their families and to give as favourable an account of their military campaigns as could be done without wholly violating truth, though cases are not rare where even this limit was not observed and defeats were either simply ignored or recorded as victories'. For example, the Muslim historians generally pass over the defeats suffered by the Muslim generals in the South, while the Hindu sources mention an unbroken series of Hindu victories over the Muslim troops. The fact is that the Hindu resistance was strong and the progress of Muslim arms was not as easy as Amir Khusrav and other Muslim chroniclers would have us believe.

Moreover, like the typical court historians, they have precious little to say about the common people. This deficiency is fortunately made up in some measure by the accounts of foreign travellers. In particular, the descriptions provided by Ibn Batuta, the Moorish traveller, who lived in India for thirteen years and travelled widely all over the country, are very useful.

This volume like its predecessors is the product of co-operative effort. Specialists in particular topics or periods contribute the various sections, and this has its obvious merits and defects. While the accounts furnished by experts are presumably accurate and well balanced, the differences in approach, outlook and objectivity, the disparities in style and above all the disproportionate treatment of topics are all serious shortcomings. We are told by the General Editor that in attempting to bring about a proper coordination of work of scholars so far as the preparation of this volume is concerned, he has had to take upon himself the responsibility of writing several chapters himself in addition to those originally intended.

Copious illustrations including four maps, a general bibliography, a chronological list of important events, genealogical tables of the Sultanate at Delhi and of rulers in the Provinces and a carefully prepared index are provided. The volume is on the age which it treats. The contributors, editors and publishers are to be warmly congratulated on the production of this volume.

K. K. PILLAY.

JOHN JACOB OF JACOBABAD by H. T. Lambrick. (Published by Cassell, London) Price Rs. 63/- Net.

This is an authoritative biography of John Jacob who served the East India Company for nearly thirty years in Sind and the neighbouring frontier region. The biography is based largely on manuscript material, in particular, on John's official and semi-official correspondence filed in the unpublished records of the Commissioner in Sind. The biographer has also drawn extensively on John Jacob's private correspondence with members of his family and with friends such as Sir James Outram, Lord Melville and Sir Bartle Frere. Besides, he has consulted many Baluch and Sindhi zamindars and other residents of Upper Sind and gathered anecdotes and traditions regarding John Jacob.

The biographer, H. T. Lambrick, had served as a member of the Indian Civil Service in Sind, where he became Special Commissioner ultimately in 1943. His previous publications include the notable book, 'Sir Charles Napier and Sind'. Commissioned by the Pakistan Government, he has recently produced two

volume of a large-scale History of Sind. Thus he is eminently fitted to undertake the study of the life and work of one whose activities centred round Sind.

John Jacob was the son of a country vicar. After nearly two years of training at the Military Seminary at Addiscombe John sailed to India to take service under the East India Company in 1828, when he was hardly sixteen years of age. The first ten years of John Jacob's army service passed in the routine of peacetime soldiering. Thereafter, in connection with the First Afghan War and the subjugation of Sind he received his apprenticeship in war. From the outset he distinguished himself as a brilliant Gunner and Cavalry leader. In all his activities John Jacob evinced unflinching courage and loyalty to the sworn cause. He had the opportunity of serving under veterans like Sir James Outram and Sir Charles Napier who have all recorded their warm appreciation of the character and ability of John Jacob.

Broadly speaking, during the first fifteen years John Jacob served in the fighting force, particularly in the Artillery, and for the next fifteen years he ruled the people of Sind. His work in the latter period was varied in character, and particularly between 1847 and 1853 he performed the duties of 'Political Agent, Magistrate, Superintendent of Police, Surveyor and Engineer throughout a large district under peculiarly difficult circumstances'. In 1856 he was appointed Acting Commissioner in Sind and in this capacity he continued his noble service of improving the public works. To the very last he worked hard till he died on the 5th December 1858 at the age of 45, 'worn out with exhaustion from excessive labour, having given all he had, even his life to the service of the State'.

There is no doubt that John Jacob was 'one of those rarest spirits who love work—good, true and noble work—for its own sake. He had something of the gift of a statesman; he was able to prophesy the outbreak of the Mutiny, though it must be remembered that Henry Lawrence had anticipated Jacob in this. Further, Jacob was able to evolve a plan for the permanent defence of the north-west frontier.

Not less important was his effort at introducing various reforms among the subject people in order to ameliorate their material and moral conditions. Valuable irrigation canals were

constructed. He made an effort to get a civil hospital established at the headquarters for the benefit of the people. In 1853 he instituted a survey of the frontier of Sind.

In the discharge of his duties he brought to bear admirable qualities. He was remarkably frank and outspoken. He took delight in telling the truth as he saw it. Moreover, he was kind and considerate to the poor. Many instances of Jacob's humanity and generosity to the poor are fondly cherished to this day. But, to the evil doer he was relentless. No consideration of position or prestige of the offender would dissuade him from inflicting condign punishment. In several instances the dishonest official was ordered to leave the district within twelve hours.

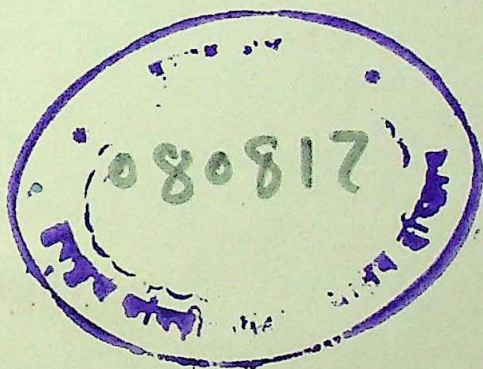
The biographer, however, does not appear to be a purblind hero-worshipper. He does not concentrate his attention only on the brighter side of Jacob's character and behaviour. His shortcomings, too, are systematically recounted. John Jacob had physical impediment in his speech, and he remained a stammerer to the last, a circumstance about which he was acutely sensitive. John was habitually reserved, but aggressively self-assertive, acrimonious and intolerant. Moreover, he was not above jealousy of credit given to others. Again, at times, his punishments were far too severe. Once he took an extraordinarily stern action against a party enjoying the popular diversion of cock fighting. Every man engaged in it was put under arrest, taken to his compound and given twenty lashes and the owners of the cocks were disgraced and paraded through the streets. John was often hasty in his assertion of the laws of political economy, as far instance, in his exaggeration of the virtues of free trade. Again, his views on the political future of India were little better than those of diehard British administrators. He held that Indians were not fit for self-government at any time. He was a believer in the view that Indians should be properly educated and ruled by the British people perpetually. He differed from several of his contemporaries who contemplated a time when India could be conscientiously left by Britain to rule herself. It was his firm conviction that the Indian character, under European control and guidance was capable of substantial improvement.

But, despite these shortcomings, he was a sincere administrator and an ardent well wisher of the people. Like John Nicholson,

John Jacob is enshrined in the traditions of the people, some of whom held Jacob to be next only to Mahomed. However, the author of the book seems to err on the side of exaggeration when he states that John Jacob approximated to the ideal of Plato's 'Philosopher King'. (p. 379).

The book provides two useful appendices, one on John Jacob's writings, and another on his 'Frontier System'. Full notes and references are provided, besides an Index. Two maps are furnished, one of Sind and the North Western Approaches to India as in 1856, and another of Upper Sind, Kachhi and the adjoining regions as they stood during 1839-1858. The book is well produced.

K. K. PILLAY



Printed by S. Ramaswami, at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street,
Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

